



THE MINDE OF THE FRONT.

From Death, and darke Obliuion (neere the same)
The Mistresse of Mans life, graue HISTORIE,
Raising the World to good, or euill FAME,
Doth vindicate her TITIE.

High PROVIDENCE would so: that nor the Good
Might be defrauded, nor the Great secur'd,
But both might know their waies are vnderstood,
And the reward and punishment assur'd.

This makes, that lighted by the beemie hand
Of TRUTH, which searcheth the most hidden springs,
And guided by EXPERIENCE, whose straight VVand,
Doth mete, whose Line doth sound the depth of things;

Shee cheerefully supporteth what she reares:
Assisted by no strengths, but are her owne.
Some note of which each varied Pillar beares,
By which, as proper Titles, she is knowne,

Times VVitnesse, Herald of Antiquitie,
The Light of Truth, and Life of Memorie.



THE HISTORIE OF THE VVORLD.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

- 1 **¶** *Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same from the Creation vnto Abraham.*
- 2 *Of the Times from the Birth of Abraham, to the destruction of the Temple of Salomon.*
- 3 *From the destruction of Ierusalem, to the time of Philip of Macedon.*
- 4 *From the Reigne of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that Kingdome, in the Race of Antigonus.*
- 5 *From the settled rule of Alexanders successours in the East, vntill the Romans (preuailing ouer all) made Conquest of Asia and Macedon.*

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.



*The true and lively portraiture
of the honourable and learned Knight
Sir Walter Raleigh.*





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OW unfit and how unworthy a choise I haue made of my selfe, to undertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reason, though exceeding weak, hath sufficiently resolved mee. For had it beene begotten then with my first dawning of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it selfe to my younger yeares, and before any wound receiued either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well haue doubted, that the darknesse of Age and Death would haue couered ouer both it and mee, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation, I haue proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly purposed (some few fallies excepted) to confine my Discourse, with this our renowned Iland of Great Brittain. I confesse that it had better sorted with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out in other traualles, to haue set together (as I could) the vnioynted and scattered frame of our English affaires, than of the Vniuersall, in whom had there bin no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day; it were enough, the day of a tempestuous life, drawne on to the very euening ere I began. But those inmost, and soule-piercing wounds, which are euer aking while concured: with the desire to satisfie those few friends, which I haue tryed by the fire of Aduersity, the former enforcing, the latter perswading, haue caused mee to make my thoughts legible, and my selfe the subiect of euery opinion, wise or weak.

To the World I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither haue others that were, (Fortune changing) sped much better in any age. For Prosperity and Aduersity haue euermore tyed and vntyed vulgar affections. And as we see it in experience, That dogs doe alwayes bark at those they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so it is with the inconsiderate multitude; who, wanting that vertue which we call Honesty in all men, and that especiall gift of G O D which we call Charity in Christian men; condemn without hearing, and wound without offence giuen: led therewith by vncertaine report only; which his Maiesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. Blame no man (saith Siracides) before thou haue enquired the matter: vnderstand first, and then reforme righteously. Rumor, res sine teste, sine iudice, malignus, fallax; Rumor is without witnesse, without iudge, malicious and deceiueable. This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gaue Saint Augustine Argument to affirme, That he feared the praise of good men, and detested that of the euill. And herein no man hath giuen a better rule, than this of Seneca. Conscientia satisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboramus, sequatur vel non, dum bene animumus. Let vs satisfie our owne consciences, and

*Demonolog.
l. 2. c. 1.
Eccle. 11. v. 3.*

*Laudari a bonis
timet, et amari
a malis detestatur.
Sen. de ira. l. 2. c. 22.*

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not trouble our selues with fame: bee it neuer so ill, it is to be despised so we deserue well.

For my selfe, if I haue in any thing serued my Country, and prized it before my priuate: the generall acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time than doth a shire sunshine way to a Sea-man after shipwrack, & the contrary no other harm, than an our rigour's tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the loue of many, for my fidelity towards Her, whom I must still honour in the dust; though further than the defence of her excellent person, I neuer persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supream Iudge of all the world, hath taken the accept: so as for this kinde of suffering, I must say with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parva, delectat.

As for other men, if there be any that haue made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them: I can neyther enuy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine owne mishap in that kind; but content my selfe to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, in many particulars. To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzy, not of hope: seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can trauell the World without a pass-port. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then some possibility to perswade by the mouth of one Advocate, euen Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying & extensue vertue of dead Earth, & of that breathing life which God hath cast vpon slime & dust, as that among those that were, of whom we read and heare, & among those that are, whom we see & conuerse with; euery one hath received a severall picture of face, & euery one a diuers picture of minde; euery one a forme apart, euery one a fancy & cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth as in dissimilitude. From whence it commeth that there is found so great diuersity of opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many natural & vnnatural; wise, foolish, manly, & childish affections and passions in mortall men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme internall.

And though it hath pleased God to reserue the Art of reading mens thoughts to himselfe: yet, as the fruit tels the name of the Tree; so do the outward works of men (so far as their cogitations are acted) giue vs wherof to ghesse at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to expresse the one by the other, very neere the life: did not craft in many, feare in the most, and the worlds loue in all, teach euery capacity, according to the compasse it hath, to qualifie and maske ouer their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subest. No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behauiour: the things that are forced for pretences hauing no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their own natures. Neither can any man (saith Plutarch) so change himselfe, but that his heart may bee sometimes seene at his tongues end.

In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable Creatures, if we direct our selues to the Multitude; Omnis honestæ rei malus iudex est vulgus: The common people are euill Iudges of honest things, and whose Wisdome (saith Ecclesiastes) is to be despised; if to the better sort; euery understanding hath

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hath a peculiar iudgement, by which it both censureth other men, & valueth it selfe. And therefore vnto me it will not seeme strange, though I finde these my worthlesse papers torne with Rats: seeing the slothfull Censurers of all ages haue not spared to taxe the Reuerend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition, the severest men to themselves, with Hypocrisie, the greatest louers of Iustice, with Popularity; and those of the truest valour and fortitude, with vaine glory. But of these natures which lie in wait to finde fault, and to turne good into euill, seeing Salomon complained long since: & that the very age of the world renders it euery day after other more malicious; I must leaue the professors to their easie waies of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

*Eccle. i. 17.
Nihil facilius
quam reprehendere alium.*

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common & approved custome of those, who haue left the memories of time past to after ages; to giue, as neare as I can, the same right to History which they haue done. Yet seeing therein I should but borrow other mens words; I wil not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is that among many other benefits for which it hath bin honoured; in this one it triumpheth ouer all humane knowledge, That it hath giuen vs life in our vnderstanding, since the world it selfe had life & beginning, euen to this day: yea, it hath triumphed ouer time, which besides it nothing but eternitie hath triumphed ouer: for it hath carried our knowledge ouer the vast and deuouring space of many thousands of yeares, & giuen so faire & piercing eies to our minde; that wee plainly behold liuing now (as if we had liued then) that great world, Magni Dei sapiens opus, the wise work (saith Hermes) of a great GOD, as it was then, when but new to it selfe. By it (I say) it is, that we liue in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was gouerned: how it was couered with waters, and againe repeopled: How Kings and Kingdomes haue flourished and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe vnto History, that it hath made vs acquainted with our dead Auncestors; and, out of the depth and darknesse of the earth, deliuered vs their memory and fame. In a word, wee may gather out of History a policy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-passed miseries with our owne like errors & ill deseruings. But it is neither of Examples the most liuely instruction; nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupified mindes; as to make vs remember, That the infinite eye and wisdom of God doth pierce through all our pretences; as to make vs remember, That the iustice of God doth require none other accuser, than our owne consciences: which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, couer from his knowledge. And so much did that heathen wisdom confesse; no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (saith Euripides) hauing in his life committed wickednesse, thinke hee can hide it from the euermourning gods, he thinkes not well.

To repeat GODS iudgements in particular; vpon those of all degrees, which haue plaid with his mercies; would require a volume apart: for the Sea of examples hath no bottome. The marks, set on priuate men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of those that liued with them: so as they who succeed, and haue not seene the fall of others;

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do not feare their owne fautes: GODS iudgements vpon the greater & greatest haue bene left to posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their vertue, who haue gathered the acts and ends of men, mighty and remarkable in the world. Nowe poyns farre off, and to speake of the conuersion of Angells into Deuills; of the greatest and most glorious King, who haue gaue the grass of the earth with beasts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wise working of Pharaoh, when he slue the Infantes of Israel, ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or of the policy of Iezabel, in covering the murder of Naboth by a tryall of the Elders; according to the Law, with many thousands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopelesse proofe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the same farre-off respects, as heretofore? For who hath not obserued, what labour, practice, perill, bloudshed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world haue vndergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed, to make themselves and their issues masters of the world? And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, & the rest, no fruit, no flower, grass, nor leaf, springing vpon the face of the earth, of those seeds: No, their very roots & ruines do hardly remaine. Omnia que manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum eueruntur, vel stando & durando deficient: All that the hand of man can make, is eyther ouerturned by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing consumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diuersly giuen by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All Kingdomes & States haue fallen (say the Politicians) by outward & forraign force, or by inward negligence & dissension, or by a third cause arising from both. Others obserue, That the greatest haue sunk downe vnder their own weight; of which Litiie hath a touch: eo crevit, vt magnitudine labore sua: Others, That the diuine prouidence (which Cratippus objected to Pompey) hath set downe the date and period of enery Estate; before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will giue my selfe a day ouer to re- solve.

For seeing the first bookes of the following story, haue vnderaken the discourse of the first Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface, to trauaile after, and ouertake farre-off Antiquity, and to iudge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, & their Neighbour Princes: who hauing beheld both in diuine & humane letters, the successe of infidelity, iniustice and cruelty; haue (notwithstanding) planted after the same patterne.

Trueth it is, that the iudgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred up a-like with examples of like nature: But every one is touched most, with that which most neerely seemeth to touch his owne private; Or otherwise best futeeth with his apprehension. But the iudgements of GOD are for euer vouchangeable; neyther is hee wearied by the long processe of time, and won to giue his blessing in one age; to that which he hath curfed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdom if it bee not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to discerne the bitter fruites of irreligious policy, as well among those examples that are found in ages remoued farre from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no lesse appeare

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appeare by euident prooffe, than by asseueration, That ill doing hath alwaies bene attended with ill successe; I will here, by way of Preface, run ouer some examples, which the worke ensuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman race, we haue no sooner passed ouer the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods iustice, vpon the children of Henry the first. For that King, when both by force, craft and cruelty, he had dispossessed, ouerreacht, and lastly made blinde and destroyed his elder Brother Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his owne sonnes Lords of this Land: GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephewes and Nieces (Maud excepted) into the bottome of the Sea, with aboue a hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearly beloved.

To passe ouer the rest, till we come to Edvard the Second, it is certaine, that after the murder of that King, the issue of bloud then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did againe breake out, and that so often and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine race (very few excepted) dyed of the same disease. And although the yongue yeares of Edvard the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than suspicious: yet in that he afterwards caused his owne Vncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earle as then supposed to be liuing; the King making that to be treason in his Vncle, which was indeede treason in himself, (had his Vncles intelligence been true) this I say made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to haue had it otherwise; though he caused Mortimer to die for the same.

This cruelty the secret and vnsearchable iudgement of GOD reuenged on the Grand-child of Edward the Third: and so it fell out, euen to the last of that line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried vnder the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had bene tempered with innocent bloud. For Richard the Second, who saw, both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with diuers others of his Counsaillours, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet hee alwaies tooke himselfe for ouer-wise, to be taught by examples. The Earles of Huntingdon and Kent, Montagu & Spencer, who thought themselves as great Politicians in those daies as others haue done in these: hoping to please the King, and to secure themselves, by the Murder of Gloucester, died soone after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farre more shamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himselfe (who in regard of many deedes, unworthy of his Greatnesse, cannot be excused, as the disauowing himselfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents:) Hee was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murdered by his Cosen Germane and vassall, Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry the Fourth.

This King, whose Title was weake, & his obtaining the Crowne traiterous: who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, protesting to intend onely the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard himselfe; and brake faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom hee swore that the deposed King should liue. After that he had enioyed this Realme some few yeares, and in that time had bene set vpon on all sides by his Subiects, and neuer free from

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conspiracies & rebellions) he saw (if sootes immortall see & discern any things after the bodies death) his Grand-childe Henry the sixt, & his Son the Prince, suddenly & without mercy, murdered; the possession of the Crowne (for which hee had caused so much blood to be poured out) transferred from his race, & by the Issues of his enemies worn & enioy'd enemies, whom by his own practice he supposed that he had left no lesse power-lesse, than the succession of the Kingdom questionlesse, by entailing the same upon his owne Issues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane reason could haue iudged no otherwise, but that these cautious provisions of the father, seconded by the valour & signall victories of his son Henry the sixt, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, & under the despaire of all reconquest and recovery. I say, that humane reason might so haue iudged: were not this passage of Calaubon also true; Dies, hora, momentum, euentendis dominationibus sufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundata; A day, an houre, a moment, is enough to ouerturne the things, that seemed to haue beene founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henry the sixt, vpon whom the great storm of his Grand-fathers grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done vpon Richard the Grand-childe of Edward: although he was generally esteemed for a gentle & innocent Prince, yet as he refused the daughter of Armagnac, of the House of Nauarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom he was affianced (by which match hee might haue defended his inheritance in France) & married the daughter of Aniou, (by which he lost all that he had in France) so in condescending to the unworthy death of his Vncle of Gloucester, the maine and strong Pillar of the house of Lancaster, He drew on himselfe & this kingdom the greatest ioynt-losse & dishonour, that euer it sustained since the Norman conquest. Of whom it may truly be said which a Counsellor of his own spake of Henry the third of France, Qu'il estoit vne fort gẽtile Prince, mais son reigne est adueni en vne fort mauuois temps: That hee was a very gentle Prince; but his reigne happened in a verie vnfortunate season.

It is true that Buckingham & Suffolke were the practisers and contriuers of the Dukes death: Buckingham & Suffolke, because the Duke gaue instructions to their authority, which otherwise vnder the Queene had been absolute; the Queene in respect of her personall wound, spretaque iniuria formæ, because Gloucester dissuaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed; the success to the Counsaile. For after the cutting downe of Gloucester, Yorke grew up so fast, as he dared to dispute his right both by arguments & armes; in which quarrell, Suffolke and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down Yorke: yet his son the Earle of March, following the plaine path which his Father had troden out, despoiled Henry the Father, and Edward the son, both of their lines and Kingdome. And what was the end now of that politique Lady the Queene, other than this, That she liued to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: that she liued to looke on, while her Husband the King, & her onely son the Prince, were bewen in sunder; while the Crowne was set on his head that did it? Shee liued to see her selfe despoiled of her Estate; and of her moueables: and lastly, her father, by rendering up to the Crowne of France the Earledome of Prouence and other places, for the payment of fifty thousand crownes for her Ransome, to become

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come a starke Beggar. And this was the end of that subtilty, which Sitacides calleth fine, but vnrighteous: for other fruit hath it neuer yeelded since the world was. Sirach. 19

And now it came to Edward the fourths turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the plants of Lancaster were rooted vpon one only Earle of Richmond excepted; whom also he had once bought of the Duke of Brittain, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward such a Plantation, as could any way promise it selfe stability. For this Edward the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the slaughter which Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his owne presence: of which tragickall Actours, there was not one that escaped the iudgement of GOD in the same kinde. And He, which (besides the execution of his brother Clarence, for none other offence than he himselfe had formed in his own imagination) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry the sixt, his Predecessour; taught him also by the same Art to kill his owne sons and successours; Edward and Richard. For those Kings which haue sold the blood of others at a low rate; haue but made the market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

To Edward the Fourth succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Master in mischief of all that fore-went him: who although, for the necessity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne person, than all the rest; yet he so well fitted every affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his owne interest. For he wrought so cunningly vpon the affections of Hastings and Buckingham, enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred; as he easily allured them to condescend, that Riuers and Grey, the Kings Maternal Vncle and halfe brother, should (for the first) be seuered from him: secondly, hee wrought their consent to haue them imprisoned: and lastly (for the avoiding of future inconuenience) to haue their heads seuered from their bodies. And hauing now brought those his chiefe instruments to exercise that common precept, which the Deuill hath written on euery post, namely, To depresse those whom they had grieved, and to destroy those whom they had deprest; Hee urged that argument so far and so forcibly; as nothing but the death of the yongue king himselfe, & of his brother, could fashion the conclusion. For hee caused it to be hammered into Buckingham's head, That, whensoever the King or his Brother, should haue able yeeres to exercise their power; they would take a most seuerer reuenge of that curelesse wrong, offered to their Vncle and Brother, Riuers and Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Masters Sonnes was without suspect: and yet the Diuell, who neuer dissuades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so he did. But when he found by Catesby who sounded him, that he was not fordable; He first resolved to kill him sitting in counsell: wherein hauing failed with his sword; Hee set the Hangman vpon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could moue his appetite, He caused his head to be stricken off, before hee eate his dinner. A greater iudgement of God, than this vpon Hastings I haue neuer obserued in any storie. For the selfe same day that the Earle Riuers, Grey, and others, were (without triall of Law, or offence giuen) by Hastings aduice executed at Pomfret. I say Hastings himselfe in the same day, & (as I take it) in the same houre; in the same law-lesse manner, had his head stricken off in the Tower of London.

But

Seclera scel-
ribus ruenda.
Sen de Clem.

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But Buckingham liued a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perswaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their king. And having received the Earldome of Hereford for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings only sonne, after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and deliuered vp by his trustiest seruant; Hee had his head seuered from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what successe had Richard himselfe after all these mischiefs & murders, policies, and counter-policies to Christian religion? after such time as with a most mercilesse hand he had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Naturall Lords, other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it tooke end ere himselfe could well looke ouer and discerne it & the great out-cry of innocent blood, obtained at G O D S hands: the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame & dishonour, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruell King, Henry the 7. cut off; & was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of Gods iustice. A politick Prince he was if euer there were any, who by the engine of his wisdom, beate downe & ouerturned as many strong oppositions both before & after he wore the Crowne, as euer King of England did: I say by his wisdom, because as he euer left the reins of his affectiōs in the hands of his profit, so he alwaies weighed his vndertakings by his abilities, leauing nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well obserued the proceedings of Loys the 11. whom he followed in all that was royall or royall-like, but he was far more iust, & begun not their processses whom he hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

He could neuer endure any mediation in rewarding his seruants, & therein exceeding wise; for whatsoever himselfe gaue, he himselfe receiued back the thanks & the loue, knowing it wel that the affectiōs of men (purchased by nothing so readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great kings, than great subiects. On the contrary, in whatsoever he grieved his subiects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit ministers for such actions. Howsoever the taking off of Stanleys head, who set the Crown on his, & the death of the yongue Earle of Warwick, son to George D. of Clarence, shews, as the successe also did, that he held somewhat of the errors of his Ancesters; for his possession in the first line ended in his grand-children, as that of Edward the Third and Henry the Fourth had done.

Now for King Henry the eight: if all the pictures and patternes of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the story of this King. For how many seruants did he aduance in hast (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more desert gaue he abundant flowers from whence to gather hony, and in the end of Haruest burnt them in the Hue? How many wiues did he cut off, & cast off, as his fancy & affection chaged? How many Princes of the blood (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawl towards the blocke) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles haue kept the accompt) did hee execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when hee was at the point to haue giuen his accompt to G O D for the abundance of blood already spilt; He imprisoned the Duke of Norfolk the Father, & executed the Earle of Surrey the son; the one, whose desertings he knew not how to value, hauing neuer omitted any thing that concerned his own honour,

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nor, & the kings seruants, the other neuer hauing committed any thing worthy of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and aduised, the other no lesse valiant than learned, & of excellent hope. But besides the sorrowes which he heaped vpon the Fatherlesse & Widowes at home, and besides the vaine enterprises abroad, wherein it is thought that he consumed more treasure, than all our victorious Kings did in their severall Conquests: what causelesse and cruell wars did he make vpon his own Nephew King Iames the first? What Lawes & Wills did he deuise to establish this Kingdome in his owne issues? & using his sharpest weapons to cut off, and cut downe those branches, which sprang from the same root that himselfe did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious prouisions) it pleased God to take away all his owne, without increase, though, for themselves in their severall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For these words of Samuel to Agag King of the Amalikites, haue beene verified vpon many others: As thy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women. And that blood which the same King Henry affirmed, that the cold aire of Scotland had frozen vpon the North, God hath diffused by the sunshine of his grace: from whence His Maiesty now lining, & long to line, is descended. Of whom I may say it truly, That if all the malice of the world were infused into one eie: yet could it not discerne in his life, euen to this day, any one of those fule spots, by which the consciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) haue bin defiled; nor any droppe of that innocent blood on the sword of his iustice, with which the most that fore-went him, haue stained both their hands and fame. And for this Crowne of England; it may truly be auowed: That he hath receiued it euen from the hand of God, and hath staid the time of putting it on, howsoever he were provoked to hasten it: That he neuer tooke reuenge of any man, that sought to put him beside it: That he refused the assistance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as euer Prince did: That his Maiesty entred not by a breach, nor by blood; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right set open, and into which, by a generall loue and obedience, He was receiued. And howsoever His Maiesties preceding title to this Kingdome, was perferred by many Princes (witnesse the Treaty at Cambray in the yeare, 1559) yet he neuer pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady his Predecessor; no, notwithstanding the iniury of not being declared Heire in all the time of Her long raigne.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulness to G O D for the uniting of the Northern parts of Brittain to the South, to wit, of Scotland to England, which though they were seuered but by small brookes and bankes, yet by reason of the long continued warre, and the cruelties exercised vpon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely seuered. This I say is not the least of Gods blessings which His Maiesty hath brought with him vnto this Land: No, put all our petty grieuances together, & heap them vp to their hight, they will appeare but as a Mote-hill compared with the Mountaine of this concord. And if all the Historians since then haue acknowledged the uniting of the Red-Rose, and the White, for the greatest happinesse; (Christian Religion excepted) that euer this Kingdome receiued from G O D, certainly the peace betwene the two Lions of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our British blood, heretofore and during the difference, so often & abundantly shed; the state of England is more assured, the Kingdome more enabled

inabled to recover her ancient honour and rights, and by it made more inuincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies & conquests. It is true that hereof we do not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the year 1588, ioyned the army which he commanded, with that of Spaine, and landed it on the south coast; & had his Maieſty at the same time declared himselfe against vs in the north: it is easie to diuine what had become of the liberty of England, certainly we would then without murmur haue brought this vniion a farre greater praise than it hath since cost vs. It is true, that there was neuer any Comon weale or Kingdom in the world, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings liue in the world & not aboute it. They are not infinit to examine euery mans cause, or to relieue euery mans wants, And yet in the latter, (though to his owne preiudice) His Maieſtie hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his own Coffers. Of whom it may be said as of Salomon, Dedit Deus Salomoni latitudinem cordis: Which if other men do not vnderstand with Pineda, to be meant by Liberality, but by Latitudo of knowledge; yet may it be better spoken of His Maieſty, than of anie King that euer England had; who as well in diuine, as humane vnderstanding, hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

Plin. comment.
1. gal. 1. K. 4.

I could say much more of the Kings Maieſty, without flatterie: did I not feare the imputation of presumption, & withall suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine, (though the losse were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen Elizabeth, made by vnskilfull and common Painters, which by her owne commandement were knockt in peeces and cast into the fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the beautie of the externall, and weake writers, in describing the vertues of the internall; doe often leaue to posterity, of well formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most Perſect and Princely mindes, a most defectiue representation. It may suffice, and there needes no other discourse; if the honest Reader but compare the cruell & turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom for that purpose I haue inserted this brieſe discourse) with His Maieſties temperate, reuengelesse, and liberal disposition: I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them iuſtly, and with an euen hand: and withall but bestow euery deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man that hath so iuſt cause to complaine, as the King himselfe hath. Now as we haue told the successe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great personages: so we finde, that G O D is euery where the same G O D. And as it pleased him to punish the vsurpation, & vnnatural cruelty of Henry the first, & of our third Edward, in their Children for many generations: so dealt He with the sons of Loyes Debonaire, the son of Charles the great, or Charlemaine. For after such time as Debonaire of France, had torne out the eies of Bernard his Nephew, the son of Pepin the eldest sonne of Charlemaine, & heire of the Empire, & then caused him to die in prison, as did our Henry to Robert his eldest brother: there followed nothing but murders vpon murders, poisoning, imprisonments, & ciuill war; till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguiſhed. And though Debonaire, after he had rid himselfe of his Nephew by a violent death, & of his bastard brothers by a ciuill death (hauing inclosed them with sure guard, al the daies of their liues, within a Monastery) held himselfe secure from all opposition: yet God raised vp against him (which he suspected not) his own sons, to vex him, to inuade him, to take him prisoner, & to depose him; his owne sons, with whom (to satisfie their ambition) he

he had shared his estate, and giuen them Crownes to weare; and Kingdomes to gouerne, during his owne life. Yea his eldest son Lothaire (for he had foure, three by his first wife, & one by his second; to wit, Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, and Charles) made it the cause of his deposition, That he had vsed violence towards his brothers and kinsmen; and that he had suffered his Nephew (whom he might haue deliuered) to be slaine, eo quod, saith the Text, fratribus, & propinquis violentiam intuleris, et nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interfici permisit. Because he used violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, & suffered his Nephew to be slaine whom he might haue deliuered.

Step. Pasquier
recherch. 5. c. 11.

Yet did he that which few Kings doe, namely repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things, which he performed in the Generall Assembly of the States, it follows: Post hæc autem palam se errasse confessus, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodosii exemplum, poenitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat. After this hee did openly confesse himselfe to haue erred, and following the example of the Emperour Theodosius, hee vnderwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done against Bernard his owne Nephew.

Pasq. Ibidem.

This he did; and it was praise-worthy. But the blood that is vniuſtly spilt, is not againe gathered vp from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, haue but dead rewards.

This King, as I haue said, had foure Sonnes. To Lothaire his eldest he gaue the Kingdome of Italy; as Charlemaine, his father, had done to Pepin the father of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To Pepin the second son he gaue the Kingdome of Aquitaine: to Loys, the Kingdome of Bauier: and to Charles, whom he had by a second wife called Iudith, the remainder of the Kingdome of France. But this second wife, being a Mother-in-law to the rest, perswaded Debonaire to cast his son Pepin out of Aquitaine; therby to greaten Charles; which, after the death of his sonne Pepin, he prosecuted to effect, against his Grand-child bearing the same name. In the meane while, being inuaded by his son Loys of Bauier, he dies for griefe.

Debonaire dead, Loys of Bauier, & Charles afterwards called the bald, & their Nephew Pepin of Aquitaine, ioine in league against the Emperour Lothaire their eldest brother. They fight neere to Auxerre the most bloody battaile that euer was stroken in France: in which, the marueilous losse of Nobility, & men of war, gaue courage to the Saracens to inuade Italy; to the Hunnes to fall vpon Almaine, & the Danes to enter vpon Normandy. Charles the bald by treason seizeth vpon his Nephew Pepin, kills him in a Cloyſter: Carloman rebels against his Father Charles the bald, the Father burns out the eies of his Son Carloman; Bauier inuades the Emperour Lothaire his brother, Lothaire quits the Empire; Hee is assailed and wounded to the heart by his owne conscience, for his rebellion against his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monastery. Charles the bald, the Vncle oppresseth his Nephewes the Sonnes of Lothaire, hee vsurpeth the Empire to the preiudice of Loys of Bauier his elder Brother; Bauiers armies and his Sonne Carloman are beaten, hee dies of griefe, & the vsurper Charles is poisoned by Zedechias a Iew his Physitian, his Son Loys le Beque dies of the same drinke. Beque had Charles the simple and

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and two Bastards, Loys and Carloman; they rebell against their Brother, but the eldest breakes his Neck, the younger is slain by a wild Bore; the son of Bauiero had the same ill destiny, and brake his Neck by a fall out of a Window in sport with his companions. Charles the grosse becomes Lord of all that the sonnes of Debonaire held in Germanie, wherewith not contented, he inuades Charles the simple: but being forsaken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his understanding, he dies a distracted beggar. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes Maior of the Pallace, then by Robert the Brother of Eudes: and lastly, being taken by the Earle of Vermandois, hee is forced to dye in the prison of Peron. Loys the sonne of Charles the simple breakes his Neck in chasing a Wolfe, and of the two sonnes of this Loys, the one dies of poyson, the other dies in the prison of Orleans, after whom Hugh Capet, of another race, and a stranger to the French, makes himselfe King.

These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire, who after he had once appalled iniustice with authority, his sonnes and successors tooke up the fashion, and wore that Garment so long without other prouision, as when the same was torne from their shoulders, euery man despised them as miserable & naked beggars. The wretched success^e they had, (saith a learned French-man) shewes, que en ceste mort il y a voit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la iustice: that in the death of that Prince, to wit, of Bernard the son of Pepin, the true heire of Charlemaine, men had more meddling than either God, or Iustice had.

But to come neerer home, it is certaine that Francis the first, One of the worthiest Kings (except for that fact) that euer the French-men had, did neuer enioy himselfe; after he had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol & Cabriere, to the Parliament of Prouence, which poore people were thereupon burnt and murdered; men, women, and children. It is true that the said King Francis repented himselfe of the fact, and gaue charge to Henry his sonne, to doe iustice vpon the Murderers, threatening his sonne with GODS iudgements, if he neglected it. But this vnreasonable care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry himselfe was slaine in sport by Montgomery, wee all may remember what became of his foure sonnes, Francis, Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And notwithstanding their subtilty, and breach of faith, with all their Massacres vpon those of the religion, and great effusion of blood, the Crowne was set on his head, whom they all laboured to dissolue; the Protestants remaine more in number than euer they were, and hold to this day more strong cities than euer they had.

Let vs now see if God be not the same God in Spaine, as in England & France. Towards whom wee will looke no further backe than to Don Pedro of Castile: in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicil, our Richard the third, and the great Euan Vasilowick of Moscouia, were but petty ones: this Castilian, of all Christian and Heathen Kings, hauing bene the most mercilesse. For, besides those of his own Bloud and Nobility, which he caused to be slaine in his owne Court & Chamber, as Sancho Ruis, the great Master of Calatraua, Ruis Gonsales, Alphonso Tello, and Don Iohn of Arragon, whom hee cut in peeces and cast into the streets, denying him Christian buriall: I say, besides these, and the slaughter of

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of Gomes Manriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, and the great Commander of Castile; He made away the two Infantes of Arragon his Cousin-germans, his brother Don Frederick, Don Iohn de la Cerda, Albuquerque, Nugnes de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Gutierrez his great Treasurers, and all his Kindred; & a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent Princes: whom after he had kept in close prison from their Cradles; till one of them had liued sixteene yeeres, and the other foureteent; he murdered them there. Nay, he shared not his Mother, nor his wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Lastly, as he caused the Archbishop of Toledo, & the Dean to be killed of purpose to enioy their treasures: so did he put to death Mahomet Aben Alhamar King of Barbary, with 37. of his Nobility; that came vnto him for succour, with a great summe of money, to tenn (by his fauour) some companies of souldiers to returne withall. Then, he would needes assist the Hangman with his owne hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope Viban declared him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Hauing bene formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-established by the valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster: He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earle of Astramara, who dispossessed all his Children of their inheritance, which, but for the Fathers iniustice and cruelty, had neuer bene in danger of any such thing.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it must be Duke Iohn of Burgoigne, who, after his traiterous murder of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancellor of France, the Bishops of Costance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reuerend Church-men, the Earle of gran Pré, Hector of Chartres, and (in effect) all the officers of iustice, of the Chamber of Accounts, Treasury, and Request, (with sixteene hundred others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slaine. Hereby, while he hoped to gouerne, and to haue mastered France: He was soone after stricken with an axe in the face, in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slaine. These were the Louers of other mens miseries: and misery found them out.

Now for the Kings of Spaine, which liued both with Henry the seventh, Henry the eight, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon was the first: and the first that laid the foundation of the present Austrian greatness. For this King did not content himselfe to hold Arragon by the usurpation of his Ancestor, & to fasten thereunto the Kingdome of Castile and Leon, which Isabel his wife held by strong band, and his assistance, from her owne Neece the Daughter of the last Henry: but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, Hee also cast his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of Nauarre, and, contrary to faith, and the promise that he made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no means left for any army to inuade it. This King, I say, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick Kings of Naples, Princes of his owne bloud, and by double alliance tyed vnto him; sold them to the French: and with the same Army, sent for their succour vnder Gonsaluo, cast them out, and shared their Kingdome with the French, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wise and politique King, who sold Heauen and his owne Honour, to make

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his sonne, the Prince of Spaine, the greatest Monarch of the world: saw him die in the flower of his yeares; and his wife great with childe; with her vntimely birth, at once & together buried. His eldest daughter married vnto Don Alphoso Prince of Portugall, be held her first husband breake his necke in her presence; and being with childe by her second, died with it. A iust iudgement of God vpon the race of Iohn, father to Alphonso, now wholly extinguished: who had not onely left many disconsolate Mothers in Portugall, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly slaine with his owne hand, the sonne and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Dutchesse of Viseo. The second Daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-Duke Philip, turned foole, and died mad and deprived. His third daughter, bestowed on King Henry the eight, He saw cast off by the King: the mother of many troubles in England; & the mother of a daughter, that in her unhappy zeale shed a world of innocent blood; lost Calice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude: all those Kingdomes of Ferdinand haue masters of a new name; and by a strange family are gouerned and possesst.

Charles the first son to the Arch-Duke Philip, in whose vain enterprises vpon the French, vpon the Almans, & other Princes and States, so many multitudes of Christian souldiers, and renowned Captaines, were consumed: who gaue the while a most perillous entrance to the Turkes, and suffered Rhodes the Key of Christendom, to be taken; was in conclusion chased out of France, and in a sort out of Germany; and left to the French, Mentz, Toul, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire, stole away from Insprug; and scaled the Alpes by torch-light, pursued by Duke Maurice, hauing hoped to swallow vp all those dominions wherein hee concocted nothing saue his owne disgraces. And hauing, after the slaughter of so many Millions of men, no one foote of ground in eyther: Hee crept into a Cloyster, and made himselfe a Pensioner of an hundred thousand Duckets by the yeare to his sonne Philip, from whom he very slowly receiued his meane and ordinary maintenance.

His Son againe King Philip the second, not satisfied to hold Holland and Zealand, (wrested by his ancestors from Iaqueline their lawfull Princeesse) & to possesse in peace many other Prouinces of the Netherlands: perswaded by that mischieuous Cardinall of Granuile, and other Romish Tyrants; not onely forgot the most remarkable seruices, done to his Father the Emperour, by the Nobilitie of those countries; not onely forgot the Present made him vpon his entry, of forty millions of Florens, called the Nouale aide; nor onely forgot that hee had twice most solemnly sworne to the Generall States, to maintaine and preserve their ancient rights, priuiledges, and customes, which they had enioyed vnder their thirtie and fise Earles before him; Conditionall Princes of those Prouinces: but beginning first to constrainne them, and enthrall them by the Spanish Inquisition, and then to impouerish them by many new deuised and intolerable impositions; he lastly, by strong hand and maine force, attempted to make himselfe not onely an absolute Monarch ouer them, like vnto the Kings and Soueraignes of England and France; but Turke-like, to tread vnder his feet all their Nationall and fundamentall Lawes, Priuiledges, and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtained from the Pope a Dispensation of his former Oathes (which Dispensation was the true cause of the war & bloodshed since then;) & after he had tried what he could performe, by diuiding of their owne Nobility, vnder the govern-

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ment of his base sister, Margaret of Austria, & the Cardinall Granuile; He employed that most merciles Spaniard Don Ferdinand Aluarez of Toledo, Duke of Alua; followed with a powerfull army of strange Nations: by whom hee first slaughtered that renowned Captaine the Earle of Egmont, Prince of Gauiare: & Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn: made away Montigue, & the Marquis of Bergues, & cut off in those sixe yeares (that Alua gouerned) of Gentlemen & others, eightene thousand & sixe hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbarous murders & massacres. By whose ministry when he could not yet bring his affaires to their wished ends, hauing it in his hope to worke that by subtilty, which he had failed to performe by force: He sent for Gouernour his bastard brother, Don Iohn of Austria; a Prince of great hope, & very gracions to those people. But he, vsing the same Papall aduantage that his predecessors had done, made no scruple to take Oath vpon the Holy Euangelists, to obstrue the treaty made with the Generall States; & to discharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, & other strangers, therin garrisoned; Towards whose Pay & Passport, the Netherlands strained themselves to make payment of 600. thousand pounds. Which monies receiued, He suddenly surprised the Citadells of Antwerp & Ne-mures: not doubting (being unsuspected by the States) to haue possesst himselfe of all the maistring places of those Prouinces. For whatsoeuer he ouertly pretended, Hee held in secret a contrary counsell with the Secretary Escouedo, Rhodius, Barlemont, & others, Ministers of the Spanish tyranny; formerly practised, & now againe intended. But let vs now see the effect & end of this periury, & of all other the Dukes cruelties. First, for himselfe; after he had murdered so many of the Nobility; executed (as aforesaid) eighteen thousand six hundred in six yeeres; & most cruelly slaine Man, Woman, and Childe, in Mecklin, Zutphen, Naerden and other places: and after he had consumed six and thirty millions of treasure in six yeares: notwithstanding his Spanish want, That he would suffocate the Hollanders in their owne butter-barrells, and milk-tubbes: Hee departed the country no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse & detestation of the whole Nation; leauing his Masters affaires in a tenfold worse estate, than hee found them at his first arriual. For Don Iohn, whose haughty conceit of himselfe overcame the greatest difficulties; though his iudgement were ouer-weake to mannage the least: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers iealousie and distrust, with the vntimely death that seized him, euen in the flower of his youth? And for Escouedo his sharpe-witted Secretarie; who in his owne imagination had conquered for his Master both England & the Netherlands; being sent into Spaine vpon some new proiect, He was at the first arriual, & before any accesse to the King, by certaine Russians appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his own lodging. Lastly, if we consider the King of Spaines carriage, his counsaile & successe in this businesse; there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkeable. For he hath paid aboue an hundred Millions, & the liues of aboue foure hundred thousand Christians, for the losse of all those countries; which, for beauty, gaue place to none; & for reuennue, did equall his West Indies: for the losse of a nation which most willingly obeyed him; & who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in despayght of all his forces become a free Estate, & far more rich and powerfull, than they were, when he first began to impouerish and oppresse them.

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Oh by what plots, by what forswearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poysonings, and vnder what reasons of State, and politique subtlety, haue these forenamed Kings, both strangers, and of our owne Nation; pulled the vengeance of G O D vpon themselves, vpon theirs, and vpon their prudent ministers! and in the end haue brought those things to passe for their enemies, and seene an effect so directly contrary to all their owne counsailes and cruelties, as the one could neuer haue hoped for themselves, and the other neuer haue succeeded; if vsuch opposition had euer been made. G O D hath said it and performed it euer: *Perdā sapientiam sapientum*, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eyes of the liuing, the fall and fortunes of the dead: seeing the world is the same that it hath bin; or the children of the present time, will still obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times wee haue, wee hold all things lawfull: and either we hope to hold them for euer; or at least wee hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our selues; or perswade our selues, that G O D hath giuen vs letters patents to pursue all our irreligious affections, with a non obstante: so we neither looke behind vs what hath been, nor before vs what shall be. It is true, that the quantity which we haue, is of the body: wee are by it ioyned to the earth: we are compounded of earth; and we inhabite it. The Heauens are high, farre off, and vnsearchable: we haue sense and feeling of corporall things; and of eternall grace, but by reuelation. No maruaile then that our thoughts are also earthy: and it is lesse to be wondred at, that the words of worthlesse men cannot cleanse them: seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose vnderstanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabite, haue not performed it. For as the Prophet Esay cryed out long agoe, Lord, who hath beleueed our reports? And out of doubt, as Esay complained then for himselfe and others: so are they lesse beleueed, euery day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in euery mans mouth, yea, in the discourse of euery woman, who for the greatest number are but Idols of vanity: what is it other than an vniuersall dissimulation? We professe that we know G O D: but by workes we deny him. For Beatitudo doth not consist in the knowledge of diuine things, but in a diuine life: for the Diuells know them better than men. *Beatitudo non est diuinorum cognitio*, sed *vita diuina*. And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to bee lamented, than the priuate contention, the passionate dispute, the personall hatred, and the perpetuall war, massacres, and murders, for Religion among Christians: the discourse whereof hath so occupied the World, as it hath well nere driuen the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not soone resolute, that tooke knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their liues which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heauen; and that the World it selfe were but vsed as it ought, and as an Inne or place, wherein to repose our selues in passing on towards our celestiaall habitation? when on the contrary, besides the discourse and outward profession, the soule hath nothing but hypocrisie. We are all (in effect) become Comedians in religion: and while wee act in gesture and voyce, diuine vertues, in all the course of our liues we renounce our Persons, and the parts wee play. For Charity, Iustice, and Truth, haue

Paul to Titus
Ch. 1. 16. 10.

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haue but their being in termes, like the Philosophers *Materia prima*.

Neither is it that wisdom, which Salomon defineth to be the Schoole-Mistresse of the knowledge of God; that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we giue it our good word: but the same which is ~~also~~ exercised in the service of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchase and obtaine honour, with the many respects which attend it. These indeed be the markes, which (when we haue bent our consciences to the highest) we all shoote at. For the obtaining whereof it is true; that the care is our owne; the care our owne in this life, the peril our owne in the future: and yet when we haue gathered the greatest abundance, we our selues enioy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest, He that had the greatest wisdom, and the greatest ability that euer man had, hath told vs that this is the vse: When goods increase (saith Salomon) they also increase that eate them; and what good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? As for those that denioure the rest, and follow vs in faire weather: they againe forsake vs in the first tempest of misfortune, and steere away before the Sea and Winde; leaving vs to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples, I will take but one out of Master Danner, and vse his owne words: While the Emperour Charles the fifth, after the resignation of his Estates, staid at Vloshing for winde, to carry him his last iourney into Spaine; Hee conferred on a time with Seldius, his brother Ferdinands Embassadour, till the deepe of the night. And when Seldius should depart: the Emperour calling for some of his seruants, and no body answering him (for those that attended vpon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest asleepe) the Emperour tooke vp the candle himselfe, and went before Seldius to light him downe the staires; & so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that Seldius could make. And when He was come to the staires foote, Hee said thus vnto him: Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperour, when he shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast knowne in thy time enuironed with so many mighty Armies, and Guards of souldiers, thou hast also seene alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea euen of his owne domesticall seruants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of G O D, which I will by no meanes goe about to withstand.

But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the reuerend respect that is held of great men, and the Honour done vnto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward loue for their iustice and piety, accompany the outward worship giuen to their places and power; without which what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the out-cry of an Heard of Animals, who without the knowledge of any true cause, please themselves with the noyse they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) haue euer been applauded; the most vertuous (if vnprosperous) haue euer been despised. For as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune herselfe rides the Man. Who, when he is descended and on foote: the Man taken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base groom beates the one, and a bitter contempt spurnes at the other, with equall liberty.

Eccl. 1. 5. 10.

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Lat. de falsa
sup. 3. c. 29.

S. Aug. de cur.
p. om. 1.

Iob 1. 14. 21.

Psal. 39.

Eccle. 9. 5. & 12.

Isa. 63. 16.

The second, is the greatning of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leaue behinde vs. Certainly, of those which conceiue that their soules departed take any comfort therein, it may be truly said of them, which Lactantius spake of certaine Heathen Philosophers, quod sapientes sunt in re stulta. For when our spirits immortall shall be once separate from our mortall bodies, & disposed by GOD: there remaineth in them no other ioy of their posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace; nor any other sorrow for their pouerty, than there doth of shame in that, which beareth vpon a Beggars cottage. Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt viui, etiam eorum filii, quia animarum mortuorum rebus viuientium non intersunt: The dead, though holy, know nothing of the liuing, no, not of their owne children: for the soules of those departed, are not conuersant with their affaires that remaine. And if wee doubt of Saint Augustine, wee cannot of Iob; who tells vs, That wee know not if our sonnes shall bee honourable: neither shall wee vnderstand concerning them, whether they shall bee of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also confirmeth: Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himselfe in vaine: hee heapeth vp riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The liuing (saith hee) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all: for who can shew vnto man, what shall be after him vnder the Sun? Hee therefore accompteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and trauaile in the world; not knowing after death, whether a foole or a wise man should enioy the fruits thereof: which made me (saith he) endeauour euen to abhorre mine owne labour. And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowfull states after death God hath reserued? mans knowledge lying but in his hope, seeing the Prophet Esay confesseth of the elect, That Abraham is ignorant of vs, and Israel knowes vs not. But hereof we are assured, that the long and darke night of death, (of whose following day wee shall neuer behold the dawne, till his returne that hath triumphed ouer it) shall couer vs ouer till the world be no more. After which, and when we shall againe receiue Organs glorified and incorruptible, the seats of Angelicall affections: in so great admiration shall the soules of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or lesse ioy; nor any returne of forgone & mortall affection towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whom whether we shall retaine any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them: no man can assure vs; & the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary, If a diuine life retaine any of those faculties, which the soule exercised in a mortall body; wee shall not at that time so diuide the ioyes of Heauen, as to cast any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remaine in the World. No, be their estates greater than euer the World gaue, we shall (by the difference knowne vnto vs) euen detest their consideration. And what soeuer comfort shall remaine of all forepast, the same will consist in the charity, which we exercised liuing: and in that Pietie, Iustice, and firme Faith, for which it pleased the infinite mercy of God to accept of vs, and receiue vs. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as vnnecessarie & vaine? Certainly no. For that infinite wisdom of God, which hath distinguished his Angells by degrees: which hath giuen greater and lesse light & beauty, to Heauenly bodies: which hath made differences betweene beasts and birds: created

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ed the Eagle and the Flye, the Cedar and the Shrub; and among stones, giuen the fairest tincture to the Ruby, and the quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magistrates, Iudges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posterity, for a marke and ensigne of the vertue and vnderstanding of their Ancestors: so, seeing Siracides preferreth Death before Beggary: and that titles, without proportionable estates, fall vnder the miserable succour of other mens pity; I accompt it foolishnesse to condemne such a care: Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raise not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For, as Plato doth first preferre the perfection of bodily health; secondly, the forme and beauty; and thirdly, Diuities nulla fraude quæritas: so Ieremy cries, Woe vnto them that erect their houses by vnrighteousnesse, and their chambers without equity: and Esay the same, Woe to those that spoile and were not spoiled. And it was out of the true wisdom of Salomon, that he commandeth vs, not to drinke the wine of violence, not to lie in wait for bloud, and not to swallow them vp aliue, whose riches we couet: for such are the wayes (saith hee) of euery one that is greedy of gaine.

Sirac. 40. v. 20

Plat. de leg. 1. 2.
6. & in Gorgo.

Ier. 22. 13.

Esay 33.

Prou. 1. 18. 12.
Prou 23. 1. 3.
8. 9. 25. 9. 8.

And if we could afford our selues but so much leifure as to consider, That hee which hath most in the world, hath in respect of the world, nothing in it: and that he which hath the longest time lent him to liue in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for euer: I say, if both, to wit, our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of vnderstanding, that we so much prize the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coueting those mortall things of the world, as if our soules were therein immortall, and neglecting those things which are immortall, as if our selues after the World were but mortall.

But let euery man value his owne wisdom, as he pleaseth. Let the Rich man thinke all fooles, that cannot equall his abundance; the Reuenger esteeme all negligent, that haue not trodden down their opposites; the Politician, all grosse that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet when we once come in sight of the Port of death, to which all windes drue vs, & when by letting fall that satall Anchor, which can neuer be weighed again, the Navigation of this life takes end. Then it is, I say, that our own cogitations (those sad & seuer cogitations, formerly beaten from vs by our Health and Felicity) returne againe, and pay vs to the vttermost for all the pleasing passages of our liues past. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our selues can no longer exercise cruelty to others: and it is onely then, that we are stricken through the soule with this terrible sentence, That God will not be mockt. For if according to S. Peter, The righteous scarcely be saued: and that God spared not his Angels: where shall those appeare, who, hauing serued their appetites all their liues, presume to think, that the seuer Commandements of the All-powerfull God were giuen but in sport, and that the short breath, which we draw when death presseth vs, if we can but fashion it to the sound of Mercy (without any kind of satisfaction or amends) is sufficient? O quam multi, saith a reuerend Father, cum hac spe ad æternos labores & bella descendunt! I confesse that it is a great comfort to our friends, to haue it said, that we ended wel: for we all de-

Gal. 6. 7.
1. Pet. 4.

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desire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But what shall we call a disesteeming, an apposing, or (indeed) a mocking of God; if those men doe not appose him, disesteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for God, to aske him forgiveness at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For what doe they otherwise, that die this kinde of wel-dying, but say vnto God as followeth: We beseech thee, O God; that all the falshoods, forswearings, and treacheries of our liues past, may be pleasing vnto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that haue had no leisure to doe any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a iust God; that thou wilt loue iniures and oppressions, call ambition wisdom, and charity foolishnesse. For I shall preiudice my sonne (which I am resolu'd not to doe) if I make restitution; and confesse my selfe to haue been vniust, (which I am too proud to do) if I deliuer the oppressed. Certainely, these wise worldlings haue either found out a new God; or made One: and in all likelihood such a Leaden One, as Lewis the eleuenth ware in his Cappe; which when he had caused any that he feared, or bated to be killed, he would take it from his head and kisse it: beseeching it to pardon him this one euill act more, and it should be the last; which (as at other times) he did, when by the practice of a Cardinall and a falsified Sacrament, he caused the Earle of Armagnac to be stabbed to death, mockeries indeed fit to be vsed towards a Leaden, but not towards the euermouing God. But of this composition are all deuout louers of the World, that they feare all that is durelesse and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practices of their opposites, and their very whisperings: they feare the opinions of men which beate but vpon shadowes; they flatter and forsake the prosperous and vnprosperous, be they friends or Kings: yea they diue vnder water like Duckes, at euery pebble stone, that's but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and Giantlike valour, against the terrible iudgements of the Al-powerfull God: yea they shew themselves gods against God, and slaues towards men; towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest: If we truly examine the difference of both conditions, to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poore & oppressed, whom we account wretched: we shall find the happinesse of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by God to the very instant, and both so subiect to interchange (witnesseth the sudden downefall of the greatest Princes, and the speedy vprising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certaine, whereof to boast; nor the other so vncertaine, whereof to bewaile it selfe. For there is no man so assured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of eyther or all, the very next houre or day to come. Quid vesper vehat, incertum est, What the euening will bring with it, it is vncertaine. And yet ye cannot tell (saith S. James) what shall be to morrow. To day he is set vp, and to morrow he shall not be found: for hee is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the aire which compasseth aduersity, be very obscure; yet therein we better discern God, than in that shining light which enuiro- neth worldly glory; through which, for the cleernesse thereof, there is no vanity which escapeth our sight. And let aduersity seem what it will, to happy men ridiculous, who make themselves merry at other mens misfortunes; and to those vnder the crosse, grienous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For be it that wee

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haue liued many yeares, and (according to Salomon) in them all wee haue reioyced; or be it that we haue measured the same length of dayes, and therein haue euermore sorrowed: yet looking backe from our present being; wee finde both the one and the other, to wit, the ioy and the woe, sayled out of sight; and death, which doth pursue vs & hold vs in chase, from our infancy, hath gathered it. Quicquid erat is retro est; mori tenet: Whatsoeuer of our age is past, death holds it. So as who soeuer hee bee, to whom Fortane hath beene a seruant, and the Time a friend: let him but take the accompt of his memory (for wee haue no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truly examine what it hath reserued by her of beauty and youth; or fore-gone delights; what it hath saved; that it might last, of his dearest affections; or of what euer else the amorous Spring time gaue his thoughts of contentment, then vnualluable; and hee shall finde that all the art which his elder yeares haue, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions; than heauy, secret, and sad sighes. He shall finde nothing remaining, but those for- rowes, which grow vp after our fast-springing youth; ouertake it, when it is at a stand; and ouer-top it vterly, when it begins to wither: in so much as looking back from the very instant time, & from our now being, the poore, diseased, & captiue creature, hath as little sense of all his former miseries and paines, as hee, that is most blest in common opinion, hath of his fore-passed pleasures and delights. For whatsoeuer is cast behinde vs, is iust nothing: and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it: Omnia quæ euentura sunt, in incerto iacent. Onely those few blacke Swannes must except: who hauing had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their owne price; doe, by retaining the comfortable memory of a wellasted life, behold death without dread, and the graue without feare; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endlesse glory.

For my selfe, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrowes of this life are but of two sorts: whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other, to the World. In the first we complaine to GOD against our selues, for our offences against him; and confesse, Et tu iustus es in omnibus quæ uenerunt super nos, And thou O Lord art iust in all that hath befallen vs. In the second wee complaine, to our selues against GOD: as if hee had done vs wrong, either in not giuing vs worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites: or for taking them againe from vs hauing had them; forgetting that humble & iust acknowledgment of Iob, the Lord hath giuen, & the Lord hath taken. To the first of which Saint Paul hath promised blessednesse; to the second, death. And out of doubt he is either a foole, or vngratefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how mean soeuer his estate be, that the same is yet far greater, than that which God oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how sharpe soeuer his afflictions be, that the same are yet far lesse, than those which are due vnto him. And if an Heathen wise man call the aduersities of the world but tributa uiuendi, the tributes of liuing: a wise Christian man ought to know them, & beare them; but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare them manlike, & resolutely; & not as those whining souldiers do, qui gementes sequuntur imperatorem.

For seeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for vs, & appointed vs all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their distribution, been partiall to the most mighty Princes of the world; That gaue vnto Darius the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most miserable beggar,

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a beggar begging water of an Enemy, to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Balazet to play the Grand Signior of the Turks in the morning, & in the same day, the Footstool of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had also plaid, being taken by Saporos:) that made Bellisarius play the most victorious Captaine, & lastly the part of a blinde beggar, of which examples many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but as the least wormes, complain of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolve, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the lesse. For when on the one and the other, every man wears but his own skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any man out of weaknes prize the passages of this world otherwise (for saith Petrarch, Magni ingenii est reuocate mentem a sensibus) it is by reason of that unhappy fantasie of ours, which forgeth in the braines of Man all the miseries (the corporall excepted) whereunto he is subiect. Therein it is, that Misfortune & Adversity work all that they worke. For seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatsoever Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a foolish madnesse in the shipwracke of worldly things, where all sinkes but the Sorrow, to saue it. That were, as Seneca saith, Fortunæ succumbere, quod tristius est omni fato, To fall vnder Fortune, of all other the most miserable destinie.

But it is now time to sound a retrait, and to desire to be excused of this long pursuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moued mee to draw the picture of time past (which we call History) in so large a Table, may also bee accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of diuine providence, euery where found (the first diuine Histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) haue perswaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so neere, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implieth the other: (Creation inferring Providence (for what father forsaketh the childe that he hath begotten?) and Providence presupposing Creation: yet many of those that haue seemed to excell in worldly wisdom, haue gone about to disioyne this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the world had a Beginning; the Aristotelian granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by faith we vnderstand, that the world was made by the word of God) be too weighty a worke for Aristotles rotten ground to beare vp, vpon which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the Defences and Fortresses of all his Verball Doctrine: Yet that the necessity of infinite power, and the worlds beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary euen in the iudgement of Naturall reason, wherein he beleueed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be maruailed at. And it is no lesse strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledge (seeing Aristotle hath failed in this maine point; and taught little other than termes in the rest) haue so retrencht their mindes from the following and ouertaking of truth, and so absolutely subiected themselues to the law of those Philosophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the search of causes, they haue condemned either for phantasticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of Heathen Philosophers, are vndoubted grounds and principles

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indeed; because so called? Or that ipse dixitum, doth make them to be such? Certainly no. But this is true, That no naturall reason hath built any thing so strong against it selfe, as the same reason can hardly assaile it, much lesse batter it downe: the same in euery question of Nature, and finite power, may be approued for a fundamentall law of humane knowledge. For saith Charron in his booke of *Charron de*
Sageffe. *Wisdomes.* Tout proposition humaine a autant d'autorite quel' autre, si la raison n'en fait la difference; Euery humane proposition hath equall authority, it reason make not the difference, the rest being but the fables of principles. But hereof how shall the vpright and vnpartiall iudgement of man giue a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to giue in euidence? And to this purpose it was well said of Lactantius, Sapientiam tibi adimunt, qui sine vllō iudicio inuenta maiorum probant, & ab aliis pocudum more *Lact. de ori-*
gen. l. 2. c. 8. ducuntur: They neglect their owne wisdom, who without any iudgement approue the inuention of those that fore-uent them; & suffer themselves after the manner of Beasts, to be led by them. By the aduantage of which such and dulle ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant: as it hath set true Philosophy, Physick, and Diuinity in a Pillory; and written ouer the first, Contranequantem Principia; ouer the second; Virtus specifica; and ouer the third, Ecclesia Romana.

But for my selfe, I shall neuer be perswaded, that God hath shut vp all light of Learning within the lanthorne of Aristotles braines: or that it was euer said vnto him, as vnto Esdras, Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intellectus: that God hath giuen inuention but to the Heathen; and that they onely inuaded Nature, and found the strength and bottome thereof; the same Nature hauing consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these and these be the causes of these and these effects; Time hath taught vs; and not reason: and so hath experience without Art. The Cheese-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that soure Rennet doth coagulate her milke into a curd. But if wee aske a reason of this cause, why the sowrenesse doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I thinke that there is nothing to bee found in vulgar Philosophy; to satisfie this and many other like vulgar questions. But man to couer his ignorance in the least things, who cannot giue a true reason for the Grasse vnder his feet, why it should be greene rather than red; or of any other colour; that could neuer yet discover the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are farre lesse noble creatures than himselfe; who is farre more Noble than the Heauens themselues: Man (saith Salomon) that can hardly discern the things that are vpon the *Salomon. 1. 9.* Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before vs; that hath so short a time in the world, as he no sooner begins to learne, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his vnderstanding, nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Essence of his owne soule, and which the wisest of the Naturalists (if Aristotle be he) could neuer so much as define, but by the Action & Effect, telling vs what it works (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither be nor any else, doth know, but GOD that created it; (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my soule, saith Iob.) Man, I say, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his owne life, and in the cause of all actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who (saith Iob) is so excellent as wee know him not; *Iob. 41.*
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and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before Mankind had a beginning of being. He willisable Gods power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather giue the moethes of the Aire for a cause, cast the work on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter; the other of the Forme; and lastly, for want of a worke-man; haue it Eternall; which latter opinion Aristotle to make himselfe the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectatours haue maintained it; parati ac coniurati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum animis inuictis opiniones tueri. For Hermes, who liued at once with, or soone after Moses, Zoroaster, Musæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melissus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others (whose opinions are exquisitely gathered by Steuchius Eugubinus) found in the necessity of inuincible reason, One eternall and infinite Being, to be the Parent of the vniuersall. Horum omnium sententia quamuis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, vt Prouidentiam vnam esse consentiant: siue enim Natura, siue Aether, siue Ratio, siue mens, siue fatalis necessitas, siue diuina Lex, idem esse quod a nobis dicitur Deus: All these mens opinions (saith Laëtantius) though vncertain, come to this; That they agree vpon one Prouidence, whether the same be Nature, or light, or Reason, or vnderstanding, or destinie, or diuine ordinance, that it is the same which we call G O D. Certainly, as all the Riuers in the world, though they haue diuers risings, and diuers runnings; though they sometimes hide themselves for a while vnder ground, & seeme to be lost in Sea-like Lakes; doe at last finde, & fall into the great Ocean: so after all the searches that humane capacitie hath; & after all Philosophicall contemplation and curiosity; in the necessity of this infinite power, all the reason of man ends and dissolues it selfe.

As for others, and first touching those which conceiue the matter of the World to haue bene eternall, and that God did not create the World, ex nihilo, but ex materia præexistente: the Supposition is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith Eusebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere, They seeme vnto me, which affirme this, to giue part of the work to God, & part to Fortune: insomuch as if God had not found this first matter by chance, He had neither bene Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Vniuersall. For were the Matter or Chaos eternall: it then followes, That either this supposed Matter did fit it selfe to God, or God accommodate himselfe to the matter. For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Work-mans will. For the second; it were horrible to conceiue of God, That as an Artificer he applied himselfe, according to the proportion of matter which he lighted vpon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter hath bin made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wise: I would gladly learne how it came to passe, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent & infinitely wise; & no more, nor no lesse, than serued to receiue the forme of the Vniuersall. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as serued to finish the work of the World: Or had there bin more of this matter, than sufficed, then God did dissolue & annihilate whatsoeuer remained and was superfluous. And this must enery reasonable

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Euseb. de prep.
Evang. l. 4. c. 8.

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sonable soule confesse; That it is the same worke of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, And by the same art and power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternall matter, be againe changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to say that this matter was the cause of it selfe; this, of all other, were the greatest idiotisme. For, if it were the cause of it selfe at any time; then there was also a time when it selfe was not: at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceiue, that it could neither procure it selfe, nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible. Nihil autem seipsum præcedit; neq; seipsum componit corpus: There is nothing that doth precede it selfe, neither doe bodies compound themselves.

For the rest, Those that saie this matter to be eternall, must of necessity confesse, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternity. And then had infinite matter left no place for infinite forme, but that the first matter was finite, the forme which it receiued proues it. For conclusion of this part, who soeuer will make choice, rather to beleue in eternall deformity, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madness of that kind, as wanteth tearmes to expresse it. For what reason of *Man* (whom the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of shadow, quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) hath any thing wanting in it self, either for matter or form; yea for as many worlds (if such had bene Gods will) as the Sea hath sands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Yea Reason it self findes it more easie for infinite power, to deliuer from it selfe a finite world, without the helpe of matter prepared; than for a finite man; a foole and dust, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are Dionysius his words, Deus in vna existentia omnia præhabet: and againe, Esse omnium est ipsa Diuinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; to wit, causaliiter, or in better tearmes, non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa vniuersalis. Neither hath the world vniuersall closed vp all of G O D: For the most part of his workes (saith Siracides) are hid. Neither can the depth of his wisdom bee opened, by the glorious worke of the world: which neuer brought to knowledge, all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes; That wee seldome entitle G O D the all-seeing, or the all-willing; but the Almighty, that is, infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing nothing is made, inferre the Worlds eternity; and yet not so saluage therein, as those are, which giue an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word (nothing) be taken in the affirmative; and the making, imposed vpon Naturall Agents and finite power; That out of not being, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor Aristotle himselfe confesseth, quod omnes antiqui decreuerunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsumq; infinitum, That all the Ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to be infinite: and a little after, more largely and plainly, Principium eius est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omnia complexi ac regere: it is strange that this Philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of falshood, to conclude falsly; than out of truth, to resolve truly. For if we compare the world vniuersall, & all the

Cap. 16. v. 21.

Stenc. Eng. l. 3.
c. 9. ex Arist.
Phys. 3. 20.

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unmeasurable Orbes of Heauen, and those marueilous bodies of the Sun, Moone, and Stars, with ipsum Infinitum: it may truly be said of them all, which himself affirms of his imaginary Materia prima, That they are neither quid, quale, nor quantum; and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui destruit omnem proportionē) is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore Anaximander, Melissus, & Empedocles, call the world vniuersall, but particulam Vniuersitatis and infinitatis, a parcell of that which is the vniuersality and the infinity it self; & Plato, but a shadow of God. But the other, to proue the worlds eternity, vrgeth this Maxime, That, A sufficient & effectual cause being granted, an answerable effect therof is also granted: inferring that God being for euer a sufficient & effectual cause of the world, the effect of the cause should also haue bin for euer; to wit, the world vniuersall. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Master, to confesse a sufficient & effectual cause of the world, (to wit, an almighty God) in his Antecedent; & the same God to be a God restrained in his conclusion; to make God free in power, & bound in wil; able to effect, vnable to determine; able to make all things, and yet vnable to make choise of the time when? For this were impiously to resolue of God, as of natural necessity; which hath neither choise, nor will, nor vnderstanding; which cannot but worke matter being present: as fire, to burne things combustible. Again he thus disputeth, That euery Agent which can work, and doth not work: if it afterward worke, it is either thereto moued by it selfe, or by somewhat else: and so it passeth from power to Act. But God (saith he) is immoueable, and is neither moued by himselfe, nor by any other: but being alwaies the same, doth alwaies worke. Whence he concludeth, If the world were caused by God, that he was for euer the cause thereof: and therefore eternall. The answer to this is verie easie, For that Gods performing in due time that, which he euer determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancy in him. For the same action of his will, which made the world for euer, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it selfe sufficient: others adde further, that the Patterne or Image of the World may be said to be eternall: which the Platonicks call, *Spiritualem mundum*; and doe in this sort distinguish the *Idæa* and Creation in time. *Spiritalis ille mundus, mundi huius exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali est Architecto, fuit semper cum illo, eritque semper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedit iam ab opifice ex parte vna, quia non fuit semper: retinet alteram, quia sit semper futurus*: That representatiue, or the intentionall world (say they) the sampler of this visible world, the first worke of G O D, was equally ancient with the Architect: for it was for euer with him, and euer shall bee. This materiall world, the second worke or creature of G O D, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from eueralting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for euer to come. The first point, That it was not for euer, all Christians confesse: The other they vnderstand no otherwise, than that after the consumation of this world, there shalbe a new Heauen and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. But of these things we need not here stand to argue: though such opinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this consideration, of an eternall and vchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point Proclus the Platonist disputeth,

*Man. Ficin. de
vniuers. Anima
lib. 6. c. 1.*

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That the compounded essence of the World (and because compounded, therefore dissipable) is continued, & knit to the Divine Being by an individual & inseparable power, flowing from Divine unity; & that the Worlds naturall appetite of God sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a good and vnderstanding diuine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued & knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and eueraltingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (saith he) is not capable of, but receiueth it from the diuine infinite according to the temporall Nature it hath, successively euery moment by little & little; even as the whole Materiall World is not altogether: but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the same small degrees succeed, as the shadow of a tree in a River seemeth to haue continued the same a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continuall ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to returne to them, which denying that euer the World had any beginning, withall deny that euer it shall haue any end, & to this purpose affirme, That it was neuer heard, neuer read, neuer seene, no not by any reason perceiued, that the Heauens haue euer suffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the older by continuance; or in any sort otherwise than they were; which had they been subiect to finall corruption, some change would haue been discerned in so long a time. To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceiued, doth rather proue their newnesse, and that they haue not continued so long, than that they wil continue for euer as they are. And if coniecturall arguments may receive answer by coniectures: it then seemeth that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, and others, were grossely mistaken: or else those parts of the world, lying within the burnt Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Suns heate; neither were the Seas, vnder the Equinoctial, navigable. But wee know by experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, ouer which we Navigate, passable enough. We read also many Histories of deluges: and how that in the time of Phaeton, diuers places in the world were burnt up, by the Sunnes violent heate.

*Arist. Met. 2.
Phin. lib. 8.
Strab. l. 3.
Beda de ratione
tem. 11. c. 32.
Thomp. l. 1. q.
102. art. 2.*

But in a Word, this obseruation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, haue stood two, or three thousand yeares: that many things haue beene digged up out of the earth, of that depth, as supposed to haue beene buried by the generall floud; without any alteration either of substance or figure: yea it is belueued, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mines, and Rockes, vnder ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times haue not inuaded and corrupted: what great alteration should wee looke for in Cœlestiall and quintessentiall bodies? And yet we haue reason to thinke, that the Sunne, by whose help all Creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages assist Nature, as heretofore. We haue neither Giants, such as the eldest world had: nor mighty men, such as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of lesse vertue which from the Heauens receiue vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface, would permit a larger discourse, we might easily fetch store of proue; as that this world shall at length haue end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good answer that can bee made to this obiection: If the World

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were eternall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no first, no cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible wisdom, but that every Nature had beene alike eternall; and Man more rationall than every other Nature: Why had not the eternall reason of Man, provided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equall, why not equall conditions to all? Why should heauenly bodies liue for euer; and the bodies of Men rot and die?

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gaue Order that it should hang in the Aire: that the Sunne should trauaile betwene the Tropicks, and neuer exceed those bounds nor faile to performe that Progresse once in every yeare: the Moone to liue by borrowed light: the first Stars (according to common opinion) to bee fastned like Nails in the Heavens; and the Planets to wander at their pleasure? Or if none of these had power ouer other: was it out of Charity and Loue, that the Sunne by his perpetuall trauaile within those two Circles, hath visited, giuen light vnto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the Sunne haue of his owne accord kept this course in all eternity: He may iustly bee called eternall Charity, and euerslasting Loue. The same may be said of all the Stars: who being all of them most large and cleare fountaines of vertue and operation, may also bee called eternall vertues: the Earth may be called eternall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and beggar; and Man of all other the most miserable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleue againe in the old Play of the gods? Yea in more gods by Millions, than euer Hesiodus dreamt of. But in steed of this mad folly, we see it well enough with our feeble & mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reason discern it better; That the Sun, Moone, Stars, & the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselues they haue not constrained, nor could. Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinauerit, Every thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the schoole of Aristotle hath both commended many errors vnto vs, and sought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the gouerning of the World: so if the best definition be taken out of the second of Aristotles physicks, or primo de Cælo, or out of the first of his Metaphysicks; I say that the best is but nominall, and seruing onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion from Artificiall: which yet the Academicks open better, when they call it A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soule of the World: who giue the first place to Prouidence, the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. Prouidentia (by which they vnderstand GOD) dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex prouidentia prodiens; Natura postremum. But be it what he will, or be it any of these (God excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or vnderstanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hath a vowed. For this is vnanswerable of Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam, He onely can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truly exprest by Ficinus: Potest ubiq; Natura, vel per diuersa media, vel ex diuersis materiis, diuersa facere: sublata vero mediõrũ materialiumq; diuersitate, vel vniciũ, vel similitum

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linum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diuersity of meanes, or out of diuersity of matter, to produce diuers things: but taking away the diuersity of meanes, and the diuersity of matter, it then worketh but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter being present. Now if Nature made choice of diuersity of matter, to worke all these variable workes of Heauen and Earth, it had then both vnderstanding and will; it had counsaile to beginne, reason to dispose; conuertne and knowledge to finish, and power to gouerne: without which all things had been but one and the same: all of the matter of Heauen; or all of the matter of Earth. And if we graunt Nature this will, and this vnderstanding, this counsaile, reason, and power: Quid Natura potius quam Deus nominetur? Why should we then call such a cause rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men haue notion, and giue the first and highest place to diuine power: Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omnesq; summum locum diuino cuidam numini assignant. And this I say in short; that it is a true effect of true reason in man (were there no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most sublime power. Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere sunt, & semper eadem: True Philosophy, is an ascending from the things which flow, and arise, and fall, to the things that are for euer the same.

For the rest, I do also account it not the meaneest, but an impiety monstrous, to confound God and Nature: be it but in tearmes. For it is God, that only disposeth of all things according to his own will, & maketh of one Earth, Vessels of honor & dishonor. It is Nature that can dispose of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God that comandeth al: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God, that doth good vnto all, knowing and louing the good he doth: It is Nature, that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth nor loueth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himself: Nature, nothing in it self. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things, in which it liueth and laboureth; for by it selfe it existeth not. For shall we say, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heauie things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct euery Riuer into the salt Sea? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in these: by the same Affection, Reason, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore seeing all things worke as they do, (call it by Forme, or Nature, or by what you please) yet because they worke by an impulsio, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, infused by the supreme power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder: and to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, & such a faculty, as neither knowing it selfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; do yet worke all things to their last and uttermost perfection. And therefore every reasonable man, taking to himselfe for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that euer the world had; & wit; That there is a power infinite, and eternall (which also necessity doth proue vnto vs, without the helpe of Faith, and Reason; without the force of Authority) all things do as easily follow which haue bin deliuered by diuine letters, as the

Laſt. de ira Dei.
1.1.c.10.

Arist. 1. de
Culo. c. 3. T. 22.

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waters of a running riuer do successiue^{ly} pursue each other from the first fountaines.

1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
de vera sapientia.

Ilac de defin.

Quod est infinitum & non secundum naturam terminationis non contrahitur à scientia. Arist. poster.

This much I say it is, that Reason it selfe hath taught vs: and this is the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia præcedit, Religio sequitur: quia prius est Deum scire, consequens colere; Sapience goes before, Religion follows: because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapience Plato calleth absoluti boni scientiam, The science of the absolute good: and another scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum. For Faith (saith Isidore) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples perswaded: fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. I confesse it, That to enquire further, as of the essence of God, of his power, of his Art, & by what meane He created the world: Or of his secret iudgement, & the causes is not an effect of Reason: Sed cum ratione insaniunt, but they grow mad with reason, that inquire after it: For as it is no shame nor dishonour (saith a French Author) de faire arrest au but qu'on nasceu surpasser, For a man to rest himself there, where he finds it impossible to passe on further: so whatsoeuer is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, it acknowledgeth it to be so, as vnderstanding it self not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knowes the end of his own Art. For seeing both Reason & Necessity teach vs (Reason, which is pars diuini spiritus in corpus humanum meris) that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach vs: and seeing the same Reason and Necessity make vs know, that the same infinite power is euery where in the world; and yet how euery where, it cannot informe vs: our beleene hereof is not weakned, but greatly strengthened, by our ignorance, because it is the same Reason that tels vs, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by man.

I haue been already ouer-long, to make any large discourse either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse: especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the grossest, the vsuitable diuision of the bookes, I could not know how to excuse, had I not bene directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first part finished. All men know that there is no great Art in the diuiding euently of those things, which are subiect to number and measure. For the rest, it sutes well enough with a great many Bookes of this Age, which speake too much, and yet say little: Ipse nobis furto subducimur. We are stolen away from our selues, setting a high price on all that is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on mee, because I beleene as hee doth; that who so thinks himselfe the wisest man, is but a poore and miserable ignorant. Those that are the best men of war, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do alwaies keepe the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from themselves, from selfe loue, selfe estimation, and selfe opinion.

Generally concerning the order of the worke, I haue onely taken counsaile from the Argument. For of the Assyrians, which after the down-fall of Babel take vp the first part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of posterity: some few enterprises, greater in fame than faith, of Ninus and Semiramis excepted.

It was the story of the Hebrewes, of all before the Olimpiads, that ouercame the consuming disease of time; and preserved it selfe, from the very cradle and beginning

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ginning to this day: and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof (to which in many Scriptures we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up here & there in the same time, I am driuen to relate by way of digression: of which wee may say with Virgil:

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto;

They appeare here and there floating in the great gulf of time.

To the same first Ages doe belong the report of many Inuentions therein found, and from them deriued to vs; though most of the Authors Names haue perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Lawes; they had diuersity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobility, Pollicy in war; Navigation, and all, or the most of needfull Trades. To speak therefore of these (seeing in a generall History we should haue left a great deale of Nakednesse, by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is, that I haue made also many others: which if they shall be laid to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heape of humane error. For seeing we digresse in all the waies of our lines: yea, seeing the life of man is nothing else but digression; I may the better be excused, in writing their lines & actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of History, and of the Kindes.

The same hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater breuity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Lawes are also taught vs by the Prophets and Apostles; and euery day preacht vnto vs. But wee still make large digressions: yea, the teachers themselves doe not (in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.

For the rest, after such time as the Persians had wrested the Empire from the Chaldeans, and had raised a great Monarchy, producing Actions of more importance than were elsewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whilst it so flourished, that the affaires of the nations adioyning had reference thereunto. The like obseruance was to be vsed towards the fortunes of Greece, when they againe began to get ground vpon the Persians, as also towards the affairs of Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty than the Greeks.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations who resisted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement: it seemed best to remember what was known of them from their seuerall beginnings, in such times and places as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies, which in the end swallowed them vp. And herein I haue followed the best Geographers: who seldome giue names to those small brookes, whereof many, ioyned together, make great Ri- uers; till such time as they become vnited, and run in maine streame to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weak, & the stile not euery-where like it self; the first shews their legitimation and true Parent; the second will excuse it self vpon the Variety of Matter. For Virgil, who wrote his Eclogues, gracili auena, vsed stronger pipes, when he founded the wars of Æneas. It may also be laid to my charge, that I vse diuers Hebrew words in my first booke, and elsewhere: in which language others may thinke, and I my selfe acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that some of them I find in Montanus, others in latine Character in S. Senensis, and of the rest I haue borrowed the interpretation of some of my friends. But say I had bin beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondred at, having had

a cleuen yeares leasure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue; Howsoever, I know that it will be said by many, That I might haue been more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times, hauing been permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I answer, that whosoever in writing a moderne History, shall follow truth too neare the heeles, it may haply strike out his teeth. There is no Mistresse or Guide, that hath led her followers and seruants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight, and loseth himself: and he that walkes after her at a middle distance, I know not whether I should call that kinde of course, Temper or Basenesse. It is true, that I neuer traualled after mens opinions, when I might haue made the best use of them: and I haue now too few dayes remaining, to imitate those, that either out of extreame ambition, or extreame cowardise, or both, do yet (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world, between the bed and the graue. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times: wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and taxe the vices of those that are yet liuing, in their persons that are long since dead, and haue it laid to my charge? But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall find fault with mee for painting them ouer anew, they shall therein accuse themselves iustly, & me falsly.

For I protest before the Maiesty of God, That I malice no man vnder the Sunne. Impossible I know it is to please all: seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subiection to their private passions, but that they seem diuers persons in one & the same day. Seneca hath said it, and so do I: *Vnus mihi pro populo erat*: and to the same effect Epicurus, *Hoc ego not multis sed tibi*, or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher, *Satis est vnus, Satis est nullus*. For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince Henry, the successiue hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I vnderooke this Worke. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse. It is now left to the world without a Master: from which all that is presented, hath receiued both blows and thanks. *Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis iudicii, in quo lis secundum plures datur*. But these discourses are idle. I know, that as the charitable will iudge charitably, so against those, qui gloriantur in malitia, my present aduersity hath disarmed me. I am on the Ground already, & therefore haue not far to fall: and for rising againe, as in the Naturall priuation there is no recession to habit, so it is seldome seene in the priuation politique. I do therefore forbear to stile my Readers Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promise a second and third volume (which I also intend) if the first receiue grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough, and too much: and it is certaine, let us claw the Reader with neuer so many courteous phrases, yet shall we euermore be thought fooles, that write foolishly. For conclusion, all the hope I haue lies in this, That I haue already found more vngentle and incourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well deserving of them, than euer I shall doe againe. For had it been otherwise, I should hardly haue had this leasure, to haue made my selfe a foole in print.

THE



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE BEGINNING, AND first Ages of the same, from the Creation,

VNTO ABRAHAM.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

§. I.

That the inuisible God is seene in his Creatures.



30 GOD, whom the wisest men acknowledge to be a Power vnesseable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant claritie inuisible; an Vnderstanding, which it selfe can onely comprehend, an Essence eternall and spirituall, of absolute purenesse and simplicitie; was, and is pleased to make himselfe knowne by the worke of the World: in the wonderfull magnitude whereof, (all which Hee imbraceth, fillet, and sustayneth) we behold the Image of that glorie, which cannot be measured, and withall that one, and yet vniuersall Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heauen, we perceiue a shadow of his diuine Countenance; in his mercifull prouision for all that liue, his manifold goodnesse: and lastly, in creating and making existent the World vniuersall, by the absolute Arte of his owne Word, his Power and Almightinesse; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisedome, and Goodnesse, being all but attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern per speculum creaturarum, that is, in the disposition, order, and varietie of Celestiall and Terrestriall bodies: Terrestriall, in their strange and manifold diuersities; Celestiall, in their beautie and magnitude; which in their continuall and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects, we approach to the knowledge of the Omnipotent cause, and by these motions, their Almightie Mouer.

50 In these more then wonderfull works, God (saith *Illego*) speaketh vnto man, and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, all that liue, witnesse in themselves; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable soules: for according to S. GREGORY, *Omnis homo eo ipso quod rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet*: Euery man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith *Iob*), which is according to the *Fathers*, *Dominatorem illius conspicere in creaturis*, To discern him in his prouidence by his Creatures. That God hath bene otherwise seene, to wit, with corporall eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my vnderstand-

Hugo super Eccl. Homil. 8. Greg. in Moral. Herm. ad fil. Tat. l. 4. *Omnia vero ingentia, & non apparentia, & inmanifesta, omnia autem manifestant, per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia solium generatorum est, nihil apparuit quin generationis.*

Job. 5. 3.
1 Tim. c. 16.
Origen. l. 2. c. 21.
Cyril. & Chrysostom.
in Job. l. 14.
Greg. Naz. l. 3.
Theolog. Hier. in
Flavian. Aug. l. 2.
de Trin. c. 12.
13. Greg. Mag.
l. 18. Mor. l. 1.
epist. 1. Decret.
Alcin. l. 2. de
Trin. c. 16. D. A.
reop. cap. 4. Cal.
Hierar. Thom. p.
3. q. 12. art. 11.
& alibi. Deus
qui natura in-
uisibilis est, ut
a visibilibus
posset sciri, opus
fecit, quod Opifi-
cem sui visibili-
ter manifesta-
ret, ut per cer-
tum incertum
sciretur, & ille
Deus omnium
esse crederetur.
Amb. in Epist.
ad Rom. c. 1.
Cusan. de gen.
dialog.
Rom. 1. 20.

A. Mont. Nat.
Hist. fol. 7.

ding, grounded on these places of S. John, and S. Paul, *Te haue not heard his voice at any time, neither haue yee seene his shape.* And againe, *Whom neuer man saw, nor can see.*

And this, I am sure, agreeth with the nature of Gods simplicitee, of which S. Augustine, *Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet aliquo nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*; That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were Origen, Cyril, Chrysostome, Gregory Nazianzenus, Hierome, Augustine, Gregory the great, Enaristum, Alcinus, Dionysius Areopagita, Aquinas, and all others of authoritie. But by his owne Word, and by this visible World, is God perceived of men, which is also the vnderstood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphicall Characters, are the vnumbred Starres, the Sunne and Moone, written on these large Volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those living Creatures, and Plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned Cusanus, *Mundus vniversus nihil aliud est, quam Deus explicatus*; The World vniuersall, is nothing else but God exprest. And the inuisible things of God (saith S. Paul) are seene by creation of the World, being considered in his Creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding, then his owne Will, no other matter then his owne Power, no other workman then his owne Word, no other consideration then his owne infinite Goodnesse. The example and patterne of these his Creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternitie in the abundance of his owne loue, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his vnchanged Will moued, by his high Wisedome disposed, and by his almightie Power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith Mirandula) we ought to loue God, *Ex fide, & ex effectibus*, (that is) both perswaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds creation: *Neq. enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognoscique potest, sed vel ex rerum, quae factae sunt, quaeq. sunt & gubernantur obseruatione & collatione, vel ex ipsius Dei verbo*. For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be knowne by any knowledge of cause or beginning, (saith Montanus) but either by the obseruing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and gouerne, or else by the Word of God himselfe.

§. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authoritie is not to be despised, haue acknowledged the world to haue bene created by God.

His worke and creation of the World, did most of the ancient and learned Philosophers acknowledge, though by diuers termes, and in a different manner exprest, I meane all those who are entituled by S. AUGUSTINE, *Summi Philosophi*, Philosophers of highest iudgement and vnderstanding. Mercurius Trismegistus calleth God, *Principium vniuersorum*; The originall of the vniuersall: to whom hee giueth also the attributes of *Mens, Natura, Actus, Necessitas, Finis, & Renouatio*. And wherein hee truly, with S. Paul, calleth vpon God all power; confessing also, that the world was made by Gods almightie Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus fabricatus est mundus*. Zoroaster (whom Heraclitus followed in opinion) tooke the word *Fire*, to expresse God by (as in *Deuteronomy*, and in Saint Paul it is vsed) *Omnia ex uno igne genita sunt*; All things (saith he) are caused, or produced out of one fire.

So did Orpheus plainly teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the Will of the most High God; whose remarkable words are thus conuerted: *Cum abscondisset omnia Iupiter summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia*: Of which I conceiue this sense; *When great Iupiter had hidden all things in himselfe, working out of the lone of his sacred heart, he sent thence, or brought forth into gratefull light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought.*

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Vnus Deus, Pater, Creator summus*. PLATO calleth God the cause and originall, the nature and reason of the vniuersall; *Totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus*. But hereof more at large hereafter.

Now, although the curiositie of some men haue found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers, in matters of Diuinitie: (it being true, that the Scripture hath

Hierm. in Pro-
mandro, & in
sermone sacro.

Deut. 4. 14.
Heb. 11. 29.

Orph. de sum.
l. 1.

Vid. cap. 6.

hath not want of any forraine testimony) yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; so Saint Paul himselfe did not despise, but thought it lawfull, and profitable, to remember whatsoever hee found agreeable to the Word of God, among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not: as in his Epistle to *Ti-motheus*, he citeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menaender*, and in the seauenteenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus, &c.* for Truth (saith S. Ambrose) by whomsoever vttered, is of the holy Ghost; *Veritas a quocunq. dicatur, a Spiritu sancto est*: and lastly, let those kind of men learne this rule; *Quae sacris seruiunt, prophana non sunt*; No-
thing is prophane that serueth to the vse of holy things.

§. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, Genes. 1. 1.

His visible World of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (saith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebreues* seeke some hidden mysterie, and which in the *Iewes Targum* is conuerted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men haue conceiued, both which are subseque[n]t: but onely to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primary matter to be informed, nor forme to informe, nor any being, but the Eternall. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten; Time properly and naturally taken; for if God had but disposed of Matter already in being, then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceeded from a greater Power, then that of God. And by what name shall we then call such an One (saith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to dispose of things made; whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we faigne a double Creation, or allow of two Powers, and both infinite, the impossibilitie whereof scorneth defence. *Nam impossibile plura esse infinita: quoniam alterum esset in altero finitum*; There cannot bee more infinites then one; for one of them would limit the other.

§. IIII.

Of the meaning of the words Heauen and Earth: Genes. 2. 1.

He vniuersall matter of the world (which *Moses* comprehendeth vnder the names of *Heauen and Earth*) is by diuers duersly vnderstood: for there are that conceiue, that by those words, was meant the first matter, as the *Peripatetikes* vnderstand it, to which, S. Augustine and *Isidore* seeme to adhere. *Fecisti mundum* (saith S. Augustine) *de materia informi, quam fecisti de nulla re, penè nullam rem*: (that is) *Thou hast made the world of a matter without forme, which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was little other then nothing.*

But this potentiall and imaginarie *materia prima*, cannot exist without forme. *Peter Lombard*, the *Schoole-men*, *Beda*, *Lyranus*, *Comestor*, *Tostatus* and others, affirme, that it pleased God first of all to create the Emphyrean Heauen: which at the succeeding instant (saith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with *Angels*. This Emphyrean Heauen *Stenchiuus Eugubinus* calleth *Diuine claritie, and vncreated*: an error, for which he is sharply charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceiue) he rather fyled in the subseque[n]t, when he made it to be a place, and the seate of Angels, and iust Soules, then in the former affirmation: for of the first, That God liueth in eternall Light, it is written; *My soule, praise thou the Lord, that conereth himselfe with light*: and in the Reuelation; *And the Citie hath no neede of Sunne, neither of the Moone to shine in it: for the glory of God did light it.* And herein also *John Mercer* vpon *Genes. 1.* differeth not in opinion from *Eugubinus*: for as by Heauen created in the beginning, was not meant the inuisible or supercelestiall; so in his iudgement, because it was in all Eternitie, the glorious seate of God himselfe, it was not necessary to be created; *Quem mundum supercaelestem meo iudicio creari* (saith Mercer) *non erat necessè.*

But as *Moses* forbare to speake of Angels, and of things inuisible, and incorporate, for the

Beda Hex. Stra-
bo super Genes.
Eug. Col. 2. de
nat. incorp.

Psal. 104. 12.
Claritas diuina
nō est lux facta,
sed sapientia
Dei, non creata,
sed nata.
Apoc. 21. 23.
Mercer. in Gen.
cap. 7. vers. 7.

the weaknesse of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of those things, which were more manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliuer them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promise made to their forefathers: but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspectable, and perceivable Vniuersall; so on the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercelestiall Heauen, or whatsoever else (nor himselfe) was increate & eternall: and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wisdom of mortall men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the feate of infinite power, no more then infinite power it selfe can be limited: for his place is in himselfe, whom no magnitude else can contain: *How great is the house of God* (saith *Baruch*) *how large is the place of his possessions! it is great, and hath no end, it is high and unmeasurable.* 10

Bar. 3. 24. 25.

Cusar. in com-
pend. fol. 224.
Opera.

Caluin. in Gen.

But leaning multiplicitie of opinion, it is more probable & allowed, that by the words *Heauen and Earth*, was meant the solid matter and substance, as well of all the Heauens, and Orbes supernall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which couered it ouer, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *materia, Chaos, possibilitas, sine posse fieri*. Which matter (saith *Caluin*) was so called, *quod totius mundi semen fuerit; Because it was the seed of the Vniuersall*: an opinion of ancient Philosophers long before.

§. V.

That the substance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by *Moses* understood in the word *Earth*: and that the Earth, by the attributes of vnformed and void, is described as the *Chaos* of the ancient *Heathen*. 20

Moses first nameth Heauen and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word *Earth*; but afterwards hee nameth them a part, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the confused Masse, and (as *Basil* saith) *preparare naturam aque ad fecunditatem vitalem; to prepare the nature of water to a vitall fruitfulness.*

For vnder the word *Heauen*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures exprest: and by the name of *Earth and Waters*, all was meant, whatsoever is vnder the Moone, and subiect to alteration. Corrupt feedes bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure 30 heauens are not subiect, though subiect to perishing. *They shall perish* (saith *Dauid*) *and the heauens shall vanish away like smoke*, saith *Esay*. Neither were the waters the matter of Earth: for it is written, *Let the waters vnder the heauens be gathered into one place, and let the drie land appeare*: which proueth that the drie land was mixt and couered with the waters, and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or feede of the Earth, much lesse of the Vniuersall. *In initio Domine terram fundasti, Thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the Earth*: and againe, *The Earth was couered with the Deepe* (meaning with waters) *as with a garment*, saith *Dauid*. And if by naturall arguments it may be proued, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth vs also, that earth rarified may become water: water, aire: aire, fire; and so on the contrarie. *Deus ignis substantiam per aerem in aquam conuertit, God turneth the substance of* 40 *fire, by aire, into water.* For the Heauens and the Earth remained in the same state, in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in respect of beautie and ornament. *Calum verò & terra in statu creationis remanserunt, quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est.* And the word which the Hebrewes call *Maim*, is not to be vnderstood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specifically water; but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Est autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero a- quas fecit.* For *Maim* (saith he) *is a double liquor*, (that is, of diuers natures) *and this name* 50 *or word the Latines wanting a voice to expresse it, call it in the Plurall, Aquas, Waters.*

This Masse, or indigested matter, or Chaos created in the beginning, was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the waters: *And the earth was void*: that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and wrought this indigested matter into that forme, which it now retaineth, then did the earth bud forth the herbe, which seedeth feede, and the fruitfull tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good; which attribute

Psal. 102. 26.

Esay 51.

Gen. 1. v. 9.

Psal. 104. 6.

Zech.

Gul. Paris. Cooc.

A. Mont. de nat.

Gen. 1. 2.

11.

attribute was not giuen to the Earth, while it was confused; nor to the Heauens, before they had motion, and adornment. *God saw that it was good*; that is, made perfect: for perfection is that, to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta sunt opera; The works of the perfect God, are perfect.*

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the ancient Poets their inuention of *Demogorgon*: *Hesiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that Chaos, of which *Ouid*:

*Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) Calum,
Vnus erat toto nature vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestaq; moles.*

Ouid. Met. lib. 1.

10 Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heauen, that all doth hide,
In all the World one onely face of Nature did abide:
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heape.

§. VI.

How it is to be vnderstood that the Spirit of God moued vpon the Waters, and that this is not to be searched curiously.

After the Creation of Heauen and Earth, then void and without forme, the Spirit of God moued vpon the Waters. The *Sacruity* interpreters vse the word *super-* 20 *ferrebat*, moued vpon or ouer: *incubabat*, or *fovebat* (saith *Hierome*) out of *Basil*; and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cuiusdam Syri sententiam recensebo* (saith *Basil*): which words *incubare* or *fovere* importing warmth, hatch- ing, or quickning, haue a speciall likeness. *Verbum translatum est ab auibus pulcritudine in-* 25 *cubantibus, quamuis spiritali, & planè inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo; The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spirituall and vnexpresible manner.*

Some of the Hebrewes conuert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volitabat; The Spirit of God did flutter*: the Chaldean Paraphrast in this sense, *Ventus à conspectu Dei suscitabat*: or as other vnderstand the Chaldean, *Flabat, pellebat, remouebat*: *The wind from the face of God did blow vnder, driue, or remoue, or did blow vpon*, according to the 147. Psalme, 30 *He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no wind nor exhalation.* *Arias Montanus* in these words, *Et Spiritus Elohim Merachsef, id est, efficaciter motitans, conuolens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris; The Spirit of God effectually and often mo- uing, keeping warme, and cherishing, quickning and stirring vpon the face of this double li- quor*. For he maketh foure originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passive and materiall, to wit, *Causa*, which is the diuine goodnesse: *Id est, which is, fiat, sine orit, Let it be, or it shall be.* *Quæ vox verbo Dei prima preloa fuit: Which voice* (saith he) *was the first that was uttered by the word of God.* The third, *Spiritus Elohim*, the Spirit of God, *id est, vna quedam diuina, agilis ac presens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens*, that is, *A certayne diuine power, or strength enery where, active and extending, and stretching through* 40 *all, filling and finishing all things.* The fourth he calleth *Maim*, *id est, materies ad omni- rem conficiendam habilis; Matter apt to become enery thing.* For my selfe I am resoluèd (Cum Deus sit superrationale omni ratione; Seeing God is in all reason above reason) that al- though the effects which follow his wonderfull wayes of working, may in a measure be perceiued by mans vnderstanding, yet the manner & first operation of his diuine power, cannot be conceiued by any mind, or spirit, compassed with a mortall body. *Animals homo quæ Dei sunt non percipit: For my thoughts* (saith the Lord in *Esay*) *are not your* 50 *thoughts, neither are your wayes my wayes.* And as the world hath not knowne God him- selfe: so are his wayes (according to *S. PAVL*) *past finding out.* *O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee*, saith *Christ*. And therefore, whether that motion, vitalitie and operation, were by incubation or how else, the manner is onely knowne to God, *Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capi-* 55 *pit; For, how God* (saith *S. Augustine*, speaking of his Vbiquitie) *is in all things, either by essence, presence, or power, our vnderstanding cannot comprehend.* *Nihil inter Deum homi- nemq; distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius maiestatis eterne, cognatio assequeretur hu- mana: There would be no difference betweene God and Man, if mans vnderstanding could con- ceine the counsels and disposing of that eternall Maiestie; and therefore to bee ouer-curious in searching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operative Spirit distinguishing, gaue forme to the Matter*

Basil. Hexam.

Iustin.

Psal. 147. 19.

Arias Mont. ut sup.

Ezech. 1. 1.

Iob. 33.

Arias Mont. de nat.

Iob. 1. 1.

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of the Vniuersall, is a labour and search like vnto his, who not contented with a knowne and safeoord, will presume to passe ouer the greatest Riuer in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his vnderstanding. We behold the Sunne, and enioy his light, as long as we looke towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warme our selues safely, while we stand neare the fire; but if we seeke to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

But to elchew curiositie: this is true, that the English word (*moued*) is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *MIRANDULA*, *Vis cause efficientis*; *The force of the efficient cause*, *S. Augustine* sometimes taketh for the holy Ghost; sometime for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus*, vnder the name of a Spirit, which is sometimes so taken: or for *virtualis creatura*, For a created virtuality: *Tertullian* and *Theodore* call it also a breath or wind: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem*, A pure or thin intelligible Spirit: *ANAXAGORAS*, *Mentem*: *TOSTATVS*, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei*; *The will and minde of God*; which *mens*, *Plato* in *Timæo*, maketh *Animam mundi*, *The soule of the world*. and in his sixt Booke de *Republica*, he calleth it *the Law of Heauen*; in his Epistles, *The Leader of things to come*, and the presence of things past. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the Incarnation of Christ our Saviour, *Atens deficit, vox silet, & non mea tantum, sed etiam Angelorum*; *My minde sayleth, my voice is silent, and not mine only, but euen the voice of Angels*: so may all men else say in the vnderstanding, and vtterance of the wayes and works of the Creation; for to him (*saith Nazianzenus*) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed consubstantiale illi est, quicquid eius est, & quicquid est; Whatsoeuer attribute of him there is, and whatsoeuer he is, it is the very same substance that himselfe is.*

Nazian. lib. 2.
Theol.

Wisd. cap. 1. v. 7.

But the Spirit of God which moued vpon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite actiue power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustayneth, and giueth continuance to the Vniuersall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it which maintayneth all things, *saith SALOMON*. *If thou send forth thy Spirit (saith DAVID) they are created*: And *GREGORY*, *Deus suo presentia esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quod, si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum desluerent vniuersa*; *God giueth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himselfe from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would againe fall away and vanish into nothing.* And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath exprest excellently:

Virg. AEnid.
lib. 8. 714.

*Principio Calum ac Terras, camposq. liquentes,
Lucentemq. globum Lunæ, Titaniasq. astra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq. infusa per artus,
Atens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

The Heauen, the Earth, and all the liquid Mayne,
The Moones bright Globe, and Starres Titanian,
A Spirit within maintaynes: and their whole masse,
A Mind, which through each part infus'd doth passe,
Fashion, and works, and wholly doth transpierce
All this great Body of the Vniuers.

Job c. 26. v. 13.

Gen. 1. 5:

And this was the same Spirit, which moued in the Vniuersall, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garnished the Heavens*, *saith Job*. So then the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters, and created in them their spiritualitie, and naturall motion; motion brought forth heate; and heate rarification, and subtilitie of parts. By this Spirit (which gaue heate and motion, and thereby, operation to euery nature, while it moued vpon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and Chaos, disposed to all formes alike) was begotten Aire: an element superior, as lighter then the waters, through whose vast, open, subtile, diaphanicke, or transparent body, the light afterwards created might easily transpierce: Light, for the excellency thereof, being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chrysostome* calleth a vitall Operation, *Aquis à Deo instam, ex qua aque non solum moti- nem, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint*. He calleth it, *A vitall Operation giuen by God vnto the waters, whereby the waters had not onely motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth liuing Creatures.*

¶ VII.

Of the light created, as the materiall substance of the Sunne: and of the nature of it, and difficultie of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and vse of it: and of motion, and heate annexed vnto it.

THese waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and vnited, and called the Sunne, the Or- gan, and instrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceiue) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Sunnes crea- tion, and the vniting of the dispersed light therein. This is proued by these words, *Let there be lights in the Firmament, to separate the day from the night*: which lights in the firmament of Heauen were also made for signes, and for seasons, and for dayes, and for yeares, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which, dayes and yeares are distinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three dayes which preceded the Sunnes creation, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the day named in the sixt Verse, was but such a space, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a ciuill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and vpper waters; and of the Seas, and Creatures there- in: Earth, the matter of Beasts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: so may Light (for expresseion sake) be called the Chaos, or materiall substance of the Sunne, & other lights of heauen: Howbeit, neither the Sunne, nor any thing sensible, is that Light it selfe, *Quæ causa est lucidorum, Which is the cause that things are lightsome* (though it make it selfe & all things else visible) but a body most illightened, which illuminateth the Moone, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greeks* call *Aether*, the place of the supposed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies liuing in this our aire. For this light *Auicenna* calleth *vehiculum & fomentum omnium celestium virtutum, & impressionum*: *The conductor, and preseruer or nourisher of all celestiall vertues and impressions*, nothing descending of heauenly influences, but by the medium, or meanes of light. *Aristotle* calleth light, a qualitie, inherent, or cleauing to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen est qualitas inherens Diaphano*: but this may be better auouched of the heate, which it transporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heate (*saith the Platonicks*) *Abeunt lumine resides in subiecto, The lights being departed, doth reside in the subiect*, as warmth in the aire, though the same be depriued of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academikes* make incorporall, and so doth *MONTANVS*, *Cui nec duritia resistit, nec spatium*; *Which neither hardnesse resisteth, nor space leaueth.*

Lux dicitur, quæ se, & omnia visibilia facit, Cuius in Compend. cap. 7. & exercit. lib. 5.

Ficin. lib. de Luminis, cap. 11.

Aristotle findeth corporalitie in the beames of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, *saith Picolomineus, Democritus, Leucippus, and Epicurus*, *Vis. de sensu*. Heauen to the Earth, nor is it resisted by any hardnesse, because it pierceth through the solid body of glasse, or other Cristalline matter; and whereas it is withstood by vncleane, and vnpure earthy substances, lesse hard, and more easie to inuade then the former, the same is, *Quod obsaculum naturæ terreum atq. sordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem*; *Because an obstacle, by nature earthy and foule, doth not receive the pure clearenesse of light*: alluding to that most diuine Light, which onely shineth on those minds, which are purged from all worldly drosse, and humane vncleannesse.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither doe I maruaile at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philosophers, or Schoole-men, or other ancient or later Writers, that any of them vnderstood either it or themselves therein: all men (to cast off ignorance) haue disputed hereof, but there is no man that hath beene taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferiour to any in wit) as hee hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda, Hugo, Lombard, Lyranus*, and others: so is his owne iudgement herein, as weake as any mans; and most of the Schoole-men were rather curious in the nature of termes, and more subtile in distinguishing vpon the parts of doctrine already laid downe, then discoverers of any thing hidden, either in Philosophie or Diuinitie: of whom it may be truly said, *Nihil sapientie odiosius acuminimio*; *Nothing is more odious to true wisdom, then too acute sharpnesse.* Neither hath the length of time, and the search of many learned men, (which the same time hath brought

Mont Nat. h^{is}.
fol. 152.

Gen. 1. 9. 10. 11.
* Psal. 104. 1. 2.
* Gen. 1. 9. 10. 11.
Cap. 27. 28.
Deut. 11. 11.
100. 38. 29.
Matth. 6. 26.

Gen. 11. 4.

against this fancy. For the waters about the Firmament, are the waters in the Aire above vs, where the fume is more solid and condensè, which God separated from the neather waters by a Firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the words *Raquia*, which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*, and *Shamaym*, being indifferently taken for the Heauen and for Aire, and more properly for the Aire and *Aether*, then for the Heauens, as the best Hebricians vnderstand them, *Quo suprema ac tenuia ab infimis crassius distincta, interseclat, distarent*, for that whereby the supreme and thin bodies were placed in distance, being seuered and cut off from low and grosse matters: and the waters about the Firmament, exprest in the word *Majjm*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters about the Aire, or in the vppermost Region of the fume.

And that the word Heauen is vsed for the Aire, the Scriptures euerywhere witness, as in the blessings of *Ioseph*, and in the 104. Psalme. * *By these Springs shall the fowle of the Heauen dwell*; and * *upon Sodom and Gomorrha it rained brimstone and fire out of the Heauen*; and in *Isaacs* blessing to *Jacob*, *God giue thee therefore of the dew of Heauen*; and in *Deuteronomie* the 11. *But the land whither you goe to possesse it, is a land, that drinketh water of the rayne of Heauen*; and in *Ion*, *Who hath ingendred the frosts of Heauen*; and in *S. MATTHEW*, *Behold the Fowles of Heauen, for they sow not*. So as in all the Scriptures of the old Testament throughout, is the word Heauen very often vsed for aire, and taken also hyperbolically for any great heighth, as, *Let vs build vs a Tower, whose top may reach to Heauen*, &c. And in this very place *Basil* auoucheth, that this appellation of Heauen for the Firmament, is but by way of similitude: his owne words be these; *Et vocauit Deus firmamentum celum. Hec appellatio alij quidem proprie accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad similitudinem*; And God called the firmament Heauen: This appellation (saith *Basil*) is properly applied to another (that is, to the Starry Heauen) but to this, (that is, to the Firmament diuiding the waters) it is imposed by similitude: and if there were no other proofe, that by the Firmament was meant the Ayre, and not the Heauen, the words of *Moses* in the eighth Verse, conferred with the same word Firmament in the twentieth Verse, makes it manifest: for in the eighth Verse it is written, that God called the Firmament, which diuided waters from waters, Heauen; and in the 20. Verse he calleth the Firmament of Heauen, Ayre, in these words: *And let the Fowle flye upon the earth in the open firmament of Heauen*. And what vse there should be of this ycie, or crystalline, or waterie Heauen, I conceiue not, except it be to moderate and temper the heate, which the *Primummobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in verie truth, in stead of this helpe, it would adde an vmeasurable greatnesse of circle, whereby the swiftnesse of that first Moueable would exceede all possibilitie of beliefe. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia; but no man ought to be held to impossibilities*; and saith it selfe (which surmounteth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible Conducter, the Word of Truth, which also may be called *lumen omnis rationis & intellectus; the light of all reason and vnderstanding*. Now that this supposed first Moueable, turneth it selfe so many hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those that can beleue mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I cannot. But of these many Heauens, let the Reader that desireth satisfaction, search *Oronius*, and of this waterie Heauen, *Basilius Magnus* in his *Hexam.* fol. 40. 41. &c. and *Matth. Beroaldus*, his second Booke, and sixth Chapter. For my selfe, I am perswaded, that the waters, called, The waters about the Heauens, are but the cloudes and waters ingendred in the vppermost Ayre.

§. I X.

A conclusion repeating the summe of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.

IN conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise God in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehensible eternitie. First, hee created the matter of all things: and in the first three dayes he distinguished and gaue to euery nature his proper forme; the forme of leuitie to that which ascended, to that which descended, the forme of grauitie: for he separated light from darkenesse, diuided waters from waters, and gathered the waters vnder the Firmament into one place. In the last three

three daies, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the World: he set in the Firmament of Heauen, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beasts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Filth, giuing to all that haue life, a power generatiue, thereby to continue their Species and kindes; to Creatures vegetatiue and growing, their seedes in themselves; for he created all things, that they might haue their being: and the generations of the world are preferred.

§. X.

That Nature is no Principium per se; nor forme the giuer of being: and of our ignorance, how second causes should haue any proportion with their effects.

NO for this working power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to *Aristotle*, the same is nothing else, but the strength and facultie, which God hath infused into euerie creature, hauing no other seere-willitie, then a Clocke, after it is wound vp by a mans hand, hath. These therefore that attribute vnto this facultie, any first or sole power, haue therein no other vnderstanding, then such a one hath, who looking into the Sterne of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helme and Rudder, doth ascribe some absolute vertue to the peece of wood, without all consideration of the hand that guides it, or of the iudgement, which also directeth and commandeth that hand; forgetting in this and in all else, that by the vertue of the first act, all Agents worke whatsoeuer they worke: *Virtute primi actus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt*: for as the minde of man seeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the eares, and maketh choyce by the will: and therefore we attribute sight to the eye, and hearing to the eares, &c. and yet it is the minde onely, that giueth abilitie, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infused properties, and by men, as by seuerall Organs, seuerall effects; all second causes whatsoeuer, being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carrie and disperse what they haue receyued from the head and fountaine of the Vniuersall. For as it is Gods infinite power, and euerie-where-presence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giueth to the Sunne power to draw vp vapours, to vapours to be made cloudes, cloudes to containe raine, and raine to fall: so all second and instrumentall causes, together with Nature it selfe, without that operative facultie which God gaue them, would become altogether silent, vertuelesse, and dead: of which excellentie *ORPHEVS*; *Per te virescunt omnia, All things by thee spring forth in youthfull Greene*. I enforce not these things, thereby to annihilate those variable vertues which God hath giuen to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heauenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his workes in their vertues prayse him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, haue taken on them to teach: I say, there is not any one among them, nor any one among vs, that could euer yet conceiue it, or expresse it, euer enrich his owne vnderstanding with any certaine truth, or euer edifie others (not foolish by selfe-flatterie) therein. For (saith *Lactantius*, speaking of the wisdom of the Philosophers) *Si facultas inueniende veritatis huic studio subiaceret, aliquando esset inuenta; cum vero tot temporibus, tot ingenij in eius inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullam ibi esse sapientiam; si in this studie (saith he) were meanes to find out the truth, it had ere this bene found out: but seeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits haue bene worne out in the inquirie of it, it appeareth, that there is no wisdom there to be had. Nam si de vnare*

Natura enim re-
mota providen-
tia & potestate
diuina, prorsus
nihil est. *Lact.* de
salf. Sapientia, l.
3. cap. 28.

precisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum scientia necessario haberetur: If the precise know- ledge of any one thing were to be had, it should necessarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had. And as the Philosophers were ignorant in Nature, and the wayes of her working: so were they more curious, then knowing, in their first matter and Physicall forme. For if their first matter had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaueth, when it doth subsist. And seeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other substance should thence take conseruence, it hath not bene taught, neyther are these formes (saith a learned Author) any thing, si ex ea exprimitur potentia, quae nihil est. Again, how this first matter should be sub-

iectum

rectum firmatum, and passive, which is understood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceive: for to make forme which is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrarie to all reason, diuine and humane: onely it may be said, that originally there is no other difference betweene matter and forme, but in a kinde of rationall consideration. Leaving therefore these Riddles to their Louers, who by certaine scholasticall distinctions wrest and peruert the truth of all things, and by which *(Aristotle)* hath laboured to proue a false eternitie of the World, I thinke it farre safer to asseme with Saint AUGUSTINE, That all species and kindes are from God, from whom, whatsoever is naturall proceedeth, of what kinde or estimation soeuer, from whence are the seeds of all formes, and the formes of all seedes and their motions; *A quo est omnis species, et quod est quicquid naturaliter est, cuiuscumq. generis est, cuiuscumq. estimationis est, a quo sunt semina formarum, forme seminum, motus seminum atq. formarum.* And thus much *Auerrois* is forced to confesse. For all formes (saith hee) are in primo motore, which is also the opinion of *Aristotle* in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* vpon *Dionysius*.

§. XI.

of Fate; and that the Starres haue great influence: and that their operations may diuersly be prevented or furthered.

And, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that haue written thereof, may be safely receiued, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an ineuitable necessitie, and made it more generall, and vniuersally powerfull then it is, by giuing it Dominion ouer the minde of man, and ouer his will; of which *Ouid* and *Iuuenal*:

*Ratio satum vincere nulla valet.
Scelus regna dabunt, captiuis Fata triumphos.*

Gainst Fate no counsell can preuaile.
Kingdomes to Slaues by Destinie,
To Captiues triumphs giuen be.

An error of the *Chaldeans*, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharisees, Priscillianists, the Bardisanists, and others, as *Basil*, *Augustine*, and *Thomas* haue obserued: but that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceiued of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the Platonist. *Plotinus* out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestiall Orbes, vnchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things, which a rationall minde doth nor order nor direct. *Ptolomie*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chrysippus*, *Empedocles*, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and ineuitable necessitie; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (*quod de quoquoq. astrum fatus est Deus*) and the definite lot of all liuing. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starres are instruments of farre greater vse, then to giue an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunne-set: it being manifest, that the diuersitie of seasons, the Winters, and Summers, more hote and colde, are not so vncertain by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keepe one and the same course, but that the Starres haue also their working therein.

And if we cannot denie, but that God hath giuen vertues to Springs and Fountaines, to colde earth, to plants and stones, Mineralles, and to the excrementall parts of the basest liuing creatures, why should we robbe the beautifull Starres of their working powers? for seeing they are many in number, and of eminent beautie and magnitude, wee may not thinke, that in the treasure of his wisdom, who is infinite, there can be wanting (euen for euerie Starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as euery herbe, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to couer & shadow her dustie face, but otherwise for the vse of man and beast, to feed them and cure them; so were not those vncountable glorious bodies set in the Firmament, to no other end, then to adorne it, but for instruments and Organs of his diuine providence, so farre as it hath pleased his iust will

to determine. *Origen* vpon this place of *Genesis*, Let there be light in the Firmament, &c. *Gen. 1. 5.* affirmeth, that the Starres are not causes (meaning perchance, binding causes) but are as open Bookes, wherein are contained and set downe all things whatsoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisdom: which latter part I beleue well, and this saying of *Syracides* withall: That there are hid yet greater things then these be, and we haue scene but a few of his workes. And though, for the capacite of men, wee know somewhat, yet in the true and vitermost vertues of herbes and plants, which our selues sow and set, and which grow vnder our feet, wee are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestiall bodies. for hardly (saith *Salomon*) can we discern the things that are vpon the Earth, and with great labour finde we out those things that are before vs: who can then inuigilate the things that are in Heauen? *Stultum est de rebus celestibus aliquid cognoscere: It is much to know a little of heavenly things.* But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen wee doe not binde God to his creatures, in this supposed necessitie of destinie, so on the contrarie, wee doe not robbe those beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes despoyled God of his prerogative, or had God himselfe constrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celestiall inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some were iustifiable; of whom Saint AUGUSTINE: *Impia perversitate in malis factu rectissime reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius auctore syderum, quam commissorem scelerum.* Where we reprehend them of euill deeds, they againe with wicked perversitie urge, that rather the Author and Creatour of the Starres, then the doer of the euill is to be accused.

But that the Starres and other celestiall bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitiue appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora caelestia* (saith *Damasene*) *constituunt in nobis habitus, complexionis, & dispositiones, The heavenly bodies* (saith hee) *make in vs habits, complexionis, and dispositions:* for the bodie (though *Galen* inforce it further) hath vndoubtedly a kinde of drawing after it the affections of the minde, especially bodies strong in humour, and weak in vertues; for those of cholerick complexion are subiect to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to bee transported, where the minde hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonlesse mind I am resolu'd: For of all those which were created mortall, as birds, beasts, and the like, are left to their naturall appetites, ouer all which, celestiall bodies (as instruments and Executioners of Gods providence) haue absolute dominion. What we should iudge of men, who little differ from beasts, I cannot tell: for as hee that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them: so whosoever shall neglect the remedies by vertue and pietie prepared, putteth himselfe altogether vnder the power of his sensuall appetite; *Vincitur fatum si resistas, vincit si contempseris: Fate will be overcome, if thou resistst, if thou neglect, it conquereth.*

But that either the Starres or the Sunne haue any power ouer the mindes of men immediately, it is absurd to thinke, other then as afore said, as the same by the bodies temper may be effected. *Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilium corporum confert, & ad vitam ipsam mouet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sunne* (saith Saint AUGUSTINE) *helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moueth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them:* yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: *Bonus quidem est Sol, in ministerio, non imperio; The Sunne is good to serue, not to sway* (saith *S. Ambrose*.) And Saint AUGUSTINE: *Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora, God ruleth the bodies below by those above,* but hee auoucheth not, that superiour bodies haue rule ouer mens mindes, which are incorporeall.

But howsoeuer we are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation: and *Aristotle* himselfe confesseth, that the Heauens doe not alwaies worke their effects in inferiour bodies, no more then the signes of raine and winde doe alwaies come to passe. And it is diuers times scene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. *Est in Iuuenis patrum virtus; In the young off-spring the Fathers vertue is,* and so the contrarie, *patrum vitia: and herein also there is often found an interchange; the Sonnes of vertuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men, to vertue.*

Egregia est soboles, scelerato nata parente.

A worthy sonne is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods referu'd power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the World so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing vp may fashion anew and reforme them; nor any so well disposed, whom (the reines being let loose) the continuall fellowship and familiaritie; and the examples of dissolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Vessels will euer retaine a sauour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult eyther to cleanse the minde once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet sauour of vertue first receyued, when the minde was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a fauourable constellation (allowing that the Starres incline the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arriue, or the contrarie in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding vertuous or vicious, Heauen and Earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the seedes of vertue may by the art and husbandrie of Christian counsaile produce better and more beautifull fruit, then the strength of selfe-nature and kind could haue yeelded them; so the plants apt to grow wilde, and to change themselves into weedes, by being set in a soyle suitable, and like themselves, are made more vsfauourie and filled with poyson. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapiens adiuvabit opus astrorum, quemadmodum agricola terrae naturam*; *A wise man assisteth the worke of the Starres, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the soyle.* And Ptolomie himselfe confesseth thus much, *Sapiens, & omnia sapientium medici dominabuntur astris, A wiseman, and the ominous art of a wise Physician shall prevaile against the Starres.* Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the Starres, as he did the rest of the Vniuersal, whose influences may be called his referu'd and vniuersal Lawes. But let vs consider how they bind: euen as the Lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the World haue by their Lawes decreed, that a Thiefe and a Murderer shall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Iudges and Magistrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly; yet these Lawes doe not deprive Kings of their naturall or religious compassion, or binde them without prerogative, to such a seuer execution, as that there should be nothing left of libertie to Iudgement, power, or conscience: the Law in his owne nature, being no other then a deafe Tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe sometimes for causes to themselves knowe, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselves, it were then impious to take that power and libertie from God himselfe, which his Substitutes enjoy; God being mercie, goodnesse, and charitie it selfe. Otherwise that example of Prayer by our Sauour taught; *And let vs not be led into temptation, but deliuer vs from euill*, had bene no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which onely knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truly) hath assured vs, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble Prayers and desires may not make frustrate, and breake asunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceiue) that Fate or Destinie, though depending vpon eternall power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependencie, that God himselfe should in a kind haue shut vp himselfe therein: *How miserable then were the condition of men* (saith S. AUGUSTINE) *left altogether without hope!* And if this strength of the Starres were so transferred, as that God had quitted vnto them all dominion ouer his creatures; be hee Pagan or Christian that so beleeueth, the onely true God of the one, and the imaginarie Gods of the other would thereby be despoyled of all worship, reuerence, or respect.

And certainly, God which hath promised vs the rewarde of well-doing, which Christ himselfe claimed at the hands of the Father, (*thau finished the worke which thou gauest mee to doe*;) and the same God, who hath threatned vnto vs the sorrow and torment of offences; could not contrary to his mercifull nature be so vniust, as to bind vs inuincibly to the Destinies or influences of the Starres, or subiect our soules to any imposed necessitie. But it was well said of Plotinus, that the Starres were significant, but not efficient, giuing them yet something lesse then their due: and therefore as I do not content with them, who would make those glorious creatures of God vertuleffe: so I thinke that wee derogate from his eternall and absolute power and providence, to ascribe to them

them the same dominion ouer our immortall soules, which they haue ouer all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the soules of men, louing and fearing God, receiue influence from that diuine light it selfe, whereof the Sunnes claritie, and that of the Starres is by Plato called but a shadow. *Lumen est umbra Dei, & Deus est lumen luminis*; *Light is the shadow of Gods brightnesse, who is the light of light*: But to end this question, because this Destinie, together with Providence, Prescience, and Predetermination are often confounded, I thinke it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two, for euery man hath not obserued it, though all learned men haue.

Plat. pol. 6.
Ficin. in 1.7. pol.

§. XII.

Of Prescience.

Prescience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call *Prægnosis*, the Latines *Præcognitio*, or *præscientia*) considered in order and nature (if we may speake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prescience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatsoeuer our selues fore-know, except the same be to succcede accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prescience of God (as it is Prescience onely) is not the cause of any thing futurely succceeding: neyther doth Gods foreknowledge impose any necessitie, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sunne will rise, and set; that all men borne in the World shall dye againe; that after Winter, the Spring shall come; after the Spring Summer and Haruest, and that according to the seuerall seedes that we sow, we shall reape seuerall sorts of graine, yet is not our fore-knowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neyther doth the knowledge in vs binde or constraîne the Sunne to rise and set, or men to dye; for the causes (as men perswade themselves) are otherwise manifest and knowne to all. *The eye of man* (saith Boetius) *beholdeth those things subiect to sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a beast is an horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their owne nature.* And againe out of the same Authour; *Diuina providentia rebus generat, & dispo-* Boetius de con-
non imponit necessitatem, quia si omnia euenirent ex necessitate, præmia bonorum, & pœna malorum periret; Diuine Providence (saith he) *imposeth no necessity vpon things that are to exist, for if all came to passe of necessity, there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment of euil.*

§. XIII.

Of Providence.

Now Providence (which the Greekes call *Pronoia*) is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philosophers (saith S. Augustine) is diuided into Memorie, Knowledge, and Care: Memorie of the past, Knowledge of the present, and Care of the future: and wee our selues account such a man for provident, as, remembering things past, and obseruing things present, can by iudgement; and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times succceeding. That such a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures euery-where teach vs, Moses in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions: Christ himselfe and his Apostles assure vs hercof; and, besides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Providence of God: yea the Turkes themselves are so confident therein, as they refuse not to accompany and visit each other, in the most pestilent diseases, nor shun any perill whatsoeuer, though death therein doe manifestly present it selfe.

The places of Scripture proouing providence, are so many, both in generall and particular, as I shall need to reape but a few of them in this place. *Sing vnto God* (saith DAVID) *which conereth the Heauens with cloudes, and prepareth raine for the earth, and maketh the grasse to grow vpon the Mountains, which giueth so beasts their food, and feedeth the yong Rauen that cries: All these wait vpon thee, that thou mayest giue them food in due season. And thou shalt drinke of the River Cheareth* (saith God to ELIAB) *and I haue*

Pal. 147. 8.

Psal. 104. 27.

145. 15.

1 Reg. 17. 4.
Mith. 6. 6.
1 Reg. 1. 1. 2.
1 Pet. 5. 7.
Psal. 36. 6.

1er. 23. 24.

Esa. 4. 8.

1oh. 6. 1. 4. 1.
ver. 8.
God is loue.

commanded the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowles of the Ayre, they sow not, nor
scape, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them: Againne, Are not two Sparrowes sold for a
farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea all the haire
of your head are numbered: And S. PETER, Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you:
And his iudgements are written, saith DAVID.

God therefore, who is euery-where present, who filleth the Heauens and the Earth,
whose eyes are vpon the righteous, and his countenance against them that doe euill, was there-
fore by Orpheus called, *oculus infinitus*, an infinite eye, beholding all things, and cannot
therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any o-
ther: for it is contrary to his owne Word: *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo: I will not*
give my glorie to another. No man commandeth in the Kings presence, but by the Kings
direction; but God is euery-where present, and King of Kings. The example of Gods
vniuersall Providence is scene in his creatures. The Father prouideth for his children:
beasts and birds and all liuing for their young ones. If prouidence bee found in se-
cond Fathers, much more in the first and vniuersall: and if there be a naturall louing
care in men, and beasts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose
Diuine loue was the beginning, and is the bond of the Vniuersall: *Amor diuinus re-*
rum omnium est principium, & vinculum vniuersi (saith PLATO.) *Amor Dei est nodus per-*
petuus, mundi copula, partiumq; eius immobile sustentaculum, ac vniuersæ machine funda-
mentum; The loue of God is the perpetuall knot, and linke or chayne of the world, and the im-
mouable pillar of euery part thereof, and the Basis and foundation of the vniuersall. God
therefore who could only be the cause of all, can only prouide for all, and sustaine all; so
as to absolute power; to euery-where presence; to perfect goodnesse; to pure and diuine
loue; this attribute transcendent hability of Prouidence is only proper and belonging.

§. XIV.

Of Predestination.

NOW for Predestination; we can difference it no otherwise, from Prouidence
and Prescience, then in this, that Prescience onely fore-seeth: Prouidence
fore-seeth & careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, euen from the bright-
est Angels of Heauen, to the vnworthiest Wormes of the Earth, and Predestination
(as it is vsed specially by Diuines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to men belong-
ing, but of their saluation properly, in the common vse of Diuines, or perdition, as
some haue vsed it. Yet Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernensis Theologus, and others, take the
word Predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicitie: diuers of the Fa-
thers take it more largely sometimes: among whom S. Augustine speaking of two Ci-
ties, and two Societies, vseth these words, *Quarum est vna, qua predestinata est in eternū*
regnare cum Deo, altera æternū supplicium subire cum Diabolo; Whereof one is it, which is
predestinated to reigne for euer with God, but the other is to vndergoe euertlasting torment
with the Daquill: for according to NONIVS MARCELLVS, *destinare est preparare;* and of
the same opinion are many Protestant writers, as Calvin, Beza, Buchanan, Dancus, and
such like: and as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leaue them to the Diuines;
and why it hath pleased God to create some vessels of honour, and some of dishonour,
I will answer with Gregorie, who saith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmi-*
tatem suam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt; He that seeth no reason in the acti-
ons of God, by consideration of his owne infirmity perceyueeth the reason of his blindness. And
againne with S. AVGVSTINE, *Oculia esse causa potest, inuisa esse non potest;* Hidden the
cause of his Predestination may be, vniust it cannot be.

§. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seeme to be by fortune, and against
Reason and Prouidence.

Attly, seeing Destinie or Necessitie is subsequent to Gods prouidence, and see-
ing that the Starres haue no other dominion, then is before spoken, and that
Nature is nothing, but as Plato calleth it, *Dei arsem, vel artificiosum Dei Orga-*
nism; The art, or artificiall Organ of God: and CVSANVS, *Diuini precepti instrumentum;*
The

The art, or artificiall Organ of God: and CVSANVS, *Diuini precepti instrumentum;* The
instrument of the diuine precept: we may then with better reason reiect that kinde of I-
dolatrie, or God of fooles, called Fortune or Chance: a Goddesse, the most reueren-
ced, and the most reuiled of all other, but not ancient; for Homer maketh her the
Daughter of Oceanus, as Pansanias witnesseth in his *Astensiacks*. The Greeks call her
τυχη, signifying a relatiue being, or betiding, so as before Homers time this great Ladie
was scarce heard of; and Hesiodus, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all
these counterfeit gods, hath not a word of Fortune: yet afterward she grew so great
and omnipotent, as from Kings and Kingdomes, to Beggars and Cottages, she ordered
all things, relisting the wisdom of the wisest, by making the Possessor thereof miserable:
valuing the folly of the most foolish by making their successe prosperous, inasmuch as
the actions of men were fūd to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents
happening in mens liues, but her pastimes: of which *PALLADIVS, *Vita hominum lu-*
da fortune est; The life of man is the play of Fortune: and because it often falleth out, that
enterprises guided by ill counsels haue equal successe to those by the best iudgement con-
ducted, therefore had Fortune the same external figure with Sapience: wherof Athenais:

Longissimè à Sapientia Fors distidet,
Sed multa periculis tamen simikima:

From Wisedome Fortune differs farre,
And yet in workes most like they are.

20

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly vnderstood) is
nothing else but a power imaginarie, to which the successe of humane actions and en-
denours were for their varietie ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be giuen,
then was it attributed to fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most
men are ignorant, contrary to this true ground of PLATO: *Nihil est ortum sub Sole,*
cuius causa legitima non precesserit; Nothing euer came to passe vnder the Sunne, of which
there was not a iust preceding cause. But Aquinas hath herein answered in one distin-
ction, whatsoeuer may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which hap-
pen, besides the intention of the Inferior, but not besides the intention of the Superior; Pre-
ter intentionem inferioris, sed non preter intentionem superioris, (to wit, the ordinance of
God;) and therefore (saith MELANCHTON) *Quod forte fortunam, nos Deum appellamus;*
Whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God; and that this is true, the Scripture in
many places teacheth vs, as in the Law of Murder. *He that smiteth a man, and he die, shall*
die the death; and if a man hath not laid waite, but God hath offered him into his hands, then
I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. Now, where the Scripture hath these
words, *God hath offered him into his hands,* we say, if he hurt him by Chance: and in
Deuteronomie the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Axe from the helue, whereby a-
nother is slaine, was the worke of God himselfe, we in our phrase attribute this acci-
dent to Chance or Fortune: and in the Prouerbs the sixteenth, *The lot is cast into the*
lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord: so as that which seemeth most casuall
and subiect to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and
hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as
Cicero witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of Aristotle and his Sectators, with
those of Plato, and the Academicks to this effect, That the same power which they cal-
led *animam mundi;* The soule of the World, was no other then that incomprehensible
wisdome, which we expresse by the name of God, gouerning euery being aswell in
heauen as in earth; to which wisdome and power they sometime gaue the title of Ne-
cessitie or Fate, because it bindeth by ineuitable ordinance: sometime, the style of For-
tune, because of many effects there appeare vnto vs no certain causes. To this effect spea-
keth S. Augustine in his questions vpon Genesis the first Booke: the same hath Seneca in
his fourth of Benefits; which was also the doctrine of the Stoicks, of which Sect he was:
For whatsoeuer (saith he) thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and
the same, differenced by diuers termes, according as he vseth, and exerciseth his power diuersly.

But it may be objected, that if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the cau-
ses of good and euill in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expresse successe, how comes
it then, that so many worthie and wise men depend vpon so many vnworthy and emp-
tie-headed fooles; that riches and honor are giuen to externall men, and without ker-
nell:

Sen. Ep. 91.
Aurelius de per-
tinae Seneca. 74
Demetrius Poli-
archus in the
great and of-
ten changes of
his Fortune, is
said to haue
vied to crye
out vpon For-
tune, applying
to her a Verbe
of Aeschylus,
Tu me excu-
listi, eadem me is
creatus; perdis-
tina

Te facimus For-
tuna Dram, con-
loj, locamus.
Sat. 10. 566.
Exod. 21. 12. 13.

Deus. 5.

Deus. 33.

Cic. ac. que 3. l. 1.

Seneca. l. 4. ca. 7.

nell: and so many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their liues in poore and deiected estates. In a word, there is no other inferior, or apparent cause, beside the partialtie of mans affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our selues according to the nature of the time wherein we liue: for whosoever is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withall an honest and open heart and louing truth; if Princes, or those that gouerne, endure no other discourse then their owne flatteries, then I say such an one, whose vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall euermore hang vnder the wheele; which kinde of deseruing well and receiuing ill, we alwaies falsly charge Fortune withall. For whosoever shall tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is not iust; the Generall of an Armie, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire; shall neuer be made a Counsellor, a Captaine, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and iust with him that is iust, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperitie; but he must also change with the successor, if he be of contrarie qualities; faile with the tyde of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Estate or the Estates Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attaine to honour and riches, but by such an obseruant slavish course? These men hauing nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kinde of wondring at other men, and by making them beleue that all their vices are vertues, and all their dustie actions crytalline, haue yet in all ages prospered equally with the most vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, *Omnis insipiens arrogantia & plausibus capitur*; Euerie foole is wonne with his owne pride, and others flattering applause: so as whosoever will liue altogether out of himselfe, and studie other mens humours, and obscure them, shall neuer be vnfortunate; and on the contrarie, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the season wherein he liueth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodnesse fruitfull) shall neuer prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to warre or contend in vaine against the nature of times wherein he liueth: for such a one is often the authour of his owne miserie; but best it were to follow the aduice, which the Pope gaue the Bishops of that age, out of Ouid, while the Arian Heretic rag'd:

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

While furie gallops on the way,
Let no man furies gallop stay.

And if Cicero (then whom that world begat not a man of more reputed iudgement) had followed the counsaile of his brother QUINTUS, *Potuiſſet* (saith PETRARCH) *in lectulo suo mori, potuiſſet integro caduere ſepeliri*; He might then haue dyed the death of nature, and bene with an vntorne and vndisseuered bodie buried; for as Petrarch in the same place noteth: *Quid ſtultius quam deſperantem (preſerſim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari*; What more foolish then for him that despaires, especially of the effect, to be intangled with endlesse contentions? Whosoever therefore will set before him MACHIAVELS two markes to shooe at (to wit) riches, and glorie, must set on and take off a back of yron to a weak wooden Bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble: for as he, that first deuic'd to adde sayles to rowing vessels, did eyther for proportion them, as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might abide all windes and stormes, or else he sometime or other perished by his owne inuention: so that man which prizech vertue for it selfe, and cannot endure to hoise and strike his sayles, as the diuers natures of calmes and stormes require, must cut his sayles and his cloth, of meane length and bredth, and content himselfe with a slow and sure nauigation, (to wit) a meane and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the rest, or of whatfoeuer Lords or Gods, imaginarie powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishnesse) of man hath found out: let vs resolue with S. PAUL, who hath taught vs, that there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord, Iesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; there are diuersities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

CHAP. II.

Of mans estate in his first Creation, and of Gods rest.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

His creation of all other creatures being finished, the heauens adorned, and the earth replenished, GOD said, *Let vs make man in our owne Image, according to our likenesse*. Gen. 1. 26.

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods workes to vs knowne, *ingenſ miraculum homo, Man is the greateſt wonder* (saith PLATO out of MERCVIVS:) *Nature ardentissima artificium, The artificiall worke of the most ardent or fire-like nature* (as saith Zoroaster) though the same be meant, not for any excellencie external, but in respect of his internall forme, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an essence immortall, and spirituall; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

*Sanctius his animal mentisq; capacius altæ
Deerat adhuc: & quod dominari in cætera posset,
Natus homo est.*

More holy then the rest, and vnderstanding more,
A liuing creature wants, to rule all made before:
So man began to be.

*Sanctum, quia
pars potius im-
mortalis; an-
imal, quia in
mortalis.
In locum Ouid.
Met. l. 1. 76.*

Of this Image and similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceiue, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as S. Chrysostome, Ambrose, and some others: which S. Ambrose denieth to the woman in these words, *Vi sicut Deus vnus, ab eo fieret homo vnus, & quomodo ex Deo vno omnia, ita ex vno homine omne genus esset super faciem totius terræ: Vnus igitur vnus fecit, qui unitatis eius haberet imaginem*; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kinde should be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one, made one, that should haue the Image of his unitie. But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the same Verse, that man was after the Image of God in respect of rule and power, it is written *Dominamini* in the plural number, and let them rule ouer the fish in the Sea, &c. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceiue, that man is said to be after the image of God in respect of his immortall soule onely, because as God is inuisible, so the soule of man is inuisible; as God is immortall and incorporall, so is the soule of man immortall and incorporall; and as there is but one God which governeth the world, so but one soule which governeth the bodie of man; and as God is wholly in euery part of the world, so is the soule of man wholly in euery part of the bodie: *Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte*; The soule is wholly in the whole bodie, and wholly in euery part thereof, according to Aristotle; though Chalcidius, and other learned men denie that doctrine; which that it is otherwise then potentially true, all the Aristotelians in the world shall neuer proue. These and the like arguments doe the Iewes make (saith Tostatus) and these resemblances, betweene the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men resemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Minde there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Will; and yet all these, being of reall differences, are but one minde: so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similitude diuers; and againe, they distinguish betweene *imaginem Dei*, and *ad imaginem Dei*, and spinne into small threads, with subtle distinctions, many times the plainenesse and sinceritie of the Scriptures: their wits being like that strong water, that eateth thorow and dissolueth the purest gold. Victorinus also maketh the Image of God to be substantiall, but not the

the similitude: *sed in substantia nomen qualitatis declaratum*; A word declaring quality in the substance. Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is infer'd, that as the image and similitude doe greatly differ: so the finfull soule doth not therefore leaue to be the image of God; but it hath not his similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. Augustine also against *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by sinne, the perfection of this image is lost in man, and in his *Retractions* maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howsoever the Schoole-men and others distinguish, or whatsoever the Fathers conceiue, sure I am that S. Paul maketh the same sense of the image, which *Victorinus* doth of the similitude, who saith: *As we haue borne the image of the earthly, so shall we* 10 *bear the image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, that the words image and similitude were vsed but in one sense; and in this place the better to expresse each other, whatsoever *Lombard* hath said to the contrarie. For God knowes, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himselfe in the Scriptures, which neither *Moses*, the *Prophets*, or *Apostles*, euer conceiued. Now as S. Paul vseth the word (image) for both: so S. James vseth the word (similitude) for both in these words: *I herewith bless we God euen the Father, and therewith curse we Men, which are* 14 *made after the similitude of God*: Howsoever therefore S. Augustine seemeth, out of a kind of elegance in writing, to make some difference, as where he writeth, *Consistent imaginem in eternitate, similitudinem in moribus inueniri*; We confesse that this image is found 20 *in eternitie, but his similitude in manners*, that is, in the spirituall dispositions and qualities of the minde; yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainly: *Quasi verò posset esse imago aliqua in qua similitudo non sit: si enim omnino similis non est, procul dubio nec imago est*; As if (saith he) there could be any image, where the similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is no image. The verie words of the Text make this most manifest, as, *Let vs make man in our image, according to our likeness*: which is, Let vs make man in our image, that he may be like vs; and in the next Verse following, God himselfe maketh it plaine, for there he vseth the word (image) onely, as thus: *God created* 30 *the man in his image, in the image of God created he him*. And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the first Verse of the fifth Chapter, the word (similitude) is vsed againe by it selfe, as, *In the day that God created Adam, in the likeness of God made he him*. And this similitude S. Paul *Colos.* the third, calleth the image. *Put on* (saith he) *the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him, that created him*. And in *Syracides* it is written, *He made them according to his image*. Now if we may beleue S. Paul before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoole-men, then it is as manifest as wordes can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same, for S. Paul vseth both the wordes directly in one sense. For they turned the glorie of the incorruptible God, to be similitude of the image of a corruptible man.

Zanchius laboureth to proue, that man was formed after the image of God, both in bodie and minde: *Nulla pars in homine quæ non fuerit huiusce imaginis particeps*, No part in a man (saith he) which was not participating Gods image: for God said, *Let vs* 40 *make man according to our owne image*. But the soule alone is not man, but the *trypostasis* or whole man compounded of bodie and soule. The bodie of man (saith he) is the image of the world, and called therefore *Microcosmus*; but the *Idea* and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his bodie must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his owne obiection seemeth to me sufficient, where he allegeth, that it may be said, that *Moses* spake by the figure *Synecdoche*, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall, but the bodie onely: so when God said, *Let vs make man after our image*, he meant the soule of man, and not the bodie of earth and dust: *Ataledicius qui deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (saith S. AUGUSTINE,) *Cursed is he that referreth the Deitie of God to the lineaments of mans bodie*. *Deus enim non est humane forme particeps, neque corpus humane forme diuine* (saith PHILLO,) *God is not partaker of humane forme, nor humane body of the forme diuine*. The Hebrew word for image, is *Tselem*, which significeth a shadow or obscure resemblance: *In imagine pertransit homo*; Man passeth away in a shadow: Let vs then know and consider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition, for it is both against his Nature and his Word; an error of the *Anthropomorphite*, against the verie essence and Maiestie of God.

Surely

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more diuine vnderstanding then these grosse Heretikes: *Ad similitudinem Dei proprius accedebat humana virtus, quam figura*, The vertue which is in man (saith he) came neerer the similitude of God, then the figure. For God is a spirituall substance, inuisible, and most simple; God is a iust God; God is Mercifull: God is Charitie it selfe, and (in a word) Goodnelle it selfe, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himselfe to teach vs, and to make vs know of himselfe. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of such a nature, or wherein can man be said to resemble his vnexcogitable power and perfect- 10 *ness*? certainly, not in dominion alone: for the Deuill is said to be the Prince of this World, and the Kingdome of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father; neither, because man hath an immortall soule, and therein the faculties of *Memorie*, *Vnderstanding*, and *Will*, for the *Deuils* are also immortall, and participate those faculties, being called *Dæmones*, because *scientes* of Knowledge, and subtiltie; neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts: for who haue rebelled against God? who haue made Gods of the vilest beasts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea, euen of shamefull parts, of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? Yet doe I not condemne the opinion of S. *Chrysostome* and *Ambrose*, as touching dominion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some sort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, such as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Iustice and Pietie: for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Governour ouer the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heauen (or of the aire) and ouer the Beasts of the Field; but God gaue vnto man a dominion ouer men, he appointed Kings to gouerne them, and Iudges, to iudge them in equitie. Neither doe I exclude Reason, as it is the abilitie of Vnderstanding. For I doe not conceiue, that *Trenus* did therefore call man, the image of God, because he was *animal rationale* onely; but that he vnderstood it better, with *SYBILLA*: *Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens*: Man, that is endued with right reason, is said to resemble God, (that is) by right reason to know and confesse God his Creatour, and the same God to serue, loue, and obey: and therefore said Saint 30 *Augustine* (who herein came neerer the Truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente*, God made man, in respect of the intellectuall, after his owne Image and similitude; and *REYNERIVS*; *Homo, quod habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei*, Man was made after the Image of God, in minde, or in that he had a minde.

§. II.

Of the intellectuall minde of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sinne.

BUT *Mens* is not taken here for *anima physica*, according to *Aristotle*, which is 40 *forma, vel natura hominis*: The forme or nature of man; but this facultie or gift of God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi*, the principall strength of the minde, or soule, cuius actus est *perpetua veritatis contemplatio*; whose act, exercise, or office, is the perpetuall contemplation of truth; and therefore it is also called *intellectus diuinus, intellectus contemplatiuus, & anima contemplatiua*, A diuine vnderstanding, and 50 *intellectus* or minde contemplatiue. *Est autem mens nostra* (saith *CVSANVS*) *vis comprehendendi, & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum*: Our intellectuall minde (saith he) is a power of comprehending, euen the whole, that is in this kinde powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehension: vnto which *Mercurius* attributeth so much (if his meaning accompany his words) that hee esteemeth it to be the verie essence of God (which was also the error of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwise separate from God (saith he) then the light from the Sunne: for this *Mens* or vnderstanding (saith *MERCURIUS*) *est Deus in hominibus*: Is God in men, or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of the same essence or nature with the diuine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; so is this *Mens* or vnderstanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite vnderstanding, but a power and facultie of our soules the purest; or the *lumen anime rationalis*, by the true and eternall light illightned. And this *Mens* others call *animam*, The soule of the soule, or with S. *Augustine*, the eye of the soule, or receptacle of Sapience and diuine knowledge, *que amoris sapientie tanquam ducē sequitur*, Which followeth after

after the loue of sapience as her guide (saith Philo) betweene which and reason, betweene which and the mind, called *anima*, between which & that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference. Reason is that facultie by which we iudge and discourese; *Anima*, by which we liue. Hereof it is said, *Anima corpus animat, id est, uiuificat; or the soule is that which doth animate the body, that is, giueth it life*: for death is the separation of body and soule; and the same strength (saith Philo) which God the great Director hath in the VWorld, the same hath this *Anima*, or mind, or soule in man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this Basil agreeeth, which calleth this *Mens*, or diuine vnderstanding, *percipiensem animæ partem, the perceiving part of the mind*, or the light by which the Soule discerneth: *dormientium mens, non anima, sopitur, & in furiosis mens extinguitur, anima manet*, In mens that sleepe it is this (*mens*) or vnderstanding, and not the mind or soule, which reflect, during which time it is but habitual in wife men, & in mad men this (*mens*) is extinguished, and not the soule: for mad men doe liue, though distract.

Therefore this word being often vsed for the Soule giuing life, is attributed abusiuely to mad men, when we say that they are of a distract minde, in stead of a broken vnderstanding, which word (mind) we vse also for opinion, as, I am of this minde, or that mind: and sometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as, he is of an honest minde, or, a man of a iust minde: sometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mindes sake; and Aristotle sometimes vseth this word (*Mens*) for the phantasie, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we haue without discourese: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels and Intelligences: but as it is vsed in the proper signification, including both the vnderstanding agent and possible, it is described to bee a pure, simple, substantiall act, not depending vpon matter, but hauing relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large thus; a part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth vnderstand, not depending vpon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion comming from without, and apt to bee disfigured, as, eternall from that which is mortall. Hereof excellently *MERCURIUS: Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti præest, mens animæ, anima corpori; The Soule* (meaning that which giueth life) *is the Image of this vnderstanding, or Mens, and this (Mens) or vnderstanding is the Image of God. God is President or Ruler over this vnderstanding, this vnderstanding ouer the Soule, and this Soule ouer the bodie*. This diuision and distinction out of the Platonikes and Peripatetickes, I leaue to the Reader to iudge of. That, *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, *Marsilius Ficinus* in his ninth Booke of the Soules immortallitie laboureth to proue. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words, for (saith he) *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam non eget Mens organo, tanquam medium, per quod intelligat, quamquam eget obiecto in quod intueatur, & ex quo intellectum concipiat: hoc autem obiectum sunt phantasmata, seu rerum à sensibus perceptarum simulachra ad phantasmum prolata: To exercise the facultie of vnderstanding, the mind of man* (saith he) *needeth no instrument, as a meane, by which it may vnderstand: but it needeth an object, whercon to looke, and whence to concieue the act of vnderstanding. This object are the phantasies, or resemblances of things receiued from the sense & carryed to the phantasie*. But in effect his conclusion seemeth to carry a contrary sense, when he maketh the Phantasie, in representing the object to the vnderstanding, to be a corporall *Organum*; neither can it be vnderstood to be an *Organum* of any thing; but of the vnderstanding. And he addeth that the resemblance of things in mans imaginatiō, are to his vnderstanding & mind, as colours are to the sight: whence it so followeth, that the imagination or phantasie it self is to the facultie of vnderstanding, as the eye is to the faculty of seeing; & as this is an *organum*, so that. Of this question, How the minde in all her actions maketh vse of the bodie, & hath communion with the body, I referre the Reader to a most graue & learned Discourse in the last Reply of M. D. *Bilson*, late Bishop of Winchester, vnto Henry Jacob. Howsoeuer the Truth be determined, we must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourese, nor in respect of the minde it self by which we liue, nor in respect of our soules simply, by which we are immortall, that wee are made after the Image of God. But most safely may we resemble our selues to God in *memie*, and in respect of that pure facultie which is neuer separate from the contemplation and loue of God. Yet this is not all. For Saint *Bernard* maketh a true difference betweene the nature and faculties of the Minde or Soule, and betweene the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being

Lib. 9. cap. 5.
Zanch. de oper.
Dei, part. 3. lib. 1.
cap. 3.

Pag. 185. & sequent.
Ad imaginem
Dei creauit illum, id est, sapientiam, virtutem, ac bonitatem compotem, qui seipsum agnosceret suum, atque imitaretur, ut ingenium, prout auctoritatem, sibi concessit ratione iudicaret. Exam.

being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to bee after the Image of God, whose words are these: *Non propter eam imaginem Dei est, quia sui meminit, sed, intelligit & diligit* (which also was the opinion of Saint *AUGUSTINE*) *sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere ac diligere eum à quo facta est*, (that is) *The minde (or Soule) was not therefore the Image of God, because it remembereth, vnderstandeth, and loueth selfe, but because it can remember, vnderstand, and loue God, who created it. And the Image may be deformed and made vnprofitable; heare BASIL: Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei factus est, peccatum vero imaginis huius pulchritudinem deformans: & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiscentie affectibus immergit. Man was made after the Image and similitude of God, but sinne hath deformed the beautie of this Image, and made it vnprofitable by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiscentie*.

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortallitie, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it selfe, nor in all these ioyned, by any of which, or by all which we resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and vnderstanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, wee are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Originall righteousnesse, most perfectly infused by God into the minde and Soule of man in his first Creation: For it is not by nature, nor by her liberalitie, that we were printed with the scale of Gods Image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which ioyned to the soule is a part of the Essentiall Constitution of our proper Species) but from the bountifull grace of the Lord of all goodnesse, who breathed life into Earth, and contriued within the Trunk of Dust and Clay, the inimitable habilitie of his owne Pietie, and Righteousnesse.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion hath) doe those that are powerfull retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandements they exercise the Office or Magistracie to which they are called, and sincerely walke in the wayes of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men so long retain this Image, as they feare, loue and serue God truly, that is, for the loue of God alone, and doe not bruite and deface his Scale by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obstinate sinnes. For the vniust minde cannot bee after the Image of God, seeing God is Iustice it selfe; The bloud-thirstie hath it not; for God is Chastitie, and Mercie it selfe: Falshood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Satan; and therefore cannot dwell in one soule, together with God; and to be blotted, there is no likelihood betweene pure light and blacke darknesse, betweene beautie & deformitie, or betweene righteousnesse and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common vnderstanding, haue made vs capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receiue this Image of Gods goodnesse which the sensuall soules of beasts cannot perceiue; yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and imbrace the false and duple pleasures of this Stage-play World, then to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of Gods Wife-dome, and the liberalitie of his Mercy, formed eyes to our soules, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurie of our flesh, behold the highest Heauens, and thence bring Knowledge and Object to the Minde and Soule, to contemplate the cuer-during Glorie, and termelesse Joy, prepared for those, which retain the Image and similitude of their Creatour, preserving vndefiled and vnrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteousnes and Holinesse, as saith S. *Paul*. Now, whereas it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by Saint *Augustine*, with whom Saint *Ambrose* ioyneth, that, by sinne, the perfection of the Image is lost, and not the Image it selfe; both opinions by this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for either it is considered, according to naturall gifts, and consisteth therein: namely to haue a reasonable and vnderstanding nature, &c. and in this sense, the Image of God is more lost by sinne; then the very reasonable or vnderstanding nature, &c. is lost, (or sinne doth not abolish and take away these naturall gifts:) or, the Image of God is considered, according to supernaturall gifts, namely, of Diuine Grace and heauenly Glorie, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the naturall Image; and this manner of similitude and Image of God is wholly blotted out and destroyed by sinne.

Gen. 5. 22.

2. Cor. 5. 14.

2. Cor. 3. 9.

S. Ambrose.

§. III.

Of our base and fraile bodies: and that the care thereof should yeeld to the immortall Soule.

Arias Mont. de
nat. s. 156.

THE externall man God formed out of the dust of the Earth, or according to the signification of the word, *Adam* of *Adamiash*, of red Earth, or, *ex limo terra*, out of the slime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet limo, sed ex ghaphar adamash (id est) ex pinguisima & mollissima. Not that God made an Image or Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth or dust God formed and made flesh, blood, and bone, with all parts of man.*

Gen. 18. 27.
Job 4. v. 27.

That man was formed of Earth and Dust, did *Abraham* acknowledge, when in humble feare he called vnto God, to saue *Sedome*: *Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speake, I that am but dust and ashes*: And *In these Houses of Clay*, whose foundation is in the dust, doe our soules inhabit, according to *Job*. And though our owne eyes doe euerie where behold the sudden and resistlesse assaults of Death, and Nature assureth vs by neuer-failing Experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times upon the Earth haue neither certaintie nor durabilitie, that our Bodies are but the Anduiles of paine and diseases, and our Minds the Huges of vnumbred cares, sorrowes and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, against which *Enuie* and *Fortune* direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappinesse of our condition, and the darke ignorance which couereth the eyes of our vnderstanding, that wee only prize, 20 pampers, and exalt this Yallall and Slaue of death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast-away leisure) the imprisoned immortall Soule, which can neither dye with the Reprobate, nor perish with the mortall parts of vertuous men: seeing Gods Iustice in the one, and his goodnesse in the other is exercised for euermore, as the euer-living subiects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that wee examine this great account? Neuer while we haue one vanitie left vs to spend: wee plead for Titles, till our breath faile vs; digge for Riches whiles our strength enableth vs; exercise malice, while we can reuenge; and then, when Time hath beaten from vs both youth, pleasure, and health, and that Nature it selfe hateth the house of old age, we remember with *Job*, that we must goe the way from whence we shall not returne, and that our bed is made 30 ready for vs in the darke; And then I say, looking ouer-late into the bottome of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked vp from vs all our liues,) we behold therein the fearefull Images of our actions past, and withall this terrible Inscription: *That God will bring euerie worke into iudgement, that man hath done vnder the Sunne.*

Job 10. 11. 17. 33

Mat. 13. 24.

But what examples haue euer moued vs? what perfwasions reformed vs? or what threatnings made vs afraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before vs, we heare what is promised and threatened: but the Worlds bright glorie hath put out the eyes of our minds; and these betraying lights, (with which wee only see) doe neither looke vp towards termelesse ioyes, nor downe towards endlesse sorrowes, till wee neither know, nor can looke for any thing else, at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently 40 *Atarum Viller*:

*Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil deniq; morbi
Egerunt, qui nunc sumus, ijsq; periculis
Tentati, nihilo meliores reddimur vnquam,
Sub vitij nullo culpæque sine manentes.*

Diseases, Famine, Enemies, in vs no change haue wrought,
What erst we were, we are; still in the same share caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend,
In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end.

But let vs not flatter our immortall Soules herein: for to neglect God all our liues, and know that wee neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that wee offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace, which wee trust to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) euen a contemptuous laughing to scorne, and deriding of God, his Lawes and Precepts. *Frustrā sperant, qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur; They hope in vaine*, saith *BERNARD*, which in this sort flatter themselves with Gods mercie.

Bern. in Ps.
Qui habitat,

§. IV.

S. IIII.

Of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his Creation.

IN this frame and carcase God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a liuing Soule: (that is) God gaue a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soule spirituall and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodily instruments as men vse, but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortalitie into man, as hee breatheth his grace daily into such as loue and feare him. *The Spirit of God* (saith *E. L. I. H. V. in I. O. B.*) *hath made mee, and the breath of the Almighty hath giuen me Life: In qua sententia* (saith 10 *RABANVS*) *vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formasse corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labijs suis inspirasse in faciem formati, ut vivere possit & spiraculum vite habere: Nam & Prophetæ cum ait, Manus tuæ fecerunt me, &c. Tropica hac locutione magis quàm propria, (id est) iuxta consuetudinem, quæ solent homines operari, loquutus est: In which sentence* (saith hee) *the beggarlineesse of carnall sense is to bee auoided, lest perhaps wee should thinke, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with iawes or lips upon his face (being formed) that he might liue, and haue the Spirit of Life: for the Prophet also when he saith; Thy hand haue made mee, spake thus Tropically, rather than properly (that is) according to the custome which men vse in working. Quantum est periculi his, qui Scripturæ a sensu corporeo legunt? In what 30 danger are they that reade the Scriptures in a carnall sense? By this breath was infused into man both life and soule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philosophers call *Animam*, que vivificat corpus, & animat: which doth animate, and giue life to the body. The inspiration of the Almighty giueth vnderstanding, saith *I. O. B.*; and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soule of man, returneth againe to God that gaue it, as the body returneth vnto the Earth, out of which it was taken, according to *Ecclesiastes*: *And dust shall returne to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall re- Ecclesi. 12. 7.* turne to God that gaue it. Neither is this word (Spirit) vsually otherwise taken in the Scriptures, than for the soule; as vvhen *Stephen* cried vnto God: *Domine, suscipe spiritum meum*; *Lord Iesus receiue my spirit*: and in *S. I. O. H. N.* *And Iesus bowed his head, and gaue up the Ghost, or Spirit* (vvhich was) that his life and soule left his body dead. And that 30 the immortall soule of man differeth from the soules of beasts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, *Let the waters bring forth in abundance euery creeping thing, and let the Earth bring forth the liuing thing, according to his kinde, the beast of the Earth, &c.* But of Man it is written, *Let vs make man in our owne Image, &c.* and further, that the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life. Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth vvhere those creatures brought forth, and thence receiued life: so shall they againe be dissolued into the same first matter, vvhen they vvhere taken: but the life of breath euerlasting, vvhich God breathed into man, shall according to *Ecclesiastes*, re- Ecclesi. 12. 7; turne againe to God that gaue it.*

40

S. V.

That man is (as it were) a little world: with a digression touching our mortality.

MAN, thus compounded and formed by God, vvas an abstract or modell, or briefe Storie of the Vniuersall: in whom God concluded the Creation, and vvorke of the World, and vvhom hee made the last and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued vvith a diuine vnderstanding, by which hee might contemplate and serue his Creatour, after whose image hee vvwas formed, and endued vvith the powers and faculties of Reason and other abilities, that therby also he might 50 gouerne and rule the World, and all other Gods creatures therein. And vvhereas God created three sorts of liuing natures, (to wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; giuing to Angels an intellectuall, and to Beasts a sensuall nature, he vvouchsafed vnto Man, both the intellectuall of Angels, the sensitiue of Beasts, and the proper rationall belonging vnto man: and therefore (saith *GREGORY NAZIANZENE*) *Homo est vniuersæ naturæ vinculum, Man is the bond and chaine which tyeth together both natures*: and because in the little frame of mans body there is a representation of the Vniuersall, and (by allusion) a kinde of participation of all the parts there, therefore vvwas man called *Microcosmos*, or the little World. *Dem igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mun-* dum,

*Ari. Phys. 2. 8.
c. 2. 1. 17. f.
Gra. Nat. 2. 1. 1. f.
Omnis in homi-
ne creatura, &
calum & terra.
Ang. 2. 1. 1. 1. f.
67. 1. 1. 1. f.*

dum, in breui magnum, atq; exiguototum, intersit statim; God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another world, the great and large World in the small and little World: for out of the Earth and Dust was formed the flesh of man, and therefore heauie and lumpish: the bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rocks and Stones, and therefore strong and durable; of which OVID:

Ouid. Met. 1. 1.

*Indegenus durum sumus, experientisq; laborum,
Et documenta damus qua finis origine nati:*

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is, enduring paine and care,
Approoqing, that our bodies of a stonie nature are.

His blood, which disperseth it selfe by the branches of veines through all the body, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by Brookes and Riueres ouer all the Earth; his breath to the Aire, his naturall heate to the inclosed warmth which the Earth hath in it selfe, which stirred vp by the heate of the Sunne, assisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth. Our radicall moisture, Oyle, or Balsamum (whereon the naturall heate feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertilitie of the Earth; the haire of mans bodie, which addornes or ouer-shadows it, to the grasse, which couereth the vpper face and skin of the Earth; our generatiue power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandering & vnstable clouds, carried euery where with vncertaine winds; our eies, to the light of the Sun and Moone; and the beautie of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring; which, either in a very short time, or with the Sunnes heat, lay vp; and wither away, or the fierce pusses of winde blow them from the stalkes; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure vnderstanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which alwayes looketh vpwards) to those intellectuall natures, which are alwayes present with God; and lastly our immortal soules (while they are righteous) are by God himselfe beautified with the title of his owne image and similitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no man iust, or good, or righteous: for *in Angelis deprehensa est Salsitia, Behold, hee found folly in his Angels* (saith *Iob*) yet with such a kind of difference, as there is betwene the substance and the shadow, there may be found a goodnesse in man: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called man, the image and similitude of his owne righteousness. In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the vniuersall (man being the measure of all things; *Homoe est mensura omnium rerum*, saith *Aristotle* and *Pitagoras*) that the foure Complexions resemble the foure Elements, and the seuen Ages of man the seuen Planets: Whereof our Infancie is compared to the *Moone*, in which wee seeme onely to liue and grow, as Plants; the second Age to *Mercurie*, wherein wee are taught and instructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the dayes of Loue, Desire, and Vanitie; the fourth to the *Sunne*, the strong, flourishing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which wee seeke honour and victorie, and in which our thoughts trauaile to ambitious ends; the sixth Age is ascribed to *Iupiter*, in which wee beginne to take accompt of our times, iudge of our felues, and grow to the perfection of our vnderstanding; the last and seuenth to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are sad and ouer-cast, and in which we find by deafe and lamentable experience, & by the losse which can neuer be repaired, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth: Our attendants are sicknesses, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more wee are accompanied with plentie, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom when *Time* hath made vnfoeable to others, we become a burthen to our felues: being of no other vse, than to hold the riches we haue, from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and neuer before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we passe on vnto, with many sighes, grones, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of death, finish the sorrowfull businesse of a wretched life, towards which wee alwayes trauel both sleeping and waking: neither haue those beloued companions of honour & riches any power at all, to hold vs any one day, by the glorious promise of entertainments, but by what crooked path soeuer we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death, whose doores lye open at all houres, and to all persons. For this tyde of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, euerrunneth with a perpetuall Ebbe and falling Streame, but neuer floweth againe: our Lease once fallen, springeth no more,

neither

neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne vs againe, with the garments of new Leanes and Flowers.

*Redditur arboribus flores renouentibus aetas,
Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, reddit:*

To which I giue this sense.

The Plants and Trees made poore and old
By Winter enuious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Couers againe from shame and cold:
But neuer Man repayr'd againe
His youth and beautie lost,
Though Art, and care, and cost,
Doc promise Natures helpe in vaine:

And of which,

CATVLLVS, EPIGRAM. 53.

Sales occidere & redere possunt:

The Sunne may set and rise:

But we contrariwise

*Nobis cum semel occidis breuis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.*

Sleepe after our short light
One euerlasting night.

For if there were any bayting place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life, then according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the same might also perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in naturall liuing things, and as the sap and iuyce, wherein the life of Plants is preserved, doth euermore ascend or descend: so is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either increasing towards ripenesse and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottennesse and dissolution.

§. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his first Creation, to dispose of himselfe.

These be the miseries which our first Parents brought on all Mankinde, vnto whom God in his creation gaue a free and vnconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberall choice of all things, with one onely prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God set before him, a mortall and immortall Life, a nature celestiall and terrene, and (indeed) God gaue man to himselfe, to bee his owne Guide, his owne Workeman, and his owne Painter, that hee might frame or describe vnto himselfe what hee pleased, and make election of his owne forme: *God made man in the beginning* (saith *SIRACIDES*) *and left him in the hands of his own counsaile*. Such was the liberalitie of God, and mans felicitie: whereas beasts, and all other creatures reasonlesse, brought with them into the World (saith *Lucilius*) and that when they first fell from the bodies of their Dams, the nature, which they could not change: and the supernall Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitie. But (as aforesaid) God gaue vnto man all kind of Seeds & Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetatiue life of Plants, the sensuall of Beasts, the rationall of Man, and the intellectuall of Angels, whereof which soeuer he tooke pleasure to plant and cultiue, the same should surely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his owne choice and plantation. This freedom of the first man *Adam*, and our first Father, was enigmatically described by *Aesclepius Asclepiades* (saith *Mirandula*) in the person and Fable of *Proteus*, who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphoses* among the *Pythagorians*, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into diuers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from Reason to Brutalitie, from Vertue to Vice, from Meeknesse to Crueltie, and from Iustice to Oppression. For by the liuely Image of other creatures did those *Antients* represent the variable passions and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents were signified Deceiters, by Lyons, Oppressors, and cruell men; as by Swine, Men given over to lust and sensuality; by Wolves, ravening, and greedie Men, which also *S. Matthew* resembleth to false prophets, which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are rauening wolves: by the images of stones and stocks, foolish and ignorant Men; by Vipers, vngenerall Men: of which *S. Iohn BAPTIST*, *O ye generation*

ued. in Gen.
1. et Comest. h. l.
cap. 3.
Mose, et Barci.
de U. u.

Rabanus, were both sicke of this vanitie, with Origen, and Philo: so was our venerable Beda, and Pet. Comestor, and Moses Barcephas the Syrian, translated by Masius. But as Hopkins saies of Philo Iudeus, that hee wondred, *Quo malo genio afflatus; By what euill Angell he was blowne up into this error*: so can I not but greatly maruaile at the learned men, who so grossely & blindly wandred; seeing Moses, and after him the Prophets, do so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the kingdoms and prouinces bordering it, by the Riuer which watered it, and by the points of the Compasse vpon which it lay, in respect of Iudæa, or Canaan.

Nouiomagus also, vpon Beda, *De natura rerum*, beleueeth that all the earth was taken for Paradise, and not any one place. For the whole earth (saith he) hath the same beauty adscribed to Paradise. He addeth, that the Ocean was that fountaine, from whence the foure Riuer, Pison, Gehon, Tigris, and Euphrates, had their beginning: for he could not thinke it possible, that these Riuer of Ganges, Nilus, Tigris, and Euphrates, (whereof the one ranne through India, the other through Egypt, and the other through Mesopotamia and Armenia) could rise out of one fountaine, were it not out of the Fountaine of the Ocean.

S. III.

That there was a true locall Paradise Eastward, in the Countrey of Eden.

Gen. cap. 2.

TO the first therefore, that such a place there was vpon the earth, the wordes of Moses make it manifest, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a garden Eastward in Eden, and there hee put the man whom hee had made*. And howloeu the vulgar translation, called Hieromes translation, hath conuerted this place thus, *Plantauit Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis a principio*; The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning; putting the word (pleasure) for Eden, and (from the beginning) for Eastward: it is manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper name of a Region. For what sense hath this translation (saith our Hopkins, in his Treatise of Paradise) that hee planted a garden in pleasure, or that a Riuer went out of pleasure to water the garden? But the seenty Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis, the Paradise of Eden*, and so doth the Chaldean Paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a place, and for a Nounne appellatine; which Region, in respect of the fertilitie of the soyle, of the many beautifull Riuer, and goodly Woods, and that the trees (as in the Indies) doe alwaies keepe their leaues, was called Eden, which signifieth in the Hebrew, pleasantnesse, or delicacie, as the Spaniards call the Country, opposite to the Isle of Cuba, Florida: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, that as Florida was a Countrey, so called for the flourishing beauty thereof, so was Eden a Region called pleasure, or delicacie, for its pleasure, or delicacy: and as Florida signifieth flourishing; so Eden signifieth pleasure: & yet both are the proper names of Countries; for Eden being the proper name of a Region (called pleasure in the Hebrew) and Paradise being the choice seate of all that Region, Paradise was truly the Garden of Eden, and truly the Garden of pleasure.

Now, for Eastward, to translate it, from the beginning, it is also contrary to the translation of the Seenty; to the ancient Greeke Fathers, as Basil, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Gregorie; and to the Rabines, as Ramban, Rabbi Salomon, R. Abraham, and Chimechi; and of the Latines, Seuerinus, Damascenus, &c. who plainly take Eden for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (Eastward) for abinitio: for Damascenus owne wordes are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter constitus; Paradise is a place, maruailously planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward the East*.

And after all these Fathers, Guilielmus Parisiensis, a great learned man, and Sixtus Senensis, of later times, doe both vnderstand these wordes of Eden, and of the East, contrary to the vulgar translation; Parisiensis, as indifferent to both, and Sixtus Senensis, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their owne wordes: *After this I will begin to speake of Paradise terrestriall, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. Post hec incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantasse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem, &c.* And then Senensis; *Moses enim clarissime prodit, Paradisum a Deo constitum in regione terre Orientalis, que dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen apparet ex quatuor capite Gen. ubi legimus CHAM habitasse ad Orientalem plagam Hedon*; For MOSES (saith

(saith he) doth shew most cleerely, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrey, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we read, that CHAM dwelt on the East border of Heden. PERRIVS endeouereth to qualifie this translation: for this particule (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alleging this place of Christ, that although the Deuill was said to be a man-slayer from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I thinke (referring my selfe to better judgement) the Deuill was from the instant of his fall a man-slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till mans creation. And for conclusion, S. Hierome (if that bee his translation) aduiseeth himselfe better in the end of the third Chapter of Genesis, conuerting the word (Eden) by (ante) and not (a principio) as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden; Collocauit Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis Cherubin*; and Perrerius himselfe acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew. *Posuit a parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin; Hec sit on the East-side of the Garden of Heden, Cherubin*. BECANVS affirmeth, that the Hebrew word (Be) signifieth (with) as well as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But BECANVS followeth this construction, onely to the end, to finde Paradise vpon the Riuer of Acesines: for there he hath heard of the Indian Fig-tree in great abundance, which hee supposeth to be the tree of Knowledge of good and euill, and would therefore draw Paradise to the Fig-tree: which conceit of his I will answer hereafter.

Now, because Paradise was seated by Moses toward the East, thence came the custome of praying towards the East, and not by imitation of the Chaldeans: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sun riseth in March, which is directly ouer Paradise (saith Damascenus): affirming, that wee alwaies pray towards the East, as looking towards Paradise, whence wee were cast out; and yet the Temple of Salomon had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselves in their seruice and diuine ceremonies, alwaies towards the West, thereby to auoide the superstition of the Egyptians and Chaldeans.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although Paradise were East from Iudæa, yet it was West from Persia) and the seruing of God is euery where in the world, the matter is not great which way we turne our faces, so our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from Paradise, and pray turning our selues towards the East, may remember thereby to beseech God, that as by Adams fall we haue lost the Paradise on earth; so by Christs death and passion wee may be made partakers of the Paradise celestiall, & the Kingdom of heauen. To conclude, I conceiue, that there was no other mysterie in adding the word (East) to Eden by Moses, than to shew, that the Region of Eden, in which Paradise vvas, lay Eastward from Iudæa and Canaan: for the Scriptures alwaies called the people of those Nations, the Sonnes of the East, vvhich inhabited Arabia, Mesopotamia, Chaldaea, and Persia: of which Ouid:

Eurus ad Kutoram, Nabataeque regna recessit,

Perfidam, & radijs tuga subasta matutinis.

The East wind with Aurora hath abiding
Amongst the Arabians, and the Persian Hills,
Whom Phoebus first salutes at his vp-rising.

And if it bee objected, that Hiermy the Prophet threatning the destruction of Hierusalem, doth often make mention of Northerne Nations, it is to bee noted, that the North is there named, in respect of those nations that followed Nabuchodonosor, and of vvhom the greatest part of his Army vvas compounded; not that Babylon it selfe stood North from Hierusalem, though inclining from the East towards the North.

Now to the difference of this Translation, Peter Comestor giueth best satisfaction: for he vseth the vvord, *From the beginning, that is, from the first part of the world, (a principio) id est, (saith hee) a prima orbis parte*, and afterward hee affirmeth, that *a principio, and ad Orientem*, haue the same signification, *From the beginning & Eastward is all one, a principio idem est quod ad Orientem*.

But to returne to the prooffe of this place, and that this Story of Mankind was not Allegoricall, it followeth in the Text of the 2. Chap. & 9. Verse, in these vvords: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree pleasant to the sight, and good for meate, &c.* so as first it appeared that God created Adam elsewhere, as in the World at large, and then, put him into the Garden: and the end why, is exprest: *that he might dreffe it and keepe*

Verses 18.

1^{ere} 10.

E 26b.27.23.

keeps it; *Paradise* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withall) good for meate : which proueth that *Paradise* was a terrestriall Garden, garnished with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegoricall construction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a Riuer ; expressing also the Region, out of which this Riuer sprang, which hee calleth *Heden* ; and that *Heden* is also a Countrie neere vnto *Charan* in *Mesopotamia*, *Ezechiel* witnesseth.

But to all these Cabalists, which draw the Truth and Storie of the Scriptures into Allegories, Epiphanius answereth in these wordes : *Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam fons, si non est fons, non est flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia, non Pison, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non est ficus, non solia, non comeditur Eva de arbore, non est ADAM, non sunt homines, sed veritas iam fabula est, & omnia ad Allegorias reducuntur* : If Paradyse bee not sensible, then there was no fountain, and then no river, if no river, then no such four heads or branches, and then not any such river as Pison, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates, no such fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves, Eve then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any ADAM, or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things esteemed are called backe into Allegories. Wordes to the same effect hath S. Hierome vpon DANIEL : *Contestant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate figentes, ipsam conantur evertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbores potent Allegoria Legibus se debere subnecere* : Let the dotage of them bee silent, who following shadows and images in the Truth, endeavour to subvert the Truth its selfe, and thinke that they ought to bring Paradyse, and the Rivers and the Trees under the Rules of Allegorie.

Exch. 21. 9.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the *Storie* is the place made more manifest. For, God gaue *Adam* free libertie to eate of euery Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledge excepted) which Trees *Moses* in the ninth verse saith that they were : good to eat, meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beasts to *Adam* to be named, which hee had formerly made ; and these beasts were neither in the third Heauen, nor neere the Circle of the Moone, nor beasts in imagination : for if all these things were Enigmaticall or Mystically, the same might also bee said of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel*, speaking of the glory of the Assyrian Kings, vseth this speech: *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, enuied him ;* which proueth both *Eden*, and *Paradise* therein seated, to be terrestriall: for the Prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But *Moses* wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and hee was more large and precise in the description of *Paradise*, than in any other place of Scripture ; of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulities of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to be apt to fabulous inventions, and that if hee had not described both the Region and the Riuers, and how it stood from Canaan, many of the vnbeleeuing Israelites and others after them, would haue misconstrued this *Storie* of Mankind. And is it likely, there would haue been so often invention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the same had beene an *Vtopia*? For we finde that the Valley, wherein *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* stood, (sometimes called Pentapolis, of the fise principall Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their vnnatural sinne purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the Land of Egypt toward Zoar : In like manner was Israel resembled to the *Paradise* of *GOD*, before the Babylonians wasted it: which proueth plainly, that *Paradise* it selfe exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a seate and soyle of farre exceeding excellency.

Gen. 13, 10.

Besides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Aleisious Gardens*, as *Insin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise*? *Gen. 2.* and whence are their praises of the *Elizian fields*, but out of the storie of *Paradise*? to which also appertain those 50 Verses of the *Golden Age* in *Ovid*:

Oxid. Metam. 1.1

*Ver erat æternum, placidique serpentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyri matos sine semine flores.*

The ioyfull Spring did euer last,
And Zephyrus did breede

Sweete flowers by his gentle blast,
Without the helpe of seed.

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus, Linus, Pindarus, Hesiodus, and Homer*, and after him, *Orpheus*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagorus* and *Plato*, and their Secta-

Sectatours, did greatly enrich their inventions, by venting the staine Treasures of Diuine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poetlicall conuolutions, as if they had bin conceiued out of their owne speculations and contemplations:

But besides all these testimonies, if we find what Region *Heden* or *Eden* was; if we proue the Riuer that ran out of it, and that the same afterwards was diuided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of *Hauile* and *Cash*, and that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the Deserts of the *Amerites*, where *Moses* wrote: I then concluding that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was: And yet I doe not exclude the Allegoricall sense of the Scripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the Storie being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith Saint *Augustine*) *Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententia: una est eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantum (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradisum accipiunt;* (that is) *There are three opinions of Paradise: the one of those men, which will haue it altogether corporal: a second of those, which conceive it altogether spiritual, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of those which take it in both senses; which third opinion S. Augustine approbeth, and of which Saidus giueth this allowable iudgement: Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & huius sanctissimum nomen, sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplex specie est prædictum,* (that is) *As man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible: so was this holy Grove or Garden to be taken both wayes, and endued with a double forme.*

Aug. de Cinqt.
De l. 13. c. 21.
Sudas in 2. c. 16
Paradise.

C. IV

why it should be needfull to intrecate diligently of the place of Paradise.

BUt it may be objected, that it is needlesse, and a kind of curiositie to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no vse. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction, and if the truth of the Storie be necessarie, then by the place proued, the same is also made more apparent. For if wee should conceiue that *Paradise* were not on the Earth, but, lifted vp as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the *Oceans*, and in no part of the knowne World, from whence *Adam* was said to wade through the Sea, & thence to haue come into *Indes*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would giue any credit vnto it. For what could seeme more ridiculous than the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this seat of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pisbon* should be *Ganges*, which watereth the East *Indie*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*, and these two Riueres so farre distant, as if except all the World were *Paradise*: these streames can no way be comprized therein.

40 Secondly, if the birth and workes, and death of our Saviour, were said to haue beene in some such Countrey, of which no man euer heard tell, and that his Miracles had bin performed in the Ayre, or no place certainly knowne: I assure my selfe, that the Christian Religion would haue taken but a slender roote in the mindes of men: for times and places are approoued witnessses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should rely, or give place to the iudgement of some Writers vpon this
place of *Gheesh*: (though otherwise for their doctrine in generall, they are worthy of hon-
our & reverence): Alay that there is no *Hable* among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more
ridiculous : for who would belecue that there were a piece of the World so set by it
it selfe & separated as to hang in the Aire vnder the dircle of the Moone, or who so dol-
tish to conceiue, that from thence the foure riuers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Eufrates*, and *Ty-*
gris, should fall downe, and run vnder all the Ocean, and rise againe in this our habi-
table world, & in those places where they are now found : While I many men thinke,
that I enforce or straine to the worst, these are *Pecor Compositi* own words. *Est autem locus*
amenissimus, longaterra et montibus circum habitabilis Zona septima, inter eleuatius, ut
vulg admodum est globum intingat, circ. (thar is) *is a most pleasant place, sitered from our ha-*
bitable Zone by a litle tridell, & end to her almost 6000 years since it was

*And Apollon Boreas upon this place writeth in this manner! Deinde hoc quoq[ue] responsu[m] Boreae conuen-
tulum periculum multo sublimius patitur effectum de his nonnullis fuerit veritas. [illegible]*

Basic conversion
by MA, MS

ut illinc per precipitum delabantur flumini tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possum; eoque impetu impulsis pressisq; sub Oceani vado rapinatur, unde rursus proficiens ebulliantq; in hoc à nobis cultu orbe: which haue this sense: Furthermore (saith he) we giue thee for an answer, that Paradise is set in a Region farre raised above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to passe, that from thence these Riuers fall downe with such a headlong violence, as words cannot expresse; and with that force so impulsed and prest, they are carried vnder the deepe Ocean, and doe againe rise and boyle up in this our habitable world: and to this he addeth the opinion of Ephram, which is this. Ephram dicit Paradisum ambire terram, atq; ultra Oceanum ita positum esse, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atq; Luna orbis Lunam cingit, (which is) That Paradise doth compass or embrace the whole Earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it enuironeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on euery side, as the Orbe of the Moone doth embrace the Moone. To the end therefore that these ridiculous expositions and opinions doe not bring question vnto Truth it selfe, or make the same subiect to doubts or disputes, it is necessarie to discouer the true place of Paradise, which God in his wiselome appointed in the very Nauell of this our World, and (as Melancthon saies) in parte terra meliore, in the best part thereof, that from thence, as from a Centre, the Vniuersall might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we shall the better iudge of the beginning of Nations, & of the worlds inhabitation: for neere vnto this did the Sons of Noah also disperse themselves after the flood, into all other remote regions & countries. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers haue come, and out of what regions and Nations, it cannot be displeasing to vnderstand the place of our first Ancestor, from whence all the streames and branches of Mankind haue followed & bin deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that such a place there was as Paradise, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be vnprofitable, it followeth in order to examine seuerall opinions before remembred, by the Truth it selfe, & to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common reason, and afterward to proue directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delightfull Garden.

S. V.

That the Flood hath not utterly defaced the markes of Paradise, nor caused Hills in the Earth.

And first, whereas it is supposed by Aug. Chrysostomus, that the Flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can finde any marke or memorie thereof: (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the Flood the cause of those high Mountaines, which are found on all the Earth ouer, with many other strange effects) for mine owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of Paradise was after the Flood withered, and growne old, in respect of the first beauty: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had beene no signe of any such place, or if the soile and seate had not remained, then would not Moses, who wrote of Paradise about 850. yeeres after the Flood, haue described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after Moses would not haue made so often mention thereof. And though the verie Garden it selfe were not then to be found, but that the Flood, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the Land of Eden, yet the place is still the same, and the Riuers still remaine the same Riuers. By two of which (neuer doubted of) to wit, Tigris, and Euphrates, we are sure to finde in what longitude Paradise lay, & learning out one of these Riuers, which afterward doth diuide it selfe into foure branches, wee are sure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it selfe. For it is written, that out of Eden went a River to water the Garden, and from thence it was diuided and became into foure heads. Now whether the word in the Latine Translation (Inde) from thence, be referred to Eden it selfe, or to Paradise, yet the diuision & branching of those riuers must be in the North or South side of the very Garden (if the riuers run as they doe, North & South) and therefore these riuers yet remaining, & Eden manifestly known, there could be no such defacing by the flood, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered as future ages know it not, so is there no probability,

Gen. 1. 10.

that eyther these Riuers were turned out of their courses, or new Riuers created by the Flood which were not, or that the Flood (as aforesaid) by a violent motion; when it began to decrease, was the cause of high Hills or steepe Vallies. For what descent of waters could there be in a Spherical land round about, whereby that is the highest hill nor low: seeing that all violent force of waters is either by the strength of winds, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebb or flood of the Sea. But that there was a nie wind (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, Therefore God made a wind to passe upon the Earth, and the waters ceased. So as it appeareth not, that vntill the waters staid, there was any wind at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodnesse, caused the winds to blow; to drye vp the abundant slime and mudd of the Earth, and make the Land more firme, and to cleanse the Ayre of thicke vapours, and vniuersall mists: and this we know by experience, that all downe-right raines doe euermore disfigure the violence of outrageous windes, and beat downe, and leuell the swelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for anie ebbes and floods there could be none, when the waters were equall and of one height ouer all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bayes, or Gulfs to receiue a Flood, or any descent, or violent falling of waters, in the round forme of the Earth and Waters, as aforesaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters rather stood in a quiet calme, than that they moved with any raging or over-bearing violence. And for a more direct proofe, that the Flood made no such destroying alteration, Josephus auoweth that one of those pillars erected by Seth, the third from Adam, was to be seene in his dayes; which pillars were set vp about 1426. yeares before the Flood, counting Seth to be an hundred yeares old at the creation of them; and Joseph himselfe to haue liued some fortie or fiftie yeares after Christ: of whom although there be no cause to beleue all that hee wrote, yet that which hee auouched of his owne time, cannot (without great derogation) bee called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seene. Now that such pillars were raised by Seth, all Antiquitie hath auowed. It is also written in Hierosolus (to whom although I giue little credite, yet I cannot condemne him in all) that the Citie of Enoch, built by Cain about the mountaines of Libanus, was not defaced by length of time; yea the ruines thereof Annins (who commented vpon that inuented fragment) saith, were to be seene in his dayes, who liued in the reigne of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile. And if these his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, speaking of this citie of Enoch, he concludeth in this sort: *Cujus maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta videntur. & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Ciuitas Cain. & nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt: The foundation of which huge Masse is now to be seene, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the Citie of Cain, as both our strangers and merchants report.* It is also auowed by Pomponius Mela (to whom I giue more credite in these things) that the citie of Ioppa was built before the Flood, ouer which Cepha was King: whose name, with his brother Phineus, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found grauen vpon certaine altars of stone. And it is not impossible, that the ruines of this other citie, called Enoch by Annins, might be seene, though founded in the first Age: but it could not be of the first citie of the world, built by Cain, the place rather than the time denying it.

And to proue directly that the Flood was not the cause of mountaines, but that there were mountaines from the creation, it is written, that the waters of the Flood overflowed by fiftene Cubits the highest Mountaines. And Masius Damascenus (speaking of the Flood, writeth in this manner: *Est supra Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos sermo est diluuij tempore liberatos. And vpon Minyada there is an high Mountaine in Armenia (called Baris) vnto which it is said that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they saued themselves thereon.* Now although it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were saued than eight persons, (which Masius doth not auouch, but by report) yet it is a testimonie, that such Mountaines were before the Flood, which were afterwards, and euer since, knowne by the same names; & on which Mountaines it is generally receiued that the Arke rested: but vntreuly, as I shall proue hereafter. And againe it appeareth, that the Mount Sion (though by another name) was knowne before the Flood; on which the Thalmudists report, that many Giants saued themselves also; but, as Annins saith, without all authoritie eyther diuine or humane.

Lastly,

Gen. 8. 11.

Lastly, it appeareth that the Flood did not so turne upside-downe the face of the Earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge; when the waters were decreased, by this that when Noah sent out the Dove the second time, she returned with an Olive-leaf in her mouth, which shee had plucked, and which (until the Trees were discouered) shee found not: for, either wild the might have found them floating on the water; a manifest prooffe, that the Trees were not torne vp by the rootes, nor swamme vpon the waters: for it is written: *folium Olive, raptum est de cerpitum, a leafe pluckt, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to tear off.* By this it is apparant, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Flood made no such alteration; as was supposed, but that the place of Paradise might be scene to succeeding Ages; especially vnto Moses, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and vnto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discouery.

§. VI.

That Paradise was not the whole Earth, as some haue thought: making the Ocean to bee the fountaine of those foure Riues.

Gen. 1. 8. Ales 17. 26.

Gen. 1. 8.

3. 24.

THIS conceit of *Aug. Chrysostomus* being answered, who onely giueth his opinion for reason, I will in a few words examine that of the Manichees, of *Neonmagus*, *Vadianus*, *Cyprianus*, *Becanus*, and all those that vnderstood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many wordes, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Vniuersalitie will appeare altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alleageth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the Earth and subdue it, rule over euery Creature, &c.* with this of the *Ales*, and hath made of one blood all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth, doe no way proue such a generalitie: for the World was made for man, of which hee vvas Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his vse. Now although all men vvore of one and the same fountaine of blood originally; and *Adams* posteritie inhabited in proceesse of time ouer all the face of the earth; yet it disproueth in nothing the particular Garden, assigned to *Adam*, to dresse and cultiue, in which hee liued in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had beene no other choyce, but that *Adam* had bin left to the Vniuersall; *Moses* vvould not then haue said, *Eastward in Eden*, seeing the World hath nor East nor West, but respectiue. And to what end had the Angell of God beene set to keepe the East-side, and entrance into Paradise after *Adams* expulsion, if the Vniuersall had beene Paradise? for then must *Adam* haue beene chased also out of the World. For if All the earth vvore Paradise, that place can receiue no better construction than this, That *Adam* vvas driuen out of the World into the World, and out of Paradise into Paradise, except vvee should beleue vvith *Metastorius*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one, as to affirme, *That in so large a field, as the Vniuersall, there should grow but one Thistle.* *NOVIOMAGVS* vpon *Beda*, seemeth to be led by this, that it vvas vnpossible for those three Riues, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates* (vvhich vvater three portions of the World so far distant) to rise out of one Fountaine, except the Ocean bee taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that those foure Riues, being so vnderstood, there could bee no coniecture more probable, but it shall plainly appeare, that *Pison* was falsly taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* falsly for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a Riuer by *Hauilah* in *India*, & *Nilus* run through *Ethiopia*. The *Senenys* vvrite Chus for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the Manichees, and the mistakings of *Neonmagus*, *Goropius*, & *Vadianus*, vvith others, are made manifest. Yet was their coniecture farre more probable, than that of *Ephrem*, *Cyprianus*, and *Athanasius*: That Paradise vvas seated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* vvaded through it, and at last came toward the Country in vvhich hee was created; and vvas buried at Mount *Caluery* in *Hierusalem*. And certainly, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many yeeres after the Flood, yet *Adams* shin-bones must haue contained a thousand sadome, and much more, if hee had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needes no argument to disproue it.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the Moone: and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the Ayre.

THIRDLY, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the Schoolemen affirme, Paradise to bee a place, altogether remoued from the knowledge of men (*locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephas* conceiued, that Paradise was farre in the East, but mounted aboue the Ocean, and all the Earth, and neere the Othe of the Moone (which opinion, though the Schoolemen charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* layes it off from *Beda* vpon *Strabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*:) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his Geographie of Paradise, doth not much differ from the rest, but findes it seated next or neereft heauen; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceiue) well vnderstood; who (vndoubtedly) tooke this place for Heauen it selfe, into which the Soules of the blessed were carried after death.

True it is; that these Philosophers durst not for feare of the *Areopagites* (in this and many other diuine apprehensions) set downe what they beleueed in plaine termes, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death, for acknowledging one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the Deuill himselfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Iustine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and *St. Augustine* gaue this iudgement of him; as his opinion, that (few things changed) hee might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to mee, that both *Tertullian* and *Eusebius* conceiue, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestiall Paradise, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, vpon the top of Mount *Atho* (called *Acrothonus*) which being aboue all Clouds of Raine, or other Inconuenience, the people (by reason of their so many yeeres) are called *Macrobii* (that is) *Long-lived*. A further Argument is vsed, for prooffe of the height of this place; because therein was *Enoch* preserved from the violence of the Flood: approved by *Isidore*, and *Peter Lombard*; in which place also *Tertullian* conceiued; that the blessed Soules were preserved till the last iudgement; which *Trenas* and *Iustine Martyr* also beleueed. But this opinion was of all Catholique Diuines reprobued, and in the *Florentine Councell* damned; of which *Saint Augustine* more modestly gaue this iudgement: *Sicut certum est, ENOCH & ELIAS nunc viuere: ita ubi sunt: an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) *As it is certaine that ENOCH and ELIAS doe now liue: so where they liue, in Paradise or elsewhere, it is vncertaine*. But *Barcephas* giues a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that Paradise should be set at such a distance and height; because the foure Riues (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not haue had sufficient force to haue thrust themselves vnder the great Ocean, and afterward haue forced their passage through the earth, and haue risen againe in the farre distant Regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

These strange fancies and dreames haue beene answered by diuers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing vpon this subiect; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: for to vse long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly bee iudged a vanity in the Answerer, not much inferior to that of the Inuenter.

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to liue in: for being set so neere the Moone, it had beene too neere the Sunne, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must haue beene too ioynt a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the Ayre in that Region is so violently moued, and carried about with such swiftnesse, as nothing in that place can consist or haue abiding. Fourthly, because the place betweene the Earth and the Moone (according to *Protonie* and *Astragani*) is ten thousand times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes in a grosse account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that Paradise being raised to this height; must haue the compasse of the whole earth for a base, and founda-^{tion}. But had it bin so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men: seeing it would deprive vs of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part of

Cicero Somn.
Scip.

of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell neere those fells of waters, are deafe from their infancy, like those which dwell neer the *Caradupa*, or ouer-falls of Nilus. But this I hold as fained. For I haue seen in the Indies, far greater water-falls, than those of Nilus, and yet the people dwelling neere them are not deafe at all. *Tostatus* (the better to strengthen himselfe) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together: to which *Percerius*, *Sedagobus* apud *Basilium* & *Ambrosium* in eorum scriptis, que nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini; But I do not remember (saith he) that I euer read those things, either in *BASIL* or *AMBRÖSE*.

1. Cor. 15. 55.

1. Pet. 3. 10.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* & *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdom. Their taking vp might be into the celestially *Paradise*, for ought we know. For although flesh and blood, subiect to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of heauen, and the seed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith *S. Paul*) but all shall be changed: which change, in *Enoch* & *Elias*, was easie to him that is Almighty. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the Flood all perished on the earth, sauing eight persons, and therefore in the terrestriall *Paradise* they could not be.

Gen. 7. 19.

Exod. 14. 12.

For *Tostatus* his owne opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but beleued that *Paradise* was raised aboue the middle Region of the Aire, and twenty cubits aboue all Mountaines, that the Flood did not therfore reach it: (which *Scotus* and other later Schoole-men also beleued; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to ouerwhelme it:) this is also contrary to the expresse letter of the Scripture: which directly, and without admitting of any distinction, teacheth vs, that the waters ouer-flowed all the mountaines under heauen. And were it otherwise, then might we allwell giue credit to *Maimo*, *Damasenus*, & the Thalmudists, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that faised themselves on the Mountaine Baris, and on Sion. But to helpe this, *Scotus*, being (as the rest of the Schoolemen are) full of distinctions, saith; That the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at Iordan; and as the Flood was not naturall, so was *Paradise* saued by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not beleued, that *Paradise* was so seated, as *Beda* and others seeme to affirme in words, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatively, for the deliaicie and beautie so resembled. But this I dare auow of all those Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their Followers to shift, than to resolute by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tostatus*, I confesse that it is written, that the Mountaines of Olympus, Athos, and Atlas, ouer-reach and surmount all windes and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, sacrificing on these mountaine tops, do not find the ashes (remaining of their sacrifices) blowne thence, nor thence wash off by raines, when they returne: yet experience hath resolved vs, that these reports are fabulous, and *Pliny* himself (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) auoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of these Mountaines is far vnder the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these selfe Hills the ayre is so thin (saith *S. Augustine*, whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to beare vp the body of a bird, hauing therein no feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance of ayre to mount her selfe by.

§. VIII.

Of their opinion that seate *Paradise* vnder the *Aequinoctiall*: and of the pleasant habitation vnder those Climats.



Hose which come neerer vnto Reason, finde *Paradise* vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line, as *Tertullian*, *Bonancature*, and *Durandus* iudging, that thereunder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertility of soile: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the distemperate heat, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly vnder the Sunne; but this is (*non causa pro causa*) for although *Paradise* could not be vnder the Line, because Eden is farre from it, in which *Paradise* was; & because there is no part of Euphrates, Tigris, or Ganges vnder it, (Ganges being one of the foure riuers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of distemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very vntrue, though for the coniecture not to be condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas

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it appeared, that euerie Countrie, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and so toward the *Aequinoctiall*, did so much the more exceede in heat: It was therefore a reasonable coniecture, that those Countries which were situated directly vnder it, were of a distemper vninhabitable: but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceiued better, and so did *Auicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those daies it might be thought a fantastical opinion (as all are which goe against the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place vpon the earth of that nature, beautie, and delight that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed vninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neereest to the line it selfe. For hereof experience hath informed Reason, and Time hath made those things apparant, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discouered. Indeed it hath so pleased God to provide for all liuing creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such inconueniences which we contemplate a farre off, are found by triall and the witnesse of mens traualles, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or as a fruitlesse lump to fashion out the rest. For God himselfe (saith *ISAIAH*) that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be inhabited. Now we finde that these hottest Regions of the world, seated vnder the *Aequinoctiall* line, or neere it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Easterly winde (which the Spaniards call the *Brise*) that doth euermore blow strongest in the heate of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sun cannot so much master it, that there is any inconuenience or distemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh, and equall, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my selfe haue seen, neere the Line & vnder it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equall temper: Onely there are some tracts, which by accident of high Mountaines are barr'd from this ayre and fresh wind, and some few sandie parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soiles we finde also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those Regions haue so many goodly Riuers, Fountaines, and little Brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees casting shade, so many sorts of delicate fruits, euer bearing, and at all times beautified with blossome and fruit both greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise* of Eden: the boughes and branches are neuer vnclouted and left naked, their sap creepeth not vnder ground into the root, fearing the iniury of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* at any time despise her withered Husband *Vestumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called *Terra vitiosa*, *Viciou Countries*: for Nature being liberall to all without labour, necessitie imposing no industrie or trauell, idleness bringeth forth no other fruits than vaine thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of his opinion were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliked this opinion, and followed a worse. And (to say the truth) all the Schoolemen were grosse in this particular.

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§. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Caldeyria, there is a Countrey in Babylon, once of this name, as is proued out of *ESAIAH* 37. and *EZECHIEL* 27.

THESE opinions answered, and the region of Eden not found in any of those imaginary vworlds, nor vnder *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we discouer and find out the seat thereof, for in it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficultie of which search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations haue often changed names vwith their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembered; forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers, as vwell ancient as moderne.

Besides, we find that the *Affyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians* (*Cyrus* onely and a few other excepted) sought to extinguish the Hebrewes. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romanes* despised once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transforme the names of all those principall Places and Cities in the East: and after them, the *Turke* hath sought (what he could) to extinguish in all things, the ancient memorie of those people; vvhich he hath subiected and intrahled.

D 2

Now

Now besides those notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the Country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from *Canaan* and *Judea*; and that it was of all other the most beautifull and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Country to *Judea* Eastward was *Arabia Petraea*; but in this Region was *Moses* himselfe when he wrote: and the next vnto it Eastward also was *Arabia the Desert*, both which in respect of the infertility could not bee *Eden*, neither haue any of the *Arabians* any such Riuer, as are exprest to run out of it: So as it followeth of necessitie, that *Eden* must be Eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petraea*, and *Deserta*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it selfe, and by the fertility, & the riuer only described, we must seeke it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better described. In the Prophet *Isay* I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in these words, spoken in the person of *Senacherib* by *Rabsakeh*: *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them, which my Fathers haue destroyed, as GOSAN, and HARAN, & RESEPH, and the children of EDEN, which were at Telassar?* and in *Ezechiel*, where he prophesieth against the *Tyrians*: *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asbur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants, &c.*

Isa. 37. 36. 12.

Eze. 27. 10. 13.

Gen. 1. 1. 11. 1.

Strabo.

Eze. 27. 10. 13.

1. 10. 14.

But to auoid confusion, wee must vnderstand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he diuideth *Syria* into three Provinces, whereof the first he maketh *Syria Damascene*, or *Decapolitan*: the second part is that Valley called *Auenis*, otherwise *Conuallis*, or the tract of *Chamath*, where *Assyria* is ioyned to *Arabia the Desert*, & where *Ptolomie* placeth the City of *Aueria*: & the third is knowne by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Coelesyria*, otherwise *Vallis caua*, or the hollow Valley, because the mountaines of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Coele* in Greeke is *Cauain Latine*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we seeke: neither doth this Province lye East from *Canaan*, but North, and so ioyneth vnto it, as it could not be vnkowne to the *Hebrewes*. Yet, because there is a little Citie therein called *Paradise*, the *Iewes* beleueed this *Coelesyria* to be the same which *Moses* describeth. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his Treatise of *Paradise* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden of Paradise*; though, to giue *Beroaldus* his right, I conceiue that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, sauing, That hee sayled in distinguishing these two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether mis-vnderstood two of the foure Riuers (to wit) *Pison* and *Gehon*, as shall appeare hereafter. Now to finde out *Eden*, which (as *Moses* teacheth vs) lay Eastward from the Deserts, where he wrote, after he had passed the Red Sea; wee must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Isay* and *Ezechiel* ioyneth with it. For (saith *ESAYAH*) *Gosan, Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar*. Also *Ezechiel* ioyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who, together with those of *Sheba*, *Asbur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the Citie of *Tyre*, which was then (saith *EZECHIEL*) *the Mart of the people for many Isles*. And it hath euer beene the custome, that the *Persians* conueyed their Merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those Cities vpon *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterranean Sea*: as in ancient times to the Citie of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the Bay of *Issicus*, now *Liazzo*. *Ezechiel* in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the onely Mart-towne of that part of the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities euerie Countrey yielded: and hauing counted the feuerall People and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised: *They were thy merchants* (saith the Prophet) *in all sorts of things, in rayments of blue silke, and of broyded workes, fine linnen, corall, and pearle*: and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and what kinds they traded, he hath these words: *The merchants of Sheba & Raamah were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Faibes, with the chiefe of all Spices, and with all precious stones and gold*. Now these be indeed the riches which *Persia* and *Arabia Felix* yeeld: & because *Sheba* & *Raamah* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Persian Gulfe*, therefore did those Nations both vent such Spice, sweet Gummes, and Pearles, as their owne Countries yielded; and

and (withall) hauing trade with their Neighbours of *India*, had from them also all sorts of spices, and plenty of gold. The better to conuey these commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebans* or *Arabians* entred by the mouth of *Tigris*, and from the Citie of *Teredon* (built or enlarged by *Nebuchodonosor*, now called *Balsara*) thence sent vp all these rich merchandises by boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as farre as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three daies iourney of *Aleppo*, and then ouer Land they past to *Tyre*, as they did afterward to *Tripoly*, (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforesaid. Now the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth with *Eden*, inhabited farre vp the Riuer, and receiued this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, besides those proper commodities which themselves had, and which they receiued out of *Persia*, which bordered them. *S. Hierome* vnderstandeth by *Canneth*, *Seleucia*, which is seated vpon *Euphrates*, where it breaketh into foure heads, and which tooke that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent City. *Hierosolymitanus* thinkes it to be *Ctesiphon*: but *Ctesiphon* is seated downe low vpon *Tigris*, and *Canneh* cannot be on that side, I mean on the East-side of *Tigris*; for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar*. *Plinie* placeth the *Sebenita* vpon *Euphrates*, where the same beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaueth to bee the bound of *Arabia the Desert*, and where the Riuer of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the Desert of *Palmirena*: for these people of *Canneh* (afterward *Sebenita*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselves from their owne Citie of *Canneh* in *Shinar* Westward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as far as the City of *Thapfacus*, where *Ptolomy* appointed the Foords of *Euphrates*: which also agreeth with the description of the *Sebenita* by *Strabo*, whose words are these: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleucia & Babyloniam cauitibus iter est per Schenitis; The Merchants which traueile from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites*. Therefore those which take *Canneh* for *Charran*, doe much mistake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* in *Chaldaea* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*, not vpon *Euphrates* it selfe, but vpon the Riuer of *Chaboras*, which falleth into *Euphrates*: and the Merchants of *Charran* are distinctly named with those of *Canneh* in *Ezechiel* (as) *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asbur, and Chilmad were thy merchants*. Wherefore *Charran*, which is sometime called *Charte*, & *Haran*, & *Aran*, is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*, & when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the Region of *Mesopotamia* or *Aran fluminis*, the Greek word (*Mesopotamia*) importing, a country between riuers: for *Mes* in Greeke, is *Medius* in Latine, and *Potamus*, fluminis; and when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the Citie it selfe, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforesaid). For *Strabo* in the description of *Arabia*, giueth that tract of land from the borders of *Coelesyria*, to the edge of *Mesopotamia*, to the *Schenite*, who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates*, & were in after ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabited *Baranea*, & the North part of the Deserts, stretching themselves toward the inhabited solitude of *Palmirena*, which lyeth between *Syria*, and *Arabia the Desert*. So as these of *Canneh* lay in the very highway from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, & were neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran* and to *Eden*: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together; *They of Haran, and Canneh, & Eden, &c.* But *S. Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneh*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia*: for *Seleucia* was anciently called *Chalanne* (withesse *Apollon*) and to *Rabbinus Madius* calleth it in his Commentaries vpon *Genesis*; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from *Chalne* or *Canneli*, to *Chalanne*, of which name there are two other cities, standing in Triangle with *Seleucia*, & almost the next vnto it, (as) *Thelbe-canne*, & *Mann-canne*, the one a little to the West of *Seleucia*; & the other opposite vnto it, where these riuers of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are ready to ioine. Therefore, which of these the ancient *Canne* was, being all three within the bound of the valley *Shinar* it is vncertaine: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certaine seate thereof, that so many other cities did retain a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it vnkely, that these additions of *Thelbe* and *Mann* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference betwene the East and the West, or the greater and the lesse *Canne*, or between *Canne* the old and the new: which additions to distinguish cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Now of the other city ioyned with *Eden*, as *Haran* or *Charran*, *St. Hierome* on the *Ind.*

Ind. 1.

Judges speaketh thereof in these words: *Cumq; reuerterentur, peremerunt ad Charan, quæ est in medio itinera contra Ninem, undecimo die; when they returned, they came to Charan, (which is the mid-way against Ninem) the eleventh day.*

AR. 7. 11.

This city is by the Martyr Stephen named Charan (speaking to the high Priest:) *The Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: The God of glory appeared to our Father ABRAHAM, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charan.* But the seat of this city is not doubted of: for it is not only remembered in many Scriptures, but, withall, exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Cressus* the Romane, who for his insatiable greediness was called *Gorgæ amarissæ*; The gulfe of auarice. Whereof *Lucan*:

Lucan, l. 1. 105.

Assyriæ Latio maculat sanguine Carræ.

With Roman blood th' Assyrian Carræ he defil'd.

Gen. 10. 10.

But this city Canne or Chalne is made manifest by *Moses* himself, where it is written of NIMROD: *And the beginning of his Kingdomes was Babel, & Eræb, & Acad, & Chalne, in the land of Shinar or Shinar: where Moses sheweth the first composition of the Babylonian Empire, and what cities and people were subiect vnto Nimrod, all which lay in the said Valley of Shinar, or neere it; and this Valley of Shinar is that Tract afterwards called Babylonia and Chaldaea, into which also Eden stretcheth it selfe. Chaldaea, Babylonia, Sinaar, idem sunt (saith COMESTOR.) Three names of one Country: which Region of Babylonia took name of the Towre Babel; & the Towre, of the confusion of tongues. And that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proued in the eleuenth chapter of Genesis, in these words: And as they went from the East, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar, and there they abode: in which Playne Babylon was built (as aforesaid.)*

Ier. 51.

Now Shinar being Babylonia, & Canneh, in the first beginning of *Nimrod's* greatnes, and before he had subdued any strange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in Shinar, it proueth, that Canneh ioyneth to Babylonia; which also *Ezechiel* coupleth with Eden, and (further) affirmeth, that those of Eden were also the Merchants which traded with the Tyrians: and *Esay* in the threatnes of *Senacherib* against Ierusalem (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of Eden which were at Telassar. But before I conclude where Eden it selfe lyeth, it is necessary to describe, those other Countries, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth therewith in the places before remembred, as, those of Sheba and Raamah.

Ier. 51.

It is written in Genesis the tenth: *Moreover the sonnes of HAM were CUSH, &c. And the sonnes of CUSH were SEBA, and HAVILAN, and SABTAN, and RAAMAH, &c. And the sonnes of RAAMAH were SHEBA, &c. and anon after, CUSH begat NIMROD, so as Sheba was the grand-child of CUSH, and Nimrod the sonne of CUSH, whose elder brother was SEBA, though some there are that conceiue to the contrary, that Nimrod was the elder in valour and understanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. But first her Raamah or Regma, took that part adioyning to Shinar, toward the Sea side and Persian gulfe (called afterward Raamah and Sheba, by the Father and his Sons, which possessed it.) For (saith EZECHIEL) the merchants of Raamah and Sheba were they merchants who occupied in the Fairas with the chiefe of all spices, and all precious stones, and gold. So as Sheba was that Tract of Country, which parteth Arabia Felix from Arabia Fælix, and which ioyneth to the Sea where Tigris and Euphrates fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean. This part, and the adjoining Country, Strabo calleth Catabria, where the best Myrrhe and Frankincense is gathered, which people haue an interchange on sundry with Elanæ, lying on the East side of the Persian gulfe. By this it appeareth who were the Shebans, spoken of by *Ezechiel*, and said to haue bene the Merchants of Tyre for gold, spices, and precious stones; of which they had not onely plenty of their owne, but were also furnished from that part of India (called Elana, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromaticques and other proper commodities.*

Strabo, l. 16.

For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of ERATOSTHENES: *In Persia ora insula est, in qua mules, & pretiosi unionangignatur: in alyxana, clari & perlucidi lapilli.* ERATOSTHENES (saith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that in the beginning of the Persian gulfe, there is an Island, in which there are many precious pearles bred; and in other, very cleare and shining stones. Now, the difference betweene Sheba, the sonne of Raamah, and Seba, the sonne of CUSH, is in this, That Seba is written with the Hebrew (*Samech*) and Sheba with (*Schin*)

but

but whatsoever the difference may bee in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countries and Habitations are diuers. For Sheba is that which bordereth the Persian Sea, & Saba (whence the Queen of Saba) neighboured the Red Sea, and so this place of the 72. Psalm, expounded Reges Arabum & Saba, hath in the Hebrew this sense: Reges Sheba & Saba.

The Shebans, *Ezechiel* nameth together with the Edenites, because they inhabited vpon the Out-let of the same Riuer, vpon which the Edenites were seated: and so those of Sheba, towards the Sea-coast, and vpon it, past vp the Country, by Tigris and Euphrates, being ioyned in one maine streame, and so through the Region of Eden, which Tigris bounedeth, thereby the better to conuey their merchandise toward Tyre. And as the cities of Charan, and Canneh, border Eden on the West and Northwest: so doth Sheba on the South, and Chilmad on the North-east: Chilmad being a Region of the higher Media, as appeareth in the Chaldean Paraphrast; which Country by the Geographers is called *Gormisena*, (L) placed by exchange for (R) which change the Hebrews also often vse.

Thus much of those Countries which border Eden, and who altogether traded with the Tyrians: of which, the chiefe were the Edenites, inhabiting Telassar: for these *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed, and this place of Telassar lay most convenient, both to receiue the Trade from Sheba and Arabia, and also to conuey it ouer into Syriæ, and to Tyrus. Now to make these things the more plaine, wee must remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the Babylonian Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were vtterly disioyned.

For it appeareth both in *Esay* the 37. and in the second of Kings, by the threatnes of *Rabsake*, the while the Army of Assyria lay before Ierusalem, that the Cities of Gossan, Haran, Reseph, and the Edenites at Telassar, had resisted the Assyrians, though by them (in a fort) mastered and recovered. *Hæc vbi deo de Nationis delinere, whom my Fathers haue destroyed, in Gossan, and Haran, Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar?* But it appeared manifestly after *Senacherib's* death, that these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subiection: for *Ezra-Haddon* held Assyria, and *Merodath Baladan*, Babylonia. And after that the Army of *Senacherib* was commanded by *Rabsake* which lay before Ierusalem (*Ezechiel* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in Egypt, was by the Angell of God destroyed; the King of Babel sent to *Ezechiel*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained ouer the Assyrians. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himselfe was slain by his owne sonnes in the Temple of his Idols, *Ezra-Haddon* succeeding him in Assyria. To the Babylonian Ambassadors sent by *Merodath*, *Ezechiel* shewed all his treasures, as well proper as consecrated, which he had the Kings of Babylon afterward to vndertake their conquest and subiection. So as, the suspicion of warre encreasing betweene Babylon and Assyria, the Edenites which inhabited the borders of Shinar toward the North, and towards Assyria, were imployed to beate off the incursions of the Assyrians; and their Garrison-place was at Telassar: and the very word (*Telassar*) saith *Julius*, signifying as much as a bulwarke against the Assyrians. This place *Herodotus* takes for Refem, others for Seleucia: but this Telassar is the same, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the History of Iulian (whom he followed in the enterprise of Persia) calleth Philischa in stead of Telassar, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Booke: it is seated in an Island of Edaphites vpon a steepe and vnassailable Rocke, vnso much as the Emperour Iulian durst attempt it; and therefore it was a conuenient place for a Garrison against the Assyrians, being also a passage out of Mesopotamia into Babylonia, and in which the Edenites of the Country adioyning were

obliged to defend the cause. This place *Proton* calleth Teridata; hauing Reseph (which he calleth Resephajon the left hand, & Canneh, which he calleth Thebe-canne) on the right hand, not farre from whence is also found the City of Man-carin vpon Tigris, and all these situate together, as *Esay* and *Ezechiel* haue sorted them. But the vnderstanding of these places is the more difficult, because Assyria (which the Chaldeans call Aturia) and Mesopotamia, were so often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. Assyria & Mesopotamia in Babylonian Women transferred (saith *Nichem*) Assyria and Mesopotamia took the name of Babylonia. Lastly, it appeareth by those adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World Eden is

Afr. Tab. 4.

seated,

seated, as, by *Charra* or *Hera* in Mesopotamia: also by *Cannab* and *Reseph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in these words translateth this place: *Plantauerat autem Iehouah Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente, The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden, Eastward: that is* (saith hee in his Annotations) *Inserat naves arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabia & Mesopotamia, He commanded Trees to grow in Eden, an Eastern Region in the borders of Arabia and Mesopotamia.*

S. X.

Of diuers other testimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradise.

And for a more particular pointing out of this Eden, it seemes by the two Epistles of the Nestorian Christians, that inhabit Mesopotamia; which Epistles in the yeare 1552. they sent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, & *Andreas Masius* hath published them, translated out of Syriac into Latine. By these Epistles (I say) it seemes wee may haue some farther light for the prooue of that, which we haue said about the Region of Eden in those parts. For in them both there is mention of the Island of Eden in the Riuer Tigris, or at least, Tigris in both these Epistles is called the Riuer of Eden. This Island, as *Masius*, in his Preface to these Epistles saith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, the Island, by an eminency.) It hath (saith hee) ten miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island Eden may (doubtlesse) remaine to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called, this name be swallowed vp, with the same of those flourishing Kingdomes of Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldaea. This Island of Eden hath vp the Riuer, and not farre beyond it, the City of *Hasan-Cepha*, otherwise *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Mosel* or *Mosel*, from which (as in that which followeth it shall appeare out of *Masius*) it is not about twelue miles distant. Neither is it to trouble vs, that *Mosel* or *Mosel*, by *Marius Niger* is remembered among the Cities higher vp Tigris, in these words. *Intra autem Tigrim, Cimitates sunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quae nunc Mosel dicuntur, magna sane, &c.* (that is) *By Tigris are these Cities, Dorbeta neere vnto mount Taurus (which is now called Mosel) which is a great one, &c.* This opinion of *Niger*, displacing *Mosel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I say) needs not here to trouble vs: seeing for this matter, the testimony of *Masius*, informed by the Christians that dwell there (the Seat of whose Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, auowing that this *Mosel* (or *Mozal*) is in the Confines of Mesopotamia & Assyria, seated vpon Tigris, & in the neighbour-hood of Nineue; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The Nestorian Christians in their former Epistle, call it *Attur* in these words: *Ex omnibus Cinitatibus & pagis quae sunt circum Cinitatem Mosel (hoc est) Attur in vicinia Nineue, Of all the Cities and Townes which are about the Citie of Mosel (that is) Attur in the neighbour-hood of Nineue.* As also *Niger* acknowledgeth *Ctesiphon*, a City thereabout to be called *Assur*, (which is the same as *Attur*, after the Dialect of those Nations, which change *Sh* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he should mistake *Ctesiphon*, (which is not far off *Seleucia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Assur*. By this then we may come somewhat neere the end of our purpose. For the Ile of Eden, which lieth in the brest of Tigris, is but twelue miles from *Mosel*, and that ancient City, which *Ptolomy* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the Scriptures *Nineue*; *Philestratus*, and *Simcon Sethi*, *Mosula*, and *Iohn Lean*, *Mosel*, other *Mosse*, (though it be not the same with *Mosel*) is set but a little higher vpon the same Riuer of Tigris, neere *Mosel*: so that we are like to find this Ile of Eden hereabout. For the same *Andreas Masius*, which placeth it about *Mosel*, makes it to be below *Hasan-Cepha*, which is vpon the same Riuer of Tigris.

The onely difficulty is this, that some perhaps may thinke, that the words of the Nestorians in both their Epistles, speake not of any Ile in Tigris, called the Ile of Eden, but of an Ile in Tigris, a Riuer of Eden. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more vnprobable. And yet if this were the meaning here, we haue a testimony from the Learned of those parts, that not onely *Euphrates*, but also *Tigris* was a Riuer of Eden, and that the name of Eden in those parts is not yet quite worne out, though the Region hath bin subiect to the same change, that all other Kingdomes of the world haue bene, and hath by conquest, and corruption of other Languages, receiued new and differing names. For the South part of Eden, which stretcheth ouer *Euphrates*, was after

after the flood called *Shinar*, and then of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*, and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the banks of *Tigris* betwene Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that ancient *Aethicus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Aethicus*, Disciple of *Gallinius*, otherwise by *Plutarch* and *Athenaeus* called *Isiri*, who liued in Egypt in the Reigne of *Philadelphus*, but another of a farre higher and remote time) the same being made Latine out of the Greeke by Saint *Hierome*. And though by corruption of the ancient Copie it be written in *Aethicus*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*; yet *Adonis* being a Riuer of *Phoenicia*, cannot be vnderstood to be the Region named by *Aethicus*. For *Aethicus* maketh it a Countrey, and not a Riuer, and ioyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Aethiopia*, calling the land of *Chus Aethiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And lastly, the Riuer which watereth the Regions, (saith *Aethicus*) falleth into the Gulfe of *Persia*: which Riuer he called *Armodius*, for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name imposed for the swiftnesse thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* haue their originall: for out of *Eden* came a Riuer, or Riuers, to water the Garden; both which Riuers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traueise *Mesopotamia*, Regions first of all knowne by the name of *Eden* for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertilitie thereof in diuers places, is not vnworthy the name of *Eden*. For in some part thereof (saith *Strabo*) the leaues are alway green, & therefore therein a perpetuall Spring. Also *STEPHANVS de urbibus*, mentioneth the Citie of *Adana* vpon *Euphrates*; and the name of *Eden* was in vse in *Amos* time, though he speake not of *Eden* in the East, but of *Eden* in *Calefryria*. But to the end I may not burden the Readers patience with too long a Discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once ioyned together, and afterward separate) are two of those foure heads, into which these Riuers which are said to water the Garden of Paradise, were diuided: whose courses being knowne, *Eden*, (out of which they are said to come) cannot be vnkowne. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the Scientie and all others conuert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: & *Hiddekel* *Tigris* omnes exponunt: & all men vnderstand *Hiddekel* by *Tigris*. (saith *Vatablus*.) And because that which I haue said of the Ile of *Eden*, shall not be subiect to the censure of selfe-inuention, I haue here vnder set downe the words out of the two generall Epistles of the Nestorians, as *MASIVS* (ad verbum) hath conuerted them into Latine. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, that the Nestorian Christians, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, *Babylonia*, & haue to this day (at least in Queen *Marles* time they had) fifteene Churches in one Citie called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Mosel* vpon the Riuer of *Tigris*, hauing no sufficient authoritie to choose themselves a Patriarch (which cannot bee done without foure or three Metropolitan Bishop at least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, in the yeare of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to obtaine allowance vnto such an Election as themselves had made: hauing three hundred yeare before that vpon the like defect, sent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made knowne to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for vpon the death of their Patriarch (vho of a couctous desire to enrich himselfe had forborne to institute Metropolitan Bishops; vhen the places fell void) they all assembled themselves together to consult of the Church-gouernment. And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred yeares had bene of one House and Family: to the preiudice of the Church; and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stocke and Kindred, vho aspired to the same dignitie vvhich his Predecessors had held, the rest of the Professors refused to allow him. Vpon vvhich occasion, and for the choice of a Governour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselves. The vvhords of the generall Epistle to the Pope are these about the middle of the said Epistle: *Verum nos non acceperimus neq. proclamauimus ipsum, sed subito conuenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Cinitatibus & pagis quae sunt circum Cinitatem Mosel (hoc est) Attur, in vicinia Nineue, ex Babylonia, ex Charra, ex Arbella, ex Insula quae est in medio Tigri, fluminis Eden, ex Tauris Persiae, ex Nisibi, &c.* which is: *But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selues out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Mosel (or Attur) neighbouring Nineue, & out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbella, and out of the Island which lieth in the middle of Tigris,*

gris, a River of Eden, or rather, out of the Ile of Eden, which lyeth in the River Tigris. And in a second Epistle at the same time sent, they vse these vvords: *Nec, supersunt apud nos Metropolitae, quorum est ordinare Catholicum, sed soli pauci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbela, Episcopus Salmasi, Episcopus Adurbeigan; enè vestigio conuenimus in Insulam, quae est, intra Tigridis flumen, Eden, secimusq; compactum inter nos, &c.* (vvhich is) Neither are there remaining among vs any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but onely a few Bishops, as the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salmasius, and the Bishop of Adurbeigan: but so, we assembled speedily in the Island Eden, which is in Tigris, and agreed betwene our selues, &c.

Now this Island of *Eden Masius* describeth with other places; which being well conceiued, the Nestorian Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (saith he) the better vnderstood. And after he hath distinguished the foure sorts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which hee calleth *Nestorians, Iacobites, Maronites, and Coptis*, he goeth on in these vvords: *Mox audita illius uorte, concurrisse aiebant inuicem in illam quam modò dixi Tigridis Insulam, quae duodecim circiter passuum millibus supra Mosel posita, decem ferè millia passuum suo ambitu continet, muris undiq; cincta, & paucis alijs quam Christianis hominibus habitata*: which is, Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch, (as those that came to Rome reported) they ran tumultuously together into that Island of Tigris or Eden before spoken of, which Island is situated about twelue miles above Mosel, containing very neere ten miles in compasse, and euerie where inuironed with a wall, inhabited by a few other men than Christians. And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest hee addeth the Ile of *Eden* by the name of *Geserta*, *Insula Tigris: siue Geserta*. Furthermore, describing the Citie of *Hofan-cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra praedictam Tigridis Insulam rupi aspera impositam, Aboue the aforesaid Island of Tigris, being seated on a steep Rocke*. Of this Island of *Geserta*, *Andrew Theuent* maketh mention in his tenth Booke of his generall Cosmographie in these vvords: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la Riuere du Tigre, & pense que c'est une terrades plus fertile de toute l'Asie, Geserta or Gesire is in the middle of Tigris, the Soyle the most fertile of all Asia*.

By this we see that the ancient name of *Eden* liueth, and of that *Eden* which lyeth Eastward from *Arabia Petrea*, and the Desert where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that *Eden* which is seated according to the assertion of the said Prophet, and ioyned with those Nations of *Reseph, Canneh, and Charran*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Affyria* and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelassar* were garisoned to resist the *Affyrians*, whose displantation *Senscherib* vaunted of (as aboue written;) and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tigris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the knowne Riuer of those foure, which are by all men ascribed to Paradise.

§. XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which seemeth to make the foure Riuer to rise from one streame.

BUt it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, *That a Riuer went out of Eden*, and not Riuer, in the plurall; which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his Chronologie: The Latine Translation, saith hee, hath these vvords: *Et flumius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde diuidebatur in quatuor capita: Quae uerba melius consentiunt cum rei narratione, & eiusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur. Et flumius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc est) sinuy procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium; & inde diuidebatur, & erat in quatuor capita: which is, And a Riuer went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was diuided into foure heads: Which vvords (saith *Beroaldus*) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: And a Riuer was going forth of Eden (this is) Riuer went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard; and from thence it was diuided, and they became foure heads. The *Tigridine* differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it conuerts it thus: *Et flumius egrediebatur de delicijs; And a Riuer went out of pleasure*, in stead of *Eden*; and the Latine addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et flumius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a Riuer went out of the place**

of pleasure: and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a Region most delightful and fertile; and so also the word (*inde*) and *thence* was diuided, hath reference to the Countrey of *Eden*, and not to the Garden it selfe.

And for the word (*Riuer*) for Riuer, it is vsuall among the Hebrewes: for it is written: *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herbe that seedeth Seede, the fruitfull Tree, &c.* Here the Hebrew vseth the Singular for the Plurall, *Herbe and Tree*, for *Herbs and Trees*; and againe, *We eate of the fruit of the Tree*, in stead of (*Trees*.) And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God; In medio ligni Paradisi; In the middle of the Tree of the Garden*, for (*Trees*.) And of this opinion is *Dauid Kimchi*, and *Vatablus*, who vpon this place of *Genesis* say, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as *illud*, for *unumquodq; illorum*, and hee giueth an instance in this question it selfe, as, *A Riuer* (for *Riuers*) *went out of Eden*.

And this answer out of diuers of the Learned, may, not without good reason, be giuen to the obiection, That *Moses* speaketh but of one Riuer, from which the heads should diuide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, wee may expound the foure heads, to bee foure notable passages into famous Countries. And so we may take the word (*Riuer*) Verse the tenth for one Riuer (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this Riuer, (after he is past the place, where we suppose Paradise to haue bin, diuides it selfe, and ere long yeeldeth foure notable passages into seuerall Countries, though not all the way downe streame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the Riuer downward, there is conueyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way one of the Countries (to wit, to *Affyria*) were vp *Tigris*.

To this end the Text speaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riseth from the Riuer of *Eden*, doth not say it compasseth or washeth the whole Region of *Affyria*, (as it had vsed this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth toward *Affyria*. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nahar-malcha*, (by interpretation) *Basilius*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tigris* vnder *Apamia*; whence ariseth the name of *Pasi-tigris*, (as it were) *Piso-tigris*. This leadeth to the Land of *Hauila* or *Susiana*. The second branch *Gehon*, is that which in *Historians* is *Nahar-saras* or *Narragus*; for *Nahar-ragas*: both which names signifie *flumen derivatum* (a Riuer deriued,) also *Acracanus*, quasi *Ranofus*, by reason of the froggie Fennes which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the first seate of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldaea* and *Arabia*, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of *Chaldaea*. The third branch *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the vpper streame of *Pison*, or *Basilius*, which runneth into *Hiddekel*, properly so called (that is, into *Tigris*) aboue *Seleucia*, where it sheweth a passage vp *Tigris* into *Affyria*: where, because at length it is called *Hiddekel* or *Tigris*, hauing before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath*, or *Euphrates*, so called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the Riuer *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *Affyria*. But, bee it a Riuer or Riuer, that come out of *Eden*, seeing that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can bee no doubt, but that *Paradise* was not farre from these Riuer: for that *Perath* in *Moses* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeede) as plaine it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tigris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (saith *Moses*) Eastward towards *Affur*, as we find, that *Tigris* is the Riuer of *Affyria* proprie dicta, whose chiefe City was *Nineue*, as in *Genesis* the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Affur*, and builded *Nineue*, which was the chiefe City of *Affyria*.

And as for the kind of speech here vsed in the Text, speaking of foure heads; though the heads of Riuer be (properly) their Fountaines, yet here are they to be vnderstood, to be spoken of the beginning of their diuision from the first streame. *Caput aquae* (saith *VLPRIANVS*) illud est, unde aqua nascitur; si ex fonte nascatur, fons, si ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia, &c. If the beginning of the water bee out of a Fountaine, then is the Fountaine taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake; and if from a maine Riuer any branch be (separate and diuided, then where that branch doth first bound it selfe with new bankes, there is that part of the Riuer, where the branch forsaketh the maine streame, called the head of the Riuer.

S. XII.

Of the strange fertilitie and happinesse of the Babylonian Soile, as it is certaine that Eden was such.

ET may also bee demanded, whether this Region of Eden, by vs described, bee of such fertilitie and beautie, as Eden the seate of Paradise was: which if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertilitie and pleasure, that it had before the curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the Earth, nor the same vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had before the flood; and therefore this Region of Eden may be now no such flourishing Countrey, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I finde written of it: First, in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witnesse, and speaketh of the very place it selfe; for the Ile of Eden is but twelue miles or thereabout from Ninue, and so from Mosal. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, iuxta quod Urbs Ninus sita erat. Hec regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, &c. Where Euphrates runneth out into Tigris, not farre from the place where Ninus is seated. This Region, of all that we haue seene, is most excellent; and hee addeth afterward: Cerevis autem fructu procreando adeo ferax est, ut nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat, &c. (that is) It is so fruitfull in bringing forth Corne, that it yeeldeth two hundred fold: The leanes of Wheate and Barley being almost foure fingers broad. As for the height of Millet and Sesame, they are euen in length like unto Trees, which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to speake hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seeme very incredible to those, which neuer were in the Countrey of Babylon. They haue commonly in all the Countrey Palms Trees growing of their owne accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meates, and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Figge Trees. Thus saith *Herodotus*.*

To this Palme-tree so much admired in the East India, *Strabo* and *Niger* adde a fourth excellency, which is, that it yeeldeth bread; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*. Of which these people make Bread, wine, Honey, and Vineger. But *Antonius* the Eremitic findeth a fitt commodity; not inferior to any of those foure, which is, that from this selfe-same Tree there is drawne a kinde of fine Flaxe, of which people make their garments; and with which in East India they prepare the cordage for their ships. And that this is true, *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the Eremitic, confesseth, saying: That hee receiued a Garment made thereof from the Eremitic himselfe, which he brought with him out of this Region. So therefore those Trees, which the East Indies so highly esteeme and so much admire (as indeede the Earth yeeldeth no Plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this vpper Babylon, or Region of Eden, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (saith *STRABO*) *pssim per omnem Regionem Palmae sua sponte nascentes*; There are of Palmes ouer all the whole Region, growing of their owne accord. Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Eunibus à partibus Arabie odoratum fertilitate nobilis regio campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem, iacens tam vberè & pinguis solo, ut à pastu repellit pecora dicantur, ne satietatem perimat*; (that is) As you trauaile on the left hand of Arabia (famous for plenty of sweete Odours) shere by this a Champaine Country placed betwene Tigris and Euphrates, and so fruitfull and fat a soile, that they are said to drine their Castell from pasture, lest they should perishe by satiety. *Bis in anno segetes Babylonij secant*; The Babylonians cut their Corne twice a yeare (saith *Niger*.) And as Countreies generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, than in the Northerne parts: so we may iudge the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South part of America, which is the North border of Eden, or part thereof. His words be these in the Latine: *Tota enim hac regio fragibus & arboribus abundat manufactis, itemq. semper virentibus*; This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruites, and Trees alwayes greene: which witnesseth a perpetuall Spring, not found elsowhere but in the Indies only, by reason of the Sunnes neighbourhood, the life & stirrer vp of Nature in a perpetuall actiuitie. In brieft, so great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow downe their Corne fields, and a third time to care them vp with Sheepe: which husbandry the Spaniards wanting in the Valley of Mexico; for the first forty yeares, could not make our kind of Wheate beare feed, but it grew vp as high as the Trees, and was fruitlesse. Besides, those fields are altogether without weeds

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(saith *Pliny*) who addeth this singularitie to that soyle, That the second yeare the verie stubble (or rather falling downe of the feedes againe) yeeldeth them a harvest of corne without any further labour: his words are these, *Veretatis tanta sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte sibilis fiat seges*.

S. XIII.

Of the River Pison, and the land of Hauilah.

AFTER the discouerie of Eden, and the testimonies of the fertilitie thereof, it resteth to proue that *Pison* and *Gebon* are branches of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. For, that the knowledge and certaintie of these two Riuer should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessitie it selfe (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being knowne) findeth them out: for *Euphrates*, or *Tigris*, or both, be that Riuer or Riuer of Eden, which water Paradis; which riuer or riuer *Moses* witnesseth afterward diuided into foure heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gebon* &c. Could there be a stranger fancie in the world, than when we find both these (namely) *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, to seeke the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two riuer as farre distant as any of fame knowne or discouered in the world: the Scriptures making it so plain, that these riuer were diuided into foure branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason, and Experience bearing witnesse. There is no error, which hath not some slipperie and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability, resembling truth, which when men (who studie to bee singular) finde out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention & iangling; not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minds, to find some partakers or sectators, the better by their helpe to nurse and cherish such weak babes, as their owne inuentions haue begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the Riuer of *Pison*) seemeth to haue growne out of the not-distinguishing of that Region in *India*, called *Hauilah*, from *Hauilah* which adioyneth to *Babylonia*, afterward knowne by the name of *Susiana*. For *Hauilah* vpon *Tigris* tooke name from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Cush*; and *Hauilah* in *India*, from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Isachar*; the one remembred by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*, the other where *Moses* setteth downe the generations of *Noah*, and his sonnes after the Flood. For the sonnes of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*, and the sonnes of *Isachar* were *Ophir*, and *Hauilah* &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Hauilah* the sonnes of *Isachar*, that *Iland* of *Ophir*, (whence *Salomon* had gold) and *Hauilah* adioyning, had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous riuer of the East India, and *Hauilah* a Countrey of the same, and is situated vpon *Ganges*; hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Pison*, which riuer is said by *Moses* to water the land of *Hauilah*. Or perhaps it was supposed that those foure riuer named by *Moses*, must of necessitie be foure

of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous riuer after *Tigris* and *Euphrates*) they chose out this riuer to make one of the foure. And yet certainly there is another riuer, whom in these respects they should rather haue chosen than *Ganges*: for the riuer *Indus* on this side *India*, for beauty; for neerenesse, & for ability, giueth no way placeto *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceiue, that *Ganges*, can be one of the foure heads, seeing *Indus* commeth betwene it and *Tigris*? and betwene *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther towards the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *India* intra *Gangem*, which lie betwene those two proud Riuer of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdom of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the foure, because it is remoued from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much lesse *Ganges*; which falleth into the Ocean, little lesse than fortie degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*. Surely, whosoeuer readeth the storie of *Alexander*, shall finde, that there is no Riuer in *Asia*, that can exceede *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great Gallies transported himselfe, and the greatest part of his armie, and in sayling downe that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deepe, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleete, which was ready to bee swallowed vp therein: *Hydaspis* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as

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great as it, hauing besides this, the Riuer of *Coss*, of *Suassus*, *Acosmes*, *Adris* (otherwife) *Hirotis*, *Hispalis*, and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, & by it are swallowed vp with all their Children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one stream; it crosseth athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambaia* visiteth the Ocean Sea.

But because *Pifon*, which compasseth *Hauilah*, as also *Gehon*, which watereth *Cush*, must some-where be ioyned with the rest in one bodie, or at least be found to proceede out of the same Countrie of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads doe proceede; out of doubt they cannot eyther the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riseth in the vttermost of the South, and runneth Northward, into the *Mediterran* Sea; and the Riuer *Ganges* riseth out of the Mountaine *Iuans*, or (as others will haue it) *Caucasus*, which diuides the Northerne *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, neere *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the others not farre off in the same *Armenia*, by the *Georgian* Mountaines; so as *Ganges*, who onely traualleth in her owne *India*, and *Nilus* through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, neuer saw the land of *Eden*, or ioyned themselves in one channell, either with themselves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or diuided into foure heads or branches, according to *Moses*.

Therefore the Riuer *Pifon*, which enricheth *Hauilah*, is the same which by ioyning it selfe with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Pisi-tigris*, or *Piso-tigris*, of *Pifon* and *Tigris*, which Riuer watereth that *Hauilah*, which *Hauilah* the Sonne of *Cush* gaue name vnto, and not *Hauilah* of *India*, so called of *Hauilah* the Sonne of *Iofan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the East: And this *Hauilah* of the *Cushites* had also Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx stone. This Bdellium is a Tree, of the bignesse of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine Gum sweet to smell to, but bitter in taste, called also Bdellium. The Hebrewes take the Load-stone for Bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in Hebrew signifieth Pearle: so doth *Engubinus*; and *Hierome* calls it *Oleaster*: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearle: *Hauilah* or *Susiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Countrie of *Susiana* or *Hauilah* stretcheth it selfe toward the North as farre as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as farre as the *Persian Gulfe*, on the East side thereof: from which East side had the *Shebans* (which traded with the Citie of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of gold; which *Strabo* also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

The Greekes had a conceit, that *Pifon* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbines* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-Ezra* (saith *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, tranflateth *Pifon* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the same impossibility, that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Hellepont* and all *Asia*, the lesse, betwene it and *Tigris*. Now *Pifon*, which runneth through *Hauilah* or *Susiana*, doth to this day retain some signe of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embraceth each other vnder the Citie of *Apamia*, there doe they agree of a ioynt and compounded name, and are called *Piso-tigris*. And it is strange vnto me, that from so great antiquitie there should be found remaining any resembling sound of the first name: for *Babylon* it selfe, which dwelleth so neere these Riuers, is by some writers knowing by the name of *Babdanus*, as by *Postellus*, by *Castaldus*, of *Balduch*: by *Barins*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Baughedor*, by *Andrew Themet*; and yet all those that haue lately seene it, call it *Bagder*. To this Riuer of *Pifon*, *Ptolomie* indecde with many others giue the name of *Basilius* or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they terme *Mahar-fares* and *Marfus*, and *Maarsares*. So is *Euphrates*, neere the Spring and Fountaine, by *Strabo* and *Plinio* called *Pixirates*: by *Iunius Puckperah*, out of the Hebrew (that is) The profusion, or comming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the Mountaine *Taurus* it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*; the Hebrewes *Perath*, (saith *Ar. Montanus*): *Paginnus*, *Perath*: *Iosephus*, *Phorah*; *Hicelius*, *Zozimus*; *Amianus*, *Chalymicus*; *Gistlanus*, and *Colimatus* terme it, *Cobar*: which *Ezekiel* calleth *Chebar* (but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*). The *Assyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Mahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The same confusion of names hath *Tigris*, as *Diglito*, and *Diglati*, *Seilax*, and *Solax*: of the Hebrewes it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants *Tigil*.

But *Mercer* vpon *Genesis* conceiveth rightly of these Riuers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (saith he) streamed into foure branches, two of which keepe their ancient names, and the other

other two are called *Pifon* and *Gehon*. The reason, why these two riuers ioyned in one (below *Apamia*) lose their names, and are called *Pisi-tigris*, and the memorie of *Euphrates* extinguished, is, because the best part of *Euphrates* running through the channell of *Gehon*, sinketh into the Lakes of *Chaldaea* not farre from *Vr*, the Citie of *Abraham*; and fall not intirely into the *Persian Sea*, as *Tigris* accompanied with *Pifon*, doth.

This error that *Pifon* was *Ganges*, was first broched by *Iosephus*, (whose fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authoritie to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, and *Hierome*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as *Pifon* was transported into the East *India*, to find out *Hauilah*: so was *Gehon* drawne into *Africa*, to compass *Ethiopia*. But if *Hauilah*, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of *Paradise*, be found to be a Region, adioyning to *Babylon* on the one side, and *Cush* (which is falsely interpreted *Ethiopia*) fastened to it on the other side, we shall not need thento worke wonders (that is) to impose vpon men the transportation of riuers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other vses) were made to transport men. Now it was in the Valley of *Shinar*, where *Cush* the sonne of *Ham* first fate downe with his sonnes *Shebab*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, *Kaamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Hauilah*, the sonne of *Cush*, did that Region take name, which *Pifon* compasseth; and the land (called *Cush*) which *Gehon* watereth, tooke name of *Cush* himselfe. For as the sonnes of *Iofan*, *Ophir* and *Hauilah*, seated themselves as neere together as they could in *India*, so did the sons of *Cush* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Hauilah* or *Chauilah* was first *Chusca* of *Cush*; then *Chusa*, *Susa*, and *Susiana*.

From this *Hauilah* vnto the Desarts of *Sur*, did the *Israelites* and *Amalekites* possesse all the interciuent Countries: for *Saul* smote the *Amalekites* from *Hauilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur*, the *Chaldaean* Paraphrast conuerteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the red Sea. But this was not meant from *Sur* vpon the Red Sea, to *Hauilah* in the East *India*; for *Saul* was no such traailer or Conquerour, and therefore *Hauilah* must be found neerer home, where the sonnes of *Ismael* inhabited, and which countrie *Saul* wasted: for *Amalec* and the *Amalekites* possesse that necke of Countrie, betwene the *Persian Sea*, and the Red Sea; *Hauilah* being the extreme of the one towards the East, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the West, leauing that great body of *Arabia felix* towards the South, and they spread themselves with the *Midianites* and *Edumians*, from the East part, or backside of the Holie Land, to the bankes of *Euphrates*, comprising the best part of *Arabia Petraa* and *Deserta*.

S. XIII.

Of the Riuer *Gehon* and the Land of *Cush*, and of the ill translating of the *Ethiopia* for *Cush*, 2 CHRON. 21. 16.

Now, as *Hauilah* in the East *India* drew *Pifon* so farre out of his way thither, so I say did *Cush* (being by the Seuentientranslated *Ethiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cush* being taken for *Ethiopia* by the Greekes, whom the Latines followed, *Gehon* consequently was esteemed for *Nilus*. But *Ethiopiens* are, as much as blacke or burnt faces, whose proper Countries called *Thebaides*, lyeth to the Southward of all *Egypt*. And although there bee many other Regions of *Ethiopiens*, and farre South in *Africa*, yet those of *Thebaides* are those so often remembered in the *Egyptian* stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopiens* are very neere, or else directly vnder the Equinoctial line, which is very far from that land inhabited by the *Chusites*, who are neither black of colour, nor in any fort-neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this translation of the *Septuagint*, *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner: There are (saith he) two *Ethiopia's*, the East, and the West: and this diuision he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make *Chus* *Ethiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Chush* and the land of the *Chusites* (which is *Arabia Petraa*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy, with the Region of *Madian*) to bee the East *Ethiopia*.

Now if it be granted, that *Chush* and the land of the *Chusites*, be that tract from *Sur* to *Hauilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habitans ISRAEL ab Hauilah vsq; Sur, quae respicit*

Vers. 16.

2. Chron. 14. 9.

Gen. 10. 11.

Exod. 17. 8.

Gen. 26. 1.

10. 19.

Thin. 1. 5. c. 8.

130.

C. 20. 18.

Ex. 2. 21 & 3.

Num. 1. 1.

Aegyptum introeuntibus Assyrios, Ismael dwells from Hauilah unto Sur, that is, towards Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria. The same sufficeth to proue that Gehon cannot be Nilus, but a Riuer which watereth Cush, and not Aethiopia. But this place of Scripture, Habitat Ismael, &c. hath this sense: Ismael dwells from Hauilah, which is the way of Assyria, or the Countrey bordering Assyria; and Sur, which lyeth toward Egypt, which is as much to say, as, The issues of Ismael (whereof there were twelue Princes,) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those Regions betwene the border of Egypt and Assyria. And that they were (according to the Word of God) so increased and multiplyed, it well appeared, when Zearah the Chusite, which others call Tharantia, brought an Armie of ten hundred thousand against Ase King of Iuda. Which Armie came not out of Aethiopia beyond Egypt; for that had bene a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, hauing so mightie a King as the King of Egypt, betwene Palestina and Aethiopia. But these were the Chusites, Amalekites, Madianites, Ismaelites, and Arabians. For it is written, that after Ase (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his victorie tooke some of the Cities of King Zearah round about, as Gerar. Now that Gerar is a Citie of the Aethiopians, it cannot be suspected: for these be the wordes of the Scripture disprouing it: And ABRAHAM departed thence toward the South Countrey, and dwells betwene Cadesh and Sur, and sojourned in Gerar: Now Sur is that part, vpon which Moses and the Israelites first let their feet: after they passed the Red Sea, where the Amalekites in Rephidim set on them, supposing that they had bene wearie, and vnable to resist. Againe, in the storie of Isaac it is written: wherefore ISAAC went to ABIMELECH, and the Philistims unto Gerar: and I am sure Abimelech and the Philistims were no Aethiopians. And lastly, Moses himselfe, where hee describeth the bounds of Canaan, hath these wordes: Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou comest to Gerar: for Sydon was the frontier of Canaan towards the North, and Gerar by Gazah towards the South. But indeed, howsoever Pererius doth with an honest excuse salue his translation of Chus for Aethiopia, yet it appeareth plainly, that the Septuagint and Iosephus did altogether misunders tand this place. And first, for Homers East and West Aethiopia, they are both found elsewhere: For Plinie in his fift Booke and eighth Chapter, citeth Homer for an Authour of these two Aethiopia's. But the East Aethiopia is that which compasseth Nilus to the South of Egypt, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the Abyssines, vnder Perser Iohn; And the West Aethiopia is that, which ioyneth it selfe with the Riuer Niger, which we call Senega & Gambia: for thereabouts are these Aethiopians called Perorsi, Daratites, with diuers other names, which Plinie numbred. But all these are in Africa, and beyond the Desarts thereof, saith Plinie out of Homer, Agrippa, and Iuba; which Regions indeede (I meane that of Niger, and that of Perser Iohn, and the Troglodytes) lye due East and West. But as for Cush and the Region of the Ismaelites, &c. they are extended directly North from that Aethiopia, which is beyond Egypt. Now, that Iosephus was exceeding grosse herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which hee hath of Moses when hee slewd Pharaos, in the warres against the Aethiopians: for in that (to make Chus, Aethiopia) hee transporteth Madian by miracle ouer the Red Sea, and beyond all Egypt, and setteth in Aethiopia, as shall bee shewed more at large in the Chapter of the Worlds Plantation: Againe, that Gehon was improperly translated Nilus, Pererius confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greeke Copie, than otherwise. And whereas the Septuagint haue conuerted this place of the Prophet Hieremie, And what hast thou now to doe in the way of Egypt, to drinke the water of Nilus? Quid tibi vis in via Egypti, ut bibas aquam Gehon? to this saith Pererius, profero Hebraice ibi non est vox Gehon, sed Sichor, quae significat nigrum & turbidum; Truly (saith Pererius) the word Gehon in this place is not found in the Hebrew; but Sichor, which signifieth blacke and troubled water.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and vnanswerable argument, that Chus was ill taken for Aethiopia. Moses married the daughter of Iethro, Prince and Priest of Madian, whom both the Greeke and Latine call a Madianite, and not Aethiopiissam, as (with Iosephus) the Genetia conuerts it, though it helpe it a little with a marginall note. Now it is without dispute, that Ziporah was of the Countrey of Madian, which is that part of Arabia

Arabia Petraea, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the second of Exodus, that MOSES fled from PHARAO into the Land of Madian, and sat downe by a well, &c. and againe in the third of Exodus, when MOSES kept the sheepe of IETHRO his father in law, Priest of Madian, &c. Indeepe, these foure nations are euery where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the Madianites, the Ismaelites, the Amalekites, and the Chusites, which were all in one generall word, Arabians, and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of these names, and sometimes by another; as in Gen. 37. v. 25. 27. & 28. that Ioseph was sold to the Ismaelites; and in the same Chapter, v. 36 it is written, that the Madianites sold Ioseph to Putiphar, Pharaos Steward. The Geneuians, in a marginall note (to auoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that Moses wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the Madianites and Ismaelites to be all one. But Moses wrote not after any mans opinion; he wrote the truth, and these were all Arabians: & so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought Ioseph: for their Camels were laden with Spicery; and Balme, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of Arabia felix: from whence chiefly, and from the East India, all the World is serued with Myrrhe and Frankincense; and their spices they receiued from the East side of the Arabian Gulfe, as aforesaid. And in the 39 Chap. it is said: That Putiphar bought Ioseph of the Ismaelites; which the Chaldaean paraphrast in the same place calleth Arabians. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written in the sixt of Iudges, That when Israel had sowne, then came vp the Madianites, and the Amalekites, and they of the East, and came vpon them: they of the East, were Arabians of the Desert; so as where before in the buying of Ioseph, the Madianites and the Ismaelites were confused, here the Madianites & Amalekites are made one nation. For in the prosecution of the Story of Gedeon, the Madianites only are named, as comprehending both Nations, and in the eight Chapter, v. 24. these Nations are all called Ismaelites, and neither Madianites nor Amalekites. As when Gedeon desired, that euery man would giue him the golden eare-rings, which they had taken after the victory against Zebah and Zalmunna, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700. shickles of gold, it is written: For they had golden eare-rings, because they were Ismaelites. And these Ismaelites were a great and valiant Nation, and euery in action of warre. Manus eius contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum; His hand (saith God of ISMAEL) shall be against all men, and euery mans hand against him. Of these Ismaelites came the Mahometan Arabians, though some Writers thinke Mahomet to be of the Schemite. And these Ismaelites, which inhabite chiefly in Cedar, and the Desarts of Sur and Pharan (saith Iosephus) vse poyson vpon their Arrowes, as the Indians doe. Towards the South-east are the Madianites, and Chusites: and beyond them, towards the Desarts of Arabia, the Amalekites; and all are one Nation, and all Arabians.

Lastly, the ill translation of Aethiopia for Chus, is among other places, made most apparant, in the second of Chronicles, in these wordes: So the Lord stirred up against Iehoram, the spirit of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine the Aethiopians; so Hierom reads it: the Geneua translation hath it, which were besides the Aethiopians. Now how far it is off betwene the Philistines, & the Negro's or the Aethiopians, euery man that looketh in a Map may iudge. For the Philistines and Arabians doe mixe and ioine with the Land of the Chusites, and are distant from Aethiopia about two and thirtie, or three and thirtie degrees, and therefore not their next neighbours, but all Egypt, and the Desarts of Sur and Pharan, are betwene them. So as this place of the second of Chronicles, should haue bene translated in these wordes: So the Lord stirred up against Iehoram, the spirits of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine and border vpon the Chusites, who indeed are their next neighbours. * Nulla superest dubitatio quin Aethiopia in Sacris literis sit Arabia propinqua; There remaineth no doubt (saith Steuchius) but Aethiopia in the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey, which ioyneth to Arabia.

Now, may we thinke, is it probable, or possible, that Moses could be ignorant of Nilus? No, he knew it, no living man so well, and therefore would neuer haue named Gehon, for Nilus, or Nilus, for Gehon. Surely, if Moses had meant Nilus, when hee named Gehon, he would haue called the Riuer (into which he was cast vpon Reeds, and preferred by God, working compassion in the Daughter of Pharaos) Riuer of Egypt, where in he was borne & bred, & wrought so many miracles. Besides, the Riuer of Nilus is often named in the Scriptures, but neuer by the name of Gehon. And if Moses had told the

Plin. l. 5. c. 1.

C. 1. v. 3.

C. 2. v. 18.

Israelites, that Nilus had bene a Riuer of Paradise they might iustly haue thought, that he had derided them: for they had liued there all dayes of their liues, and found no such Paradise at all, nor nay memory, or speech thereof; except wee shall beleue the Paradise of Hesperides, where (saith *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wilde Oliues in stead of golden Apples. But Nilus is twice called Sichor, once in *Esay*, & once in the Prophet *Ieremie*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a Riuer of Ethiopia, but of Egypt. For in a word, the Israelites had neuer any communion or affaires with the Ethiopians, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond Egypt, to the South; but the Enemies which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the Chusites, Philistines, Ismaelites, Amalekites and Madianites: who being often gouerned by many little Kings, or *Reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers and heads of those Nations; but in one generall name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of Canaan, they were afflicted with the Coelefyrians, with the Magogians, Tubalines, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselves, the Nations, which remained of the ancient Canaanites, held the strongest Cities vpon the Sea-coast (as) Tyre, Sidon, Acon, Gaza, and many others: yea, Ierusalem it selfe was with-held from Israel (from the dayes of *Moses*, euen vnto the time of *Dauid*) by the Iebusites.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie, is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of Gehon watereth that part of Arabia the stony, which the Chusites inhabited in the times of the Kings of Israell: and in this *Desart* it was that *Matt. Beroaldus* lost himselfe in seeking out Paradise: for he was driuen (to my vnderstanding) to create two Ri-
uers, and call them Gehon, and Pison; to the end that the one might water Chus, and the other Hauilah; for I find none such in *verum natura*, as he hath described: by which Riuers, he also includeth within Paradise, euen Arabia the Desart.

And as he well proued that Pison was not Ganges, nor Gehon, Nilus, so where to find them else, where it seemeth he knew not. Certainly this Riuer of Gehon, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at Gaza, and whose Springs he findeth farre East in Arabia, is but imaginary: for the Current by Gaza is but a small streame, rising betweene it and the Red Sea, whose head from Gaza it selfe is little more than twentie English miles, as shall appeare hereafter. But questionlesse, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the Chusites, as they were planted when the state of Israel stood, and when it flourished, being then their neere Neighbours, and neuer looked backe to the first seates and plantation of *Chus*. For after the Flood, *Chus* and his Children neuer rested, till they found the Valley of Shinar, in which, and neere which himselfe, with his sonnes, first inhabited. *Hanilab* took the Riuer-side of Tigris chiefly on the East, which after his owne name he called *Hanilab*, (now *Susiana*): *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther downe the Riuer, in the entrance of Arabia foelix. *NIMROD* seated himselfe in the best of the Valley, where he built Babel, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of Babylonia. *Chus* himself and his brother *Mizraim* first kept vpon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of Chaldaea, and in proceesse of time, and as
their people increased, they drew themselves more Westerly towards the Red or Arabian Sea: from whence *Mizraim* past ouer into Egypt, in which Tract the *Chusites* remained for many yeeres after. Now because there could be no such Riuer found in Arabia the stonie, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus*, *Aethiopia*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if wee doe examine this mistaking by example, wee shall the better perceiue it as it was. For let vs suppose, that *Brute*, or whosoever else that first peopled this Iland, had arriued vpon the Riuer of Thames, and called the Iland after his name *Britannia*; it might bee said that Thames or Tems was a Riuer that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards in proceesse of time, the same *Brute* had also discovered and conquered Scotland, which he also intituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after ages might conclude that Scotland, was no part thereof, because the Riuer of Tems is not found therein. Or let vs suppose that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*, gaue the name to Europe, according to *Herodotus*; and that the first discoverer thereof arriued in the mouth of the Riuer in Thrace, which then watered as much of Europe, as he first discovered, shall wee in like sort resolute that France, Spaine, and Italie, &c. are no parts of Europe, because that Riuer is not found in them, or any of them: in like manner was it said by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land which

which the *Chusites* should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabite, seeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) haue bene Masters in time, (as the Saracens, which came of them, were) of a great part of the world. For, though the Babylonian Empire, which tooke beginning in *Nimrod* the sonne of *Chus*, consisted at the first but of foure Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*, yet we find, that his Successours within a few yeeres after, commanded all the whole World in effect: & the fame of Babel consumed the memorie of Chusca. For of this *Tower of Confusion* did all that Land take the name of Babylonia: and the greatnesse of that Empire, founded by *Nimrod* a yonger sonne, obscured the name and nation of his father *Chus* in those parts, vntill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the Babylonian Empire, where the *Chusites* retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soile and Territorie by themselves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke, that *Chus* or any of his, could in haste creepe through those desert Regions, which the length of 130. yeeres after the Flood had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted euery Bush and Bryar, Reede and Tree, to ioyne themselves (as it were) into one maine body and Forrest. For if we looke with iudgement and reason into the Worlds plantation, we shall find, that euery Family seated themselves as neare together as possible they could, and though necessitie enforced them, after they grew full of people, to spread themselves, and creepe out of Shinar or Babylonia, yet did they it with this aduice, as that they might at all times, resort and succour one another by Riuer; the fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and strength vsurped dominion ouer the rest, sate downe in the very confluence of all those Riuers, which watered Paradise: for thither it was to which the greatest troupes of *Noahs* children repayed; and from the same place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they againe their increase. The first Father of Men *Adam*, had therein his former habitation. The second Father of Mankind *Noah*, began from thence his dispersion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngest, yet strongest, made his choice of Babel (as aforesaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleaned and enriched; so did *Hanilab* place himselfe vpon *Piso-Tigris*: *Raamah* and his sonne *Sheba* farther downe vpon the same Riuer, on the Sea-coast of Arabia: *Chus* himselfe vpon *Gehon*, the fairest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselves farther off, yet they alwayes fastened themselves to the Riuers sides: for *Niniue*, *Charran*, *Reseph*, *Canneh*, &c. in *Chaldaea*, and the other first-peopled Cities, were all founded vpon these nauigable Riuers, or their branches, by which the one might giue succour and assistance to the other, as is already often remembred.

S. X V.

A conclusion by way of repetition of something spoken of before.

BVt now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to me by the testimonies of the Scriptures, that Paradise was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, seated in the lower part of the Region of Eden, afterward called *Aram fluuio-rum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Equinoctiall*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which climate the most excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Graine of all sorts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proueth the excellency of this said soile and temper, than the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of man. Yet wherein foueuer the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can most vaunt, that they haue excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their workes: this Tree alone giueth vnto man whatsoeuer his life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may bee said, that these Trees are found both in the East and West *Indies*, which Countries are also blessed with a perpetuall Spring and Summer, yet, lay downe by those pleasures and benefits the fearefull and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous Beasts and Wormes, with other inconueniences; and then there will be found no comparison betweene the one and the other.

What

What other excellencies this Garden of Paradise had, before God (for mans ingratitude and crueltie) cursed the Earth, we cannot iudge; but I may safely thinke, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all liuing men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular Garden exceede all parts of the Vniuersall World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees of Life, of Knowledge; Plants onely proper, and becomming the Paradise, and Garden of so great a Lord.

The summe of all this is, That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture haue beene dimme-sighted (some of them finding Paradise beyond our knowne World: some, about the middle Region of the Ayre: some, eleuated neere the Moone: others, as 10 farre South as the Line, or as farre North as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Castles in the Aire, and in mens fancies, vainly imagined. For it was Eastward in Eden (saith *Moses*) Eastward, in respect of Iudæa, that God planted this Garden; which Eden wee find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A riuer went out of Eden to water this Garden, and from thence diuided it selfe into foure branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* swimming through Eden, doe ioine in one, and afterward taking wayes apart, doe water *Chus* and *Hauilah*, according to *Moses*. the true seats of *Chus* and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of Shinar, in which *Nimrod* built Babel. That *Pison* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, Reason, and experience teach the 20 contrary: for that which was neuer ioined, cannot be diuided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth India, cannot be a branch of the riuers of Eden; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibilitie; and this riuer is a greater stranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, than *Ganges* is: for although there are betweene *Tigris* and *Ganges* about foure thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountaines of the Moone, almost as farre off as the Cape of good hope, and falleth into the Mediterran Sea: and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the Mountaines of Armenia, and falleth into the Gulfe of Persia: the one riseth in the South, and trauielleth North: the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, threescore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following, I haue added a Chorographicall de- 30 scription of this terrestriall Paradise, that the Reader may thereby the better conceiue the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labour may but receiue an allowance suspended, vntil such time as this description of mine be reproued by a better.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

S. I.

That the tree of Life was a materiall tree: and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made subiect to death.



Or eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of Knowledge was *Adam* driuen out of Paradise, in *exilium vite temporalis*, into the banishment of temporall life, saith *Beda*. That these Trees of Life and Knowledge were materiall Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospell) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fixe them, and so slipperie, as nothing can fasten them, haue in this also 50 deliuered to the World, an imaginarie doctrine.

The Tree of Life (say the *Hebrewes*) hath a plurall construction, and is to be vnderstood, *Lignum vitarum*, The Tree of lines, because the fruit thereof had a propertie, to preserue both the growing, sensitiue, and rationall life of man; and not onely (but for *Adams* transgression) had prolonged his owne dayes, but also giuen a durefull continuance to all posteritie; and that, so long, as a body compounded of Elements could last. And although it is hard to thinke, that flesh and bloud could be immortall, but that it must once perish and rot, by the vnchanged Law of God imposed on his creatures, Man



Man (notwithstanding) should haue enioyned thereby a long, healthfull, and vngreined life: after which (according to the opinion of most Diuines) he should haue bene translated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the Flood, the dayes of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeeres; and soone after the flood, of two hundred yeeres and vpwards, euen to fūe hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandement, the liues of men on Earth might haue continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men haue conceiued. *Chrysostome*, *Rupertus*, *Tostatus*, and others were of belcefe, that (but for *Adams* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his Posteritie had bene immortall. But such is the infinite Wisdome of God, as he foresaw that the earth could not haue contained Man, kind, or else, that millions of foules must haue bene vngenerated, and haue had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for euer: and therefore that of *Chrysostome* must bee vnderstood of immortalitie of bodies, which should haue bene translated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which respect many haue conceiued, that the same was not materiall, but a meere *Allegorie*, taking their strength out of *Salomon*, where Wisdome is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life; and out of the *Apocalypsis*, *I will giue to him that ouer cometh, to eate of the Tree of Life which is in the Paradise of God*. But to this place Saint *Augustines* answer may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terrestriall Paradise, so there was a celestia. For although *Agar* and *Sara* were Figures of the *Old*, and *New Testament*, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the Maide and Wife of *Abraham*, were meere foolishnesse. And so in this place the sense of the Scripture is manifest. For God brought out of the earth euery Tree faire to the sight, and sweete to taste; the Tree also of Life in the midst of the Garden: which sheweth, that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandement produced, the tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or *Chaos*, *Hesiodus*, *Homer*, *Ouid*, and others; so from the inuention of the created World, so from the Garden of Paradise they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Hesperides*; and from the Tree of Life, their *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth making young, and *Ambrosia*, immortalitie; and therefore said to be the meate and drinke of the gods.

S. II.

Of *BECANVS* his opinion, that the Tree of knowledge was *Ficus Indica*.

Now for the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, some men haue presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giueth himselfe the honour to haue found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could euer ghesse at, whereat *Goropius* much maruaileth. But as hee had an inuentive braine, so there neuer liued any man, that beleueed better thereof, and of himselfe. Surely, howsoeuer his opinion may be valued, yet he vsurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the inuention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses Bar-Cephus* fastened on this coniecture about six hundred yeeres before *Becanus* was borne: and *Bar-Cephus* himselfe referreth the inuention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Author *Philoxenus Maburgensis*, and others, whose very words *Goropius* vsueth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that beliefe. For *Moses Bar-Cephus* in his Treatise of Paradise (the first Part and fol. 48.) saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*; The Indian Fig-Tree, of which the greatest plentie (saith *Becanus*) are found vpon the banks of *Accefines*, one of the Ri- uers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Flée of Gallies, in or neere the Kingdome of *Porus*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bignesse of a great Peaze, or (as *Plinie* reporteth) somewhat bigger, and that it is a tree, *sa. semper serens*, alwayes pluming it selfe; that it spreadeth it selfe so farre abroad, as that a troope of horsemen may hide themselves vnder it. *Strabo* saith, that it hath branches hanging downwards, & leaues no lesse than a shield.

Aristobolus

Aristobolus affirmeth, that fiftie Horsemen may shadow themselves vnder one of these Trees. *Oneferitus* rayseth this number to foure hundred. This tree (saith *Theophrastus*) exceedeth all other in bignesse, which also *Plinie* & *Oneferitus* confirme: to the trunk of which, these Authors giue such a magnitude, as I shame to repeate. But it may bee, they all speake by an ill-vnderstood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not so rare a plant, as *Becanus* conceiue, who because hee found it no where else, would needes draw the Garden of Paradise to the Tree, and set it by the riuier *Acesines*. But many parts of the world haue them, and I my selfe haue seene twentie thousand of them in one Valley, not farre from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot vp some twentie or thirtie foot in length (some more, some lesse, according to the soile) they spread a very large top, hauing no bough nor twigge in the trunk or stemme: for from the vtmost end of the head branches there issue out a gummy iuyce, which hangeth downward like a cord or sinew, and within a few moneths reacheth the ground; which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the top boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this cord maketh it selfe a Tree exceeding hastily. From the vtmost boughes of these young Trees there fall againe the like cords, which in one yeare and lesse (in that World of a perpetuall Spring) become also trees of the bignesse of the neather part of a Lance, and as straight as art or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kind of Groue, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now, one of these Trees considered with all his young ones, may (indeed) throwd foure hundred or foure thousand Horsemen, if they please; for they couer whole Vallies of ground where these Trees grow neare the Sea-banke, as they doe by thousands in the inner parts of *Trinidado*. The cordes which fall downe ouer the bankes into the Sea, shooting alway downward to finde roote vnder water, are in those Seas of the Indies, where Oysters breede, intangled in their beds, so as by pulling vp one of these cordes out of the Sea, I haue seene fife hundred Oysters hanging in a heape thereon; wherof the report came, that Oysters grew on Trees in *India*. But that they beare any such huge leaues, or any such delicate fruit, I could neuer finde, and yet I haue trauailed a dozen miles together vnder them: but to returne to *Goropius Becanus*. This Tree (saith he) was good for meate and pleasing to the sight, as the Tree of knowledge of good and euill is described to be.

Secondly, this Tree hauing so huge a trunk (as the former Authors report, and *Becanus* beleue) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eue* hid themselves from the presence of God; for no other tree (saith he) could containe them. But first it is certaine, that this Tree hath no extraordinarie magnitude, as touching the trunk or stemme, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger than the rest, and these are all but of a meane size. Secondly, the words of *Moses* translated, *in medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters vnderstood in the plurall number (that is) *in the midst of the Trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moses Bar-Cephais*, word for word) is, That when *Adam* and *Eue* found themselves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaues; which proueth (indeed) that either the tree it selfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neare it: because *Adam* being posselt with shame, did not run vp and downe the Garden to seeke out leaues to couer him, but found them in the place it selfe; and these leaues of all other were most commodious by reason of their largenesse, which *Plinie* auoweth in these words: *Latitudo foliorum pelta effigiem Amazoniam habet; The breadth of the leaues hath the shape of an Amazonian shield*: which also *Theophrastus* confirmeth; the forme of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
PENTHESILAEA furens.

The *AMAZONS* with Crescent-formed shield
PENTHESILAEA leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be beleued, or rather threatneth vs all that reade him, to giue credit to this his borrowed discouerie, vsing this confident (or rather cholericke) speech: *Quis eris tam impudenter obstinatus, si hac à nobis desicu hac ex antiqui scriptoriliis cum MOSES narratione compares, ut audeas dicere aliam arborem inueniri posse, quam illa magis quadret? Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things which we*

we haue reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient writers deliuered, with the narration of *MOSES*, as to dare to auer, that any other Tree can be found, which doth more properly answer, or agree therewith? But for my selfe, because I neither find this Tree, setting in body, in largenesse of leaues, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: That the Earth neuer brought forth any of these trees neither before nor after; but I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kinde: onely thereby, and by the easie Commandement by God giuen to *Adam*, to forbear to feede thereon, it pleased God to make triall of his obedience: *Prohibita, non propter aliud, quam ad commendandum pure ac simplicis Obedientia bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other respect, than thereby to commend the goodness of pure and simple Obedience.*

S. III.

OF *BECANUS* his not unwitty allegorizing of the story of his *Ficus Indica*.

IN this I must doe *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it selfe to bee true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I haue gathered in these few words. As this Tree (saith he) so did *Man* grow straight and vpright towards God, vntill such time as he had transgressed and broken the Commandement of his Creator; and then like vnto the boughes of this tree, he began to bend downward, and stooped toward the earth, which all the rest of *Adams* posteritie after him haue done, rooting themselves therein, and fastning themselves to this corrupt world. The exceeding vmbagiousnesse of this tree, he compareth to the darke & shadowed life of man, through which the Sunne of iustice being not able to pierce, wee haue all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased *Christ* to climbe the tree of the Crosse for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among so many large leaues, may be compared (saith hee) to the little vertue, and vnperceiued knowledge among so large vanities; which obscure and shadow it ouer. And as this fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate: so are the delights and pleasures of the world most pleasing, while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into choler and bitterness: so are our vanities and pleasures conuerted into the bitterest sorrowes and repentances. That the leaues are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaues) exceeding little, in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their sollicitude, their outward shewes, and publike ostentation, their apparant pride and large vanities; and if we seeke for the fruit, which ought to bee their vertuous and pious actions, we find it of the bignesse of the smallest peece, glorie to all the world apparant, goodnesse, to all the world inuisible. And furthermore, as the leaues, body, and boughs of this Tree, by so much exceede all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly abilitie surpass the meanest: so is the little fruit of such men, and such trees, when fitting and becoming the unworthiest Shrub, and humblest Bryar, or the poorest and basest Man, than such a flourishing statelinesse, and magnitudine. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after hee had disobeyed God, and beheld his owne nakednesse and shame, sought for leaues to couer himselfe withall, this may ferue to put vs in minde of his and our sinnes, as often as we put on our garments, to couer and adorne our rotten and mortall bodies: to pamper and maintaine which, wee vse so many vncharitable and cruell practices in this world.

So of the name of the tree of knowledge of good and euill: with some other notes touching the storie of *ADAMS* sinne.

NOW, as touching the sense of this tree of knowledge of good and euill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it selfe, *Moses Bar-Cephais*, an ancient Syrian Doctor (translated by *Moses*) giue this iudgement: That the fruit of this Tree had no such vertue or qualitie,

as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledge created in Adam, as if hee had beene ignorant before; but as *Iunius* also noteth: *Arbor scientie boni & mali (id est) experientie boni & mali ab euentu*; The Tree of knowledge of good and euill (that is) the experience of good and euill by the euent. For thus much we may conceiue, that Adam being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workmanship of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection than euer anie man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whose seed, all men liuing, haue growne vp; and hauing receiued immortalitye from the breath or spirit of God, hee could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobeying of Gods commandement was the fearefullest euill, and the obseruation of his precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithstanding) conceiue, that sicknesse is grieuous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering & experience in themselves they afterwards witness: so was it with Adam, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the prooffe thereof in himselfe, another terror than he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glasse of his owne guiltie soule, he beheld therein the horror of Gods iudgements, so as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had triall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased euill, which could not be exprest. He then saw himselfe naked both in bodie and mind; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicitie: and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had anie such operation, by anie selfe qualitie or effect: for the same phrase is vsed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are giuen to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such sort, as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, because of the euent, as is aforesaid: so was the Well of contention therefore called *Esek*, and the Well of hatred *Sithnath*, because the Heardsmen of *Isaac* and *Gerar* contended for them; and the heape of Stones called the heape of witnessse, betweene *Iacob* and *Laban*; not that the stones bare witnessse, but for a memorie of the covenant. So *Iacob* called the house of God *Bethel*; and *Hagar*, the Well in the Desert, *Vientu*, & *videntu*.

But Adam being both betrayed and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge than he had perceiued in himselfe; and looking but slightly (as all his illues doe) into the miseries and sorowes incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glory which he might obtaine by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blowne forward, by the gentle winde of pleasing perswasions, vnwares; his progression being strengthened by the subtile arguments of Sathan, who laboured to poison mankind in the verie root, which he moistned with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himselfe perished for euer.

But what meanes did the Diuell find out, or what instruments did his owne subtilty present him, as fittest and aptest to worke this mischief by? euen the vnquiet vanity of the woman; so as by Adams harkning to the voyce of his wife, contrarie to the expresse commandement of the liuing God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subiect of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being giuen to man for a comforter and companion, but not for a counsellor. But because thou hast obeyed the voyce of thy wife &c. (saith God himselfe) Cursed is the earth for thy sake in sorrow shalt thou eate of it all thy life. It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted, euen by the most vgly and vnworthy of all beasts, into whom the Diuell entred, and perswaded.

Secondly, what was the motiue of her disobedience? euen a desire to know what was most vnfitting her knowledge; an affection which hath euer since remained in all the posteritie of her sexe. Thirdly, what was it that moued the man to yeeld to her perswasions? euen the same cause which hath moued all men since to the like consent, namely, an vnwillingnesse to grieue her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be overcome with sorrow. But if Adam in the state of perfection, and Salomon the sonne of *Dauia*, Gods chosen seruant, and himselfe a man endued with the greatest wisdom, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the perswasion and for the loue they bare to a woman, it is not so wonderfull as lamentable, that other men in succeeding ages haue been allured to so many inconuenient and wicked practices, by the perswasions of their wiues, or other beloued darlings, who couer ouer and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeited passion of dissimulate sorrow and vnquietnesse.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of diuers memorable things betweene the Fall of ADAM, and the Flood of NOAH.

§. I.

Of the cause and the reuenge of CAINS sinne: and of his going out from God.

He same Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possessed Adam, Cain also inherited: for Cain (envious of the acceptation of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) slew him, making himselfe the first Murtherer, and his Brother the first Martyr: the reuenge of which vnnatural Murther, although it pleased God to mitigate, when Cain cryed out that his punishment was greater than he could beate. For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the Sonnes of Adam, as it were, vrged and prouoked God) hee destroyed all Mankind, but Noah and his Family: for it is written, *The Earth also was corrupt before God: of which in the same place Moses giueth a reason, for saith he, The Earth was filled with cruelty; and anon after, God himselfe made the cause knowne vnto Noah, saying; An end of all flesh is come before me; for the Earth is filled with cruelty thorough them, and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth, or from the Earth.* Neither was this cruelty meant to haue beene in taking away the lines of men onely, but in all sorts of Iniustice and Oppression. After this Murther of ABEL, CAIN went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the East-side of Eden: in which words, The going out of Cain from the presence of the Lord, is not to be vnderstood after the litterall sense; God being wholly in all parts of the World: *Totus in celo est, totus in terra, non alteris temporibus, sed vtrunq; simul*; God (saith S. AVGVSTINE) is wholly in Heauen, and wholly in Earth, not by exchanging times, but all at once; And that this is true, *Dauia* witnesseth: *If I be in Heauen thou art there; in Hell, thou art there also*. But what is meant thereby? *Exiit a facie Dei* (saith CHRYSOSTOME) CAIN went out from the presence of the Lord (that is) he was left of God, disfaoured and bereaued of his protection.

§. II.

Of CAINS dwelling in the Land of Nod: and of his City Enoch.

His word Nod or Naid, S. Hierome and many others vnderstand to signifie wandering or incertaine habitation: vexation or agitation, saith *Iunius*; but the Seventy conuert it otherwise, and take Nod for the proper name of a Countrey, and so doth *Iosephus*. But it seemeth to me, that Cain was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing else, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the Murther committed, iustly fearing (by his owne words) the like violence: *And whosoever findeth me (saith CAIN) shall slay me*. Now that Nod or Naid was a Region wherein Cain inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwell*) for dwelling signifieth an abiding: and wee call those people Wanderers and Vagabonds that haue no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling & abiding more manifest, *Moses* teacheth us what part of the Earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East-side of Eden. Secondly, it is said by *Moses*, that after Cain departed from the presence or fauour of God, he built a City, and called it by the name of his first-borne, *Enoch*; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortifie himselfe against reuenge. *Cyrrill* saith, that Cain and Abel were figures of Christ, and of the Iewes; and that as Cain after that he had slaine Abel vniustly, had thenceforth no certaine abiding in the World: so the Iewes after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnegates; and it is true, that the Iewes had neuer since any certaine Estate, Common-weale, or Prince of their own vpon the Earth. Now this Land of Nod, *Iunius* taketh to be in Arabia Deserta, a Region of Nomades, but Arabia the Desert is not Eastward, or on the East part of Eden, neither are these Nomades any particular People or Nation. For all these, in what part of the World soeuer, which in old time liued by Pastorage, and fed (as

we call it in Ireland) vpon white meate, without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greekes, *Nomades*, and by the Latines *Pastores vagi*; as the Northren Tartarians, the Gethulians, and Numidians in Africa, the ancient Britains, and the Northren Irish: yea, such were the Inhabitants of Italy it selfe, till such time as *Italus* (who gaue them that name) taught them the Husbandry of tillage, vntill at this day. But the Region Eastward from Eden is that part of Assyria, called by *Protolmy* Calena, which also might bee deriued of *Carena*, the country of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in those parts, it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, *Genes. 3. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth whence he was taken*: and in the Verse following: *Thus hee cast out man, &c. and at the East side of the Garden of Eden hee set the Cherubims*: which sheweth, that the entrie into Paradise was from the East, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of Paradise which was Eastward, according to the Text. *Cain* also in the same Region sought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod* or *Naid* doe signifie *profugus*, that is, a fugitiue, we can giue no longer time to this vncertaine habitation of *Cain*, than till he built the City of *Enoch*, the first of the World, which hee inclosed either, for his owne defence, or (as *Iosephus* writeth) to oppresse others thereby. So as for mine own opinion, I am resolu'd with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (*Vagabond*) which *Cain* vseth of himselfe, it seemeth by the perclose of the same Verse, that (*Vagabond*) is therein vnderstood for such an one as trauaileth in feare of reuengement: *for whosoever findeth me* (saith *Cain*) *shall slay me*; or else (*Vagabond*) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the fauour of God.

And because these *Henochians*, so called of the City of *Enoch*, were the first society & ciuill assembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of these people (either for cruelty, strength, or other actions) liued in the memory of *Noah* and his Sonnes; so that after the Flood (as there were of all sorts of natures, some virtuously, some impiously disposed, and euery actiue minde setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people, which delighted in cruelty and oppression, tooke on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these *Henochians* were not the least. Perchance the place it selfe where *Enoch* stood before the Flood, and whereof the Monuments might remain (as the Pillars or the foundation of *Ioppe* did) gaue occasion to the Planters of that place to call themselves by the same name: for of those *Henochians* there were many Nations in the borders of *Pontus*, & *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Segdiana*, & *Bactria*; of the same name many Mountains, as those which are otherwise called *Coraxici*. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged Time hath couered ouer or defaced, we may (according to the counsell of *Plato*) exceedingly reioyce, and therewith satisfie our selues, if of so great and almost worn-out Antiquity, if of the eldest peoples names & nations, there remain any print or foot-steps to Posterity.

In * *Pliny*, * *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, * *Stephanus*, we finde those *Henochians* described, though diuersly written; as in *Pliny*, sometimes *Heniochi*, in *Mela* *Eniochi*, in *Flaccus* *Heniochi*, in *Lucan* *Enochi*, all which inhabit vpon the Sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of these are on the East-side of *Eden*, or (according to *Moses* words) Eastward from *Eden*. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding precise, as sometime he vseth the word *East* or *South* without borrowing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as *Eastward* or *Southward*, or towards the *East* or *South*. In the place of *Genesis* the eleuenth, hee writeth the word (*East*) simply and directly. *And as they went from the East, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar*; but in this of *Cain* he addeth the word (towards) as, *in the Land of Nod towards the East side of Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two either to the *North* or to the *South* of the *East*.

But as we may coniecture that these Nations took name of *Enoch* the City of *Cain*, or of the Region wherein it stood, when the same was repopled after the Flood: so it is probable that these *Henochians* of *Colchis*, & other parts adjoining, were not the first of that name, after the Sons of *Noah* began to fill the World againe: because, had this *Enoch* the City of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then bin seated *North*, & not *East* or *Eastward* from *Eden*. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards hee goeth on *Eastward*, till hee tracke them or trace them out to their originall. For he calleth these of *Colchis* (now *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Heniochi*; *Protolmy*, *Zani*; beyond which

an hundred and fifty mile Eastward hee findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond these hee againe discovereth a third Nation, from whence all these tooke beginning, which inhabited on the West-side of the Mountains of *Taurus*, betweene the *Tien* and the great *Riuer* of *Oxus*; which bordereth *Bactria* on the North side; and these *Henochians* are due East from the Region of *Eden*, and Eastward from the very *Garden* it selfe.

And although we cannot bee assured that these *Henochians* took name from the memory of the City of *Enoch* directly, yet because they inhabited due East from *Paradise*, and afterwards spread themselves Westward (as all *Noahs* Sons did that came into *Shinar*) the coniecture is farre more probable, than that of *Enoch* the *Phoenician*, who sets *Henoch* in *Phoenicia*, quite contrary to *Moses* word: *Phoenicia* from all parts of *Eden* being directly West.

And besides these severall Nations of the *Henochians*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*; & the same also in the East, with diuers Mountains about *Bactria* and *Segdiana*, of the same name. Only the Grecians (according to their fabulous inuentions of all things else) out of the word (*Heniochi*) which significeth Carts or Coach-men; make these Nations to haue sprung from the Waggoners of *Cassio* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Apophites* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterprise of *Iason* into *Colchis*. And though I doe not deny, but that *Iason* with other Greeks ranged the Coasts of Asia the lesse in an open Boat or kind of small Galley, * of whom I shall speake in his owne time: yet no man doubteth but that the Tale of the Golden Fleece was for the most part Potticall, and withall that in such an open Boat, which could hardly carry their owne Rowers, being 54. there was no place, and lesse vse of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

S. III.

Of MOSES his omitting sundry things concerning CAINS Generation.

BEFORE the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the City of *Enoch* in prophane Story, thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answer some few Obiections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for *Cain* (hauing no other assistance than his Sonne *Henoch*) to performe such a Work as the building of a City, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a masse of all sorts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of *Cain* (because he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moses* vseth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his diuine Reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the first Race, which wasteth by the least account, 1656. yeares, in five short Chapters. Yet thus much may euery man borrow of his owne weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens liues so long a measure, as 800. & 900. 40 yeares, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leisure and means to build many such Cities as *Enoch*, be the capacity answering to what other of the World fouer: for in what Age of *Cains* life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whose times, and the times of his Issues *Moses* had the least care. And, as it was said of *Cain*, that he built a City: so it was said of *Noah*, that his three Sons peopled all the World, but in both; the proceesse of time required to be vnderstood: which aduice seeing *Moses* vseth where the space lesse requireth it, as knowing that hee writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, wee may easily vnderstand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betweene the Birth of *Abel*, and Oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort, *Fuit autem post dies multos* or *a fine dierum* (that is) in proceesse of time: it came to passe that *CAIN* brought an Oblation. And therefore it is in like sort to be vnderstood of *Cain*, that many yeares fore-gone, and when his people were increased, he built the City of *Enoch* or *Enoch*.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, so of *Salomon*, that hee built the Temple of *Ierusalem*; yet it is well knowne of *Salomon*, that hee employed in that Worke, 150000. Labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selues to say, The King inuaded, when he caused an inuasion to be made: & he built, when he comanded such a building. And therefore seeing we find that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of *Cains* Issues, it is not to be maruailed at, why he also

Quotidie ali-
quid in hoc
magnae orbis
matur, noua
vbi fundam-
enta iacunt
in ymo Gen-
tium nomina
(extinctis no-
minibus priori-
bus) oriuntur.
Sen. caud. Albi-
num.

* *Plin.* l. 6. c. 9.
11. & 16.
Mel. l. 1. c. 1.
Strabo lib. 11.
Val. Flacc. l. 6.
Lucan. l. 3. v. 77
v. 2.

Plin. l. 6. c. 5.
Protab. Africa 3

Gen. 4. 17. passeth ouer in a word the building of Enoch, without addition of any circumstance: for of Cain, Moses writeth in this manner: CAIN also knew his wife, who conceived and bare HENOCHE, and he built a City, and called the name of the City after the name of his sonne HENOCHE. And so HENOCHE was borne IRAD, and IRAD begat MEHVIAEL, and MEHVIAEL begat METHVSIAEL, and METHVSIAEL LAMECH.

Now of Seth, Moses writeth farre otherwise, and in this manner. And SETH lived an hundred and five yeares, and begat ENOCHE, and SETH lived after he begat ENOCHE 807. yeares, and begat Sonnes and Daughters: so in all the dayes of SETH were 912. yeares, and he dyed as for the yeares & times of the wicked, they were not numbred in libro viuentium, faith Cyril. But in Seth was the Church of God established, from whom Christ descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke Moses walked in, & finished it with care, passing ouer the Reprobate Generation (as aforesaid.) Of the Line of Adam by Cain, Moses remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning Adam for one, and of the Line of Adam by Seth ten, counting Adam also therein, as followeth:

I. ADAM.

2 Cain.	7 Lamech, who by	2 Seth.	7 Henoch.
3 Henoch.	Ada had	3 Enosh.	
4 Irad.	8 Tubal and Tubal, &	4 Cainan.	8 Methusalem.
5 Mahuael.	by Sila Tubalcain,	5 Mahaleel.	9 Lamech, and
6 Mathusalem.	and Noema.	6 Irad.	10 Noah.

Gen. 11. 12. These be the Generations of Adam by Cain, which the Scriptures mention: but Josephus giueth vnto Lamech threescore and seuentene Sonnes and Daughters, by his two Wiues Ada and Sila: and to these three sonnes of Lamech, Moses ascribeth the Inuention of Pastorage, of Musique, and the working in Metall; for it seemeth that Tubal first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were vntamed, and brought them into Heards and Droues: Tubal inuented Musicke, and Tubalcain the working in Brasse and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanical, the third giuen to Idleness and Pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees of Shepheards, Handy-crafts-men, and Musicians. And in the Issues of Seth began the Seruices of God, Diuinity, Prophecy, and Astronomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heauens, the other the Earth.

§. IV.

Of the diuersities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

A Second scruple hath bene made, How it came to passe that the Patriarchs begat their Children at so diuers Ages, as Cainan or Cenan at secenty yeares, Mahaleel and Enoch at threescore and five yeares, whereas Irad begat not any of his vntill he was 162. yeares old: Mathusalem begat at 187. Lamech at 182. and Noah at 500. yeares. Now this difference hath bin the more enforced, because it cannot bee conjectured, that either Irad, Mathusalem or Lamech abstained from Marriage out of the religion of Abstinence, seeing that Enoch, who was translated by God for his singular Sanctities, begat children before he was threescore and ten yeares old.

The apparant difference hereof ariseth in this, that Moses did not number the Generations before the Flood precisely, according to the first begotten and eldest sons of the Patriarchs, but hee drew downe the Line of Noah from Seth, and afterward from Noah to Abraham, by their true Ancestors, were they elder or yonger, as he found them: for it is likely that Henoch was not the eldest of Irad, nor Lamech the first-borne of Mathusalem, nor Noah of Lamech; neither is there any thing knowne to the contrary, but that Noah might haue had many Sonnes before Shem, Ham and Iaphet, though these three were only named, & suruiuing, & which by God were reserved to be the Fathers of Mankind after the Flood; and therefore when we find Mahaleel to bee begotten by Kenan at threescore and ten yeares who was the first Sonne of Kenan, and then reckon that Mathusalem begat Lamech in the 187. year of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where Lamech is taken for the eldest. But Moses reiecteth all the other sonnes of Mathusalem but Lamech only, because hee was the Father of Noah as aforesaid. Of this Saint

Saint Augustine hath somewhat else in his twentieth and one and twentieth Chapters, De Ciuitate Dei.

But as Moses counted the Generations of the first Age, & so to Abraham, and the children of the Promise after him, so doth Saint Matthew recite the Genealogy of Christ, not by the eldest sonnes, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-borne, who haue hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and transitory only; and therefore the Euangelist nameth Isaac, and not Ismael, though Ismael were first in time: so doth he take Jacob the yonger, and not Esau the elder; neither is Christ deriued from any of the three eldest Patriarchs, Reuben, Simcon, or Levi, but from Iuda a fourth Brother, and so from Dauid a yonger sonne of Iesse; and lastly, we find, that the kingdome it selfe of Iuda was not giuen to the Heire in Nature, but to the Heire of Grace, namely Salomon.

§. V.

Of the long lines of the Patriarchs: and some of late memory.

The third Obiection is, that the great difference of yeeres betweene those of the first Age, whereof some of them had well neere scene a thousand yeares, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the same measure as in after-
20 Ages, seeing, that soone after the Flood, men liued not a third part of that time, and in succeeding Ages and to this day, not the tenth.

They that haue hereon resolved that those yeeres were but Lunary yeeres, (to wit) of a Moneth or thereabouts, or Egyptian yeeres, are easily confuted. For whereas Seth begat Enosh in the yeare of his life an hundred and five, if those yeeres bee taken but for Moneths, then had Seth liued but eight yeeres, and one Moneth when hee begat Enosh: & if the time of Enosh haue the same allowance, when he begat Kenan, then could Enosh at that time haue bene but sixe yeeres and forty eight weekes old; and so it may bee gathered of the rest, excepting only Adam, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the Trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and seed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine.
30 For to giue an ability of Generation at sixe, seuen or eight yeeres, agreeth with the short liues of the Pigmies, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from Adam, the workmanship of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the strong youth of the Word, and length of dayes and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary yeeres, then there would follow this extremity, that those which liued longest, and vpwards of nine hundred yeeres, had by that account but the time of fourescore and ten and odde yeeres; which were not only lesse by farre than the Patriarchs liued after the Flood, but short of many mens liues in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourescore, & some a hundred yeeres. Further (if need be) to disproue this reckoning, whereas it is written, Gen. 25. That Abraham dyed in a good Age, an old man, and of great yeeres: all which (if the former account were of Lunary yeeres) makes but seuentene and an halfe of our yeeres.

And if we seeke for a cause of this long life in Nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget Children of equall strength or little differing: for of the first & purest seed there must of necessity spring vp the fairest and fruitfulllest plants. Secondly, the Earth it selfe was then much lesse corrupt, which yielded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any such mixture of harmefull quality, as since that time the Curse of God, for the cruelty of mans heart, brought on it and Mankind: Neither had the Waters of the Flood infused such an impurity as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Herbes, and
50 Fruits vpon the Earth receiued a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things vnder the Sunne haue one time of strength, and another of weakenesse, a youth & beautie, and then age and deformity: so time it selfe (vnder the deathfull shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worne out that liuely vertue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants; yea, the Heauens themselues being of a most pure and clenfed matter, shall waxe old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferior Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receiue operative Vertue from the superiour.

But besides the old age of the World, how farre doth our education and simplicity

of liuing differ from that old time? the tender bringing vp of Children, first fedde and nourished with the Milke of a strange Dugge; an vnnaturall curiosity hauing taught all Women (but the Beggar) to finde out Nurfes, which necessity only ought to commend vnto them: The hasty Marriages in tender yeares, wherein Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her & replant her branches, while her selfe hath not yet any root sufficient to maintaine her owne top; and such halfe-ripe seedes (for the most part) in their growing vp with in the bud, & waxe old euen in their Infancy. But about all things the exceeding luxuriouseffe of this gluttonous Age, wherein we presse Nature with ouer-weighty burdens, and finding her strength defectiue, wee take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of strong Waters, hot Spices, and prouoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath these elegant Verses:

Pharfab.

—O prodiga rerum

Luxuries nunquam paruo contenta parata:

Et quæstororum terra pelagof, ciborum

Ambitiosa fames, & laeta gloria mensæ,

Discite quàm paruo liceat producere vitam:

Et quantum Natura petat.

Non auro myrrhâq, bibunt: sed gurgiste puro

Vita redit: satis est populis sinuissq, Cerejsq.

O wastfull Riot neuer well content

With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious

Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and sent:

Vaine glory of a Table sumptuous,

Learne with how little life may be preferred.

In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to carouse,

But with the Brooke the peoples thirst is seru'd:

Who fed with Bread and Water are not seru'd.

Pier. Hierog. l. 2.

The Egyptians affirme, that the longest time of mans life is a hundred yeares, because the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to strength fifty yeares, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philosophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty yeares, and *Berosus* to a hundred and seenteene yeares. These opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproueth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the last taxation, number and reuiue of the eighth Region of Italy, there were found in the Roll (saith *Pliny*) foure & fifty persons of an hundred yeares of age: feuen & fifty of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred & feue & twenty: foure, of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred & feue & thirty, or a hundred & feuen and thirty yeares old: & last of all three men of an hundred and forty: and this search was made in the times of *Æssian* the Father and the Son.

Plin. l. 7. c. 29.

The simple dyet and temperate life of the *Æssaens* gaue them long account of many yeares: so did it to the Secretaries of Egyptian Ceremonies, to the Persians Magicians & Indian Brachmans. The Greeks affirme out of *Homer*, that *Nestor* liued three Ages, & *Tiresias* six, *Syllia* three hundred yeares, *Endymion* of the lesse Asia little lesse: Also *Masanissa* of Numidia liued very long, & *Dando* of Illyria. Among the kings of Arcadia many liued three hundred yeares (saith *Ephorus*.) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that some of them liue full two hundred yeares; and so doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the Egyptians: & that these reports are not fabulous, *Iosephus* bringeth many witnesse with himselfe; as *Marcobon*, *Berosus*, *Mochus*, *Ælium*, *Hieronymus*, *Aegyptius*, *Heccatæus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume*, an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the yeare 1570. there was an Indian presented to *Solyman*, Generall of the Turkes Army, who had out-liued three hundred yeares. I my self knew the old Countess of Desinond of Inchinquin in Münster, who liued in the yeare 1589. & many yeares since, who was married in *Edward* the Fourth time, & held her Ioynture from all the Earles of Desinond since then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen & Gentlemen of Munster can witnesse. *Strozzius Cicogna*, out of *Torquemada Massæus*, and the like Authors, telleth of some that haue not onely far exceeded the terme prescribed by *Epigenes*; but been repayed from the withered estate of decrepit Age to fresh Youth. But for length of life, if wee note but the difference betweene the ability of men in those daies wherein *Galen* the Physician liued, it may easily proue vnto vs what Reeds we are in respect of those Cedars of the first Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let bloud six pound weight, whereas we (for the most part) stop at six ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Constellations) which are the naturall causes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) strong Parents, a pure

and

and thin Ayre, and temperate vse of dyet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long vpright; on Ayre we feed alwayes and in euery instant, and on meates but at times: and yet the heauie load of abundance, wherewith we oppresse & ouercharge Nature, maketh her to sinke vnauaries in the mid-way; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure Aire, and a temperate vse of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

§. VI.

Of the Patriarchs deliuering their knowledge by Tradition: and that *ENOCH* writ before the Flood.

10

Fourth scruple hath beene made, How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any such had beene, yet it is conceiued, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the vniuersall Flood.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder ages, we shall find, that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also couered and hid from the vulgar sort, as Jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreuerent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoeuer was attained vnto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but deliuered ouer by heart and tradition from wise men to a posterity equally zealous; *Ex animo in animum sine li-* Dion. Arcop. *scru, medio intercedente verbo: From minde to minde without Letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth.* And it was thought by *Isdras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius*, (as *Mirandula* con- Fol. 18. *ceiue*th) that *Moses* did not onely vpon the Mount receiue the Law from God, but with all, *secretiorem & veram legis enarrationem; a more secret and true explanation of the Law;* which (saith he, out of the same Authors,) hee deliuered by mouth to *Iosuah*, and *Iosuah* to the Elders: For to teach these mysteries, which he called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quàm dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere Margaritas, than to giue holy things to Dogges, and to cast Pearles before Swine.* In succeeding times this vnderstanding and wisdom began to be written in Ciphers, and Characters, and Letters bearing the forme of beasts, birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to such as seru'd in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the Iewes was an imitation: the inuention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falsely.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, receiued by tradition and vnwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *receptio* in Latine, and a *receiving* in English. And this custome was also held by the *Druids* & Bards of our ancient Britains, & of later times by the Irish Chroniclers called *Rimers*. If then such as would seem wisest in the vse of reason, wil not acknowledge, that the story of the Creation, or beginning of all things, was written by inspiration, the holy Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then vsed) be deliuered vnto him by a more certaine presumption, than any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preferred & left to their successors: which their wise men (as they terme them) did lay vp and defend from the iniury of the time and other hazzards. For, leauing to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his children and successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* liued together with *Adam* himselfe two hundred forty and three yeares, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no lesse than five hundred yeares: and before *Noah* died, *Abraham* was fifty and eight yeares old; from whence this knowledge by an easie and ordinary way might come to Israel, and so to *Moses*.

But besides this tradition, it is questionlesse, that the vse of letters was found out in the very infancy of the World, proued by those prophecies written on pillars of stone and bricke by *Enoch*: of which *Iosephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained euen in his time (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these prophecies of *Enoch*, Saint *Iude* testifieth; and some part of his Bookes (which contained the course of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia felix*, in the Dominion of the Queen of Saba (saith *Origen*.) *Origen* Homil. *igen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth, that hee had seene and read some whole Pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the Creation, and story

of

of the first Age, seeing he might receiue it both by tradition and letters, had not the Spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did : which also his many and strange miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Orig. Homil. 28.
in Num. 6.
Comment. in
Evang. Iohann.
Gelaf. dist. 15.

Now for the Bookes of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make question of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gazem*, (with others) cite them in their writings; although *Medina*, for an argument to proue them vnwritten traditions, alleadgeth that Pope *Gelasius* among other the Apocryphall Scriptures (which he reiecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoever was remembered out of them, the same was deliuered by Tradition from the Iewes. But I rather thinke with *Pererius*, that such a Book there was, & that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, & many things added thereunto by Heretikes, who tooke occasion vpon the antiquity therof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Deuill about the body of *Moses*, to frame and adde thereunto many inuentions of their owne. One of the greatest arguments against these Bookes, is, that neyther *Philo* nor *Iosephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of Saint *AUGUSTINE*, *Scriptis se quidem nonnulla diuina Enoch, illum septimum ab ADAM, negare non possumus: That ENOCH, the seuenth from ADAM, did write diuers diuine things, we cannot deny.* Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquity, and of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Book was found amongst those Canonically Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in *Armario Indaeico* (saith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth that this Booke might be preferred by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the prophecies remembered by *Iude*, no man can deny; how they were deliuered to posterity, I know not; whether by the Iewes *Cabala*, or by what other means, the same is but mans coniecture. And (certainely) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heauens, and of the natures and coniunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to some of his sonnes, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had seene and might preferre this Booke. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly inuented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath beene said before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* liued with *Methusale*, who liued with *Adam*, and *Abraham* liued with *Noah*, it is not strange (I say) to conceiue how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by letters, or by *Cabala* & tradition, had the vndoubted word of God need of any other prooffe than self-authority.

Yeri. de habit.
mulierum.

Hebr. 11. 5.

§. VII.

Of the men of renowne before the Flood.

Now let vs consider the relation of *Moses*, who nameth seuen descents of *Cains* children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten: *Seth* being giuen by God in stead of *Abel*; and of *Seth* was *Enosh* begotten, in whose time men began to professe Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publique. For although *Adam* instructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enosh* men began publickly to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they serued and praised God by Communion and in publique manner, or calling vpon the Name of the Lord; and thereby were the sonnes of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the sonne of *Seth*, to the time of *Enoch* the sonne of *Lared*, there is nothing remembered by *Moses*, but their owne births, the birthes of their sonnes, the length of their liues, and deaths. But of *Enoch* it is written, *That hee walked with God, and hee was no more seene*: for God tooke him away. By that, *that hee walked with God*, was meant, that hee was a iust and vpriight man, and that he feared, loued, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* vseth of *Noah*; *NOAH was a iust and vpriight man in his time, and NOAH walked with God.* The Seuenthy conuert it, *ENOCH placuit Deo; ENOCH pleased God.* And although *Aben-Ezra* and others vnderstand this place, (*tulit eum Deus*) scilicet, *mortuus est*; God tooke him away, (that is) hee dyed, which (indeede) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tooke him away, when he dyed; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh betweene the piety of *Enoch*, and the rest of the Patriarchs,

Gen. 5. 24.

6. 9.

triarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he vseth to himselfe, makes it manifest, that *Enoch* was not dissolued as the rest. For to all the rest of the Patriarchs, *Moses* vseth these words, *And he dyed*; but of *Enoch* he spake otherwise, saying onely, *He was missing, or he was not seene.* *Et non inueniebatur* (saith the Apostle to the Hebrewes) *quia Deus eum transulit*; *And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away.* In the same place it is expressly added, *that he saw not death.*

But whether this taking away of *Enoch* were not with the same kinde of changing, which *S. Paul* promisseth, when he saith, that *when the end shall come, wee shall not all dye, but all shall be changed*, I leaue it to the learned Diuines.

After *Enoch*, *Moses* passeth ouer to *Methusalem* and *Lamech*, remembering (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: sauing that *Lamech* prophesied of his sonne *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort vs concerning our worke, and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed.* Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply than of any of the rest of *Adams* children by *Seth*, being the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Family) preferred, because he was an vpriight man in his time, and feared God.

But of the warre, peace, gouernement, and policy of these strong and mighty men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whose stories if they had bin preferred, and what else was then performed in that newnesse of the World, there could nothing of more delight haue been left to posterity. For the exceeding long liues of men (who to their strength of body and naturall wits, had the experience added of 800. and 900. yeares) how much of necessity must the same adde of wisdom and vnder takings: Likely it is, that their workes excelled all whatsoever can be told of after-times, especially in respect of this old age of the World, when wee no sooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to *Hippocrates*: *Vita breuis, ars longa, tempus preceps*; (which is) *Life is short, art is long, and time is headlong.* And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*; *These were mighty men, which in old time were men of renowne.* But these men of renowne (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body, and cruelty of mind) trusted so much to their owne abilities, as they forgot altogether the piety of *Seth*, and the waies wherein *Enoch* walked: *for all the imaginations of their hearts were euill, onely euill, and continually euill.* And this wickednesse was not only found in the issues of *Cain*, but it was then vniuersall, when the children & sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and misled by their idolatrous wiues, the daughters of *Cain*, or of those other men, louing themselves and the world only.

That these sonnes of God were Angels, which being taken with the beauty of women, accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed, namely, *Lanchantim*, and *Pusebim*, misled by *Iosephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers haue taken great aduantage, and haue troubled themselves with large answers, and very needlesse: the question being vncapable of dispute, especially since *S. Chrysostome* and *S. Augustine* haue answered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth euery where appeare in the Scripture; & on the contrary, to thinke that Angels, who (as *Christ* witnesseth) beheld the face of God, (that is) alwaies attend his commandements, should after a separation from the rest which fel with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creatour, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madnesse to imagine.

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§. VIII.

That the Giants by *Moses* so called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as also diuers in later times.

Of these Giants which *Moses* calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Athenian* (who thought his owne wit more Gigantically than the bodies of *Nimrod* or *Hercules*) hath written a large discourse, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and strayed his braines to proue, that there were neuer any such men: his reasons (whosoever desires to lose time) he may finde them in the Treatises before named. It is true that *Cyriillus* reproues the Grecians Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirme shamelesly, That

That the Giants haue in elder times not onely cast vp Mountaines vpon Mountaines, but remoued Ilands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that inuention of casting vp Hills, and making warre with the gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the story of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and euen out of this Scripture, That the Sonnes of God saw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*, That Giants were the sonnes of the Heauen and the Earth; meaning by the Heauens the sonnes of God, and by the Earth the daughters of Men: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *Iohn Cassian* (who hadt written a witty discourse of this subiect) thus changed into Latine:

*Nomine caelestes illos dixere Gigantes,
Orti quod terrâ fuerint & sanguine cali.*

From the Earth, and from thy bloud, O heauen, they came,
Whom thereupon the gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and selfe-beleeuing men dispute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceine that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there haue beene in all times since; seeing the Scriptures auow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlatiue straying of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was giuen to Oppressors and Tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent stature: such men might with better reason cal them Oppressors, because they were Giants; and therefore had ability to oppresse, than say, That they were called Giants only, because Oppressors. For first, *Moses* himselfe calleth them mighty men; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards, men of renowne, (that is) of great vnder-taking and aduenterous action. And if the same stature of body, and ability had not beene found among diuers Nations after the generall flood, then might this place of *Moses* haue more willingly hearkened to a dispute, and yeelded to interpretation.

But besides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I will referue to accompany the Giants of Albion, in the story of Britanie) the Scriptures doe cleerly and without all allegoricall construction auow, That, besides *Nimrod*, there were found of these Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Iosua*, and of *Dauid*; namely, the Rephaims in Aferoth; the Zuzai or Zanzummims in Ham, and the Enims which dwelt anciently in the Land of Moab: whom *Moses* (for stature) compareth with the Anakims which dwelt in Hebron; for they also were taken for giants as the Anakims: Likewise where *Moses* speaketh of the Land of *Ammon* hee vseth these words: *That also was taken for a land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore times: &c.* whom the *Ammonites* call *Zanzummims*: a people that was great and many and tall as the Anakims. And these Giants called Rephaims in Aferoth and Karnaim, & the Zuzai or Zanzummims, *Chedorlaomer* king of Elam ouerthrew, assisted by other kings his associates. Also the Prophet *Amos* found among the Ammonites men of giant-like stature, whom he compareth to the Cedar, & whose strength to the Okes; and the Prophet *Baruch*, These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in warre. Particularly it is written of *Og* king of Basan, that his bed of yron was nine cubits long, and foure cubits broad: for only *Og* king of Basan remained of the remnant of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdome of Basan, foure hundred yeares after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover, those Discouersers and Searchers of the Land of Promise (sent by *Moses* from Cadesbarne in Paran) made report at their returne of the great stature of those people in generall, and especially of the sonnes of *Anak*, in these words: *All the people which we saw in it are men of great stature: for there we saw Giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the Giants, so that we seemed in our sights like Grassie-hoppers, and so wee were in their sight*, (that is) the Searchers found in their owne iudgements a maruellous difference between the Anakims and themselves: inso much that the Israelites were so stricken with feare, as they rather sought and desired to return againe into Egypt, and were more willing to endure their former slavery, than to fall by the strokes of those fearfull Nations. Furthermore, the Scriptures, put vs out of doubt, that *Goliath* the Philistine of Gath, was a Giant of sixe cubits & a span long: the Armour which he wore weighed siue thousand shickles of brasse: the shitt of his speare was like a Weauers beame, and his speare-head weighed sixe hundred shickles of yron. Also in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliath*

Gen. 14. 5.

Num. 13. 34.

Deut. 2. 21, 22.

Verse 21.

Amos 1.

Bar. 3. 26.

Deut. 3. 11.

Num. 13. 34.

Ap. 14. 4.

1 Sam. 17. 4.

2 Sam. 21. 19.

of another *Goliath*, surnamed *Gethem*, because he was of Gath: and of three other Giants; of which the first was slaine by *Iehonathan*, *Dauids* Nephew, who had twelue fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by sixes, euen foure & twenty.

Also that *Sampson* was of surpassing strength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had beene a Kid, and after slue thirty of the Philistines, & (after that) a thousand more of them with a Iaw-bone of an Ass: And lastly, hee tooke the gates of Azzah, and the two Posts, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them vpon his shoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountaine before Ebron. If then it be approued by euery iudgement, that both Nature and the Heauens waxe old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it selfe) infeebled and almost worne out the vertue of all things, then, I say, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that Sinne had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her yongue ones more strong and beautifull, than it did in after-ages: so also those Giants, those mighty men, and men of renowne, as far exceeded the proportion, nature, and strength of those Giants, remembred by *Moses* of his own time, and after him their successors, as the ordinary proportion of all men in generall, soon after the flood and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne in the withered quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newnesse of the world.

But the wickednesse (especially in cruelty and oppression) of these men was such, as God therefore by the flood gaue end to all flesh, but to the iust *Noah* and his Family. And God repented him that hee had made man: which *S. Augustine* thus expoundeth; *Neg. enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui penitet, cuius est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa prescientia. Sed si non utatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiaris insinuat omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: ut & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quarentes, & alar intelligentes; God (saith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done: (as men use to doe) but if the Scripture did not use those words or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it selfe familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, stirre up the negligent, exercise the searchers of truth, and nourish those that vnderstand.*

CHAP. VI.

Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the world: and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

§. I.

That in old corruptions we may finde some signes of more ancient truth.

Here before we proceede any further, the occasion offereth it selfe for vs to consider, how the Greekes and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inuentions, and by breaking into parts the Story of the Creation, and by deliuering it ouer in a mysticall sense, wrapping it vp mixed with other their owne trumpery, haue sought to obscure the truth thereof; and haue hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receiue those inter-mixt discourses of God and Nature, for the inuentions of Poets & Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolne out of the Bookes of God. But as a skilfull and learned Chymist can aswell by separation of visible elements draw helpfull medicines out of poyson, as poyson out of the most healthfull herbs & plants (all things hauing in themselves both life and death) so, contrary to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those which seeke after God and Truth, finde out every where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Story of the first Age, with all the works and maruilles thereof, amply and liuely exprest.

S. II.

That the corruptions themselves were very ancient: as in the Family of NOAH, and in the old Egyptians.

Herodotus En-
larpe.

BUt this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one having erred but once, the other euer) as concerning mankind it tooke such effect, that thereby (the liberall grace of God being with-drawne) all the posterity of our first Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, suffering a perpetuall Eclipse of spirituall light. Hence it was that it produced plants of such imperfection and harmful quality, as the waters of the generall flood, could not so wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankind. Yea, euen among the few sonnes of Noah, there were found strong effects of the former poysen. For as the children of Sem did inherit the virtues of Seth, Enoch, and Noah; so the sonnes of Cham did possesse the vices of the sonnes of Cain, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the Chaldeans began (soone after the flood to ascribe diuine power and honour to the Creature, which was onely due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sunne, and then the fire. So the Egyptians and Phoenicians did not onely learne to leaue the true God, but created twelue seuerall gods, and diuine powers, whom they worshipped, and vnto whom they built Altars and Temples. For Herodotus saith, *Duodecim Deorum nomina* 20 *primos Egyptios in usu habuisse, atque Græcos ab illis cepisse mutatos, esse prius Aris, & Imagines, & Tempia Dijs sibi creasse; The Egyptians (saith he) first assigned the names of the twelve gods, which the Greekes received from them, who first created vnto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples for the gods.*

§. III.

That in proesse of time these lesser errors drew on greater: as appeareth in the grosse Superstitions of the Egyptians.

Nat. Com. l. 1.
cap. 7.

BUt as men once fallen away from vndoubted truth, doe then after wander for euer more in vices vknowne, and daily trauaile towards their eternall perdition: so did these grosse and blinde Idolaters euery Age after other descend lower and lower, and shrinke and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true & very God; and did not thereby erre in worshipping mortall men onely, but they gaue diuine reuerence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowles, Windes, Earth, Water, Ayre, Fire, to the Morning, to the Euening, to Plants, Trees and Rootes, to Passions and Affections of the Minde, to Palenesse, Sicknesse, Sorrowes, yea to the most vnworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemy, Rhodius Anaxandrides derideth in this manner:

Bonum colis, ego Deis malo bonum.

Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obsoniarum credidi suauissimum.

Carnes suillas tu caues, at gaudeo

Esse maxime: canem colis, quem verbero
Edentem ubi deprehenda forte obsonium.

I sacrifice to God the Beefe, which you adore.

I broyle the Egyptian Eeles, which you (as god) implore:

You feare to eate the flesh of Swine, I finde it sweet.

You worship Dogges, to beate them I thinke meet,

When they in store deuoure

And in this manner IUVENAL.

Porrum aut cape nescis, vulare aut frangere morsu:

O sanctuagines, quibus has nascuntur in hortu

Nursum!

The Egyptians thinke it sinne to roo vp, or to bite

Their Leekes or Onions, which they ferie with holy rite

O happy Nations, which of their owne sowing

Haue store of gods in euery Garden growing!

§. IIII.

S. IIII.

That from the reliques of ancient Records among the Egyptians and others, the first Idols and Fables were inuented: and that the first IUPITER was CAIN, VULCAN, TUBALCAIN, &c.

BUt in so great a confusion of vanities, where among the Heathens themselves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of these inuentions were borrowed, or after what ancient pattern they erected their building, were it not certaine, that the Egyptians had knowledge of the first Age, and of whatsoeuer was done therein, partly from some inscriptions vpon stone or metall remaining after the Flood; and partly from Mizraim the son of Cham, who had learnt the same of Cham, and Cham of his father Noah: for all that the Egyptians write of their ancient Kings, & date of times, cannot be sayned. And though other Nations after them had by imitation their Iupiters also, their Saturnes, Vulcans, & Mercuries, with the rest, which S. Augustine out of Varro, Eusebius out of many prophane Histories; Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Arnobius, and many more haue obserued, to wit the Phoenicians, Phrygians, Cretians, Greeks, and other Nations; yet was Cain the sonne of Adam (as some very learned men conceiue) called and reputed for the first and ancient Iupiter; and Adam for the first Saturne: for Iupiter was said to haue inuented the founding of Cities, and the first Citie of the World was built by Cain, which he called Enoch, of whom were the Henochij before remembred. And so much may be gathered out of Plato in Protagoras, which also Higinius in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For besides that many Cities were founded by diuers men; *Tamen primam latissimam à primo & antiquissimo Ioue edificatam: yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient IUPITER*, seated in the East parts, or in India, according to that of MOSES: *And CAIN dwelt towards the East side of Eden, &c.* where also the Henochij were found after the Flood. And therefore was Iupiter by the Athenians called Polieus, a Founder of Cities; and Herceios, an inclofer or strengthener of Cities; (say Phormius and Pausanias) and that to Iupiter Herceios there were in very many places Altars and Temples erected. And that there were Cities built before the Flood, Plato also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soone after mankind began to increase, they built many Cities; which, as his meaning, he deliuereth in plaine termes, in his third Booke of Lawes: for he saith, that Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great Flood.

This first Iupiter of the Ethnickes was then the same Cain, the sonne of Adam, who marrying his owne Sifter as also Iupiter is said to haue done) inhabited the East, where Stephanus de urbibus placeth the Citie Henochia. And besides this Citie of Henoch, Philo Iudæus conceiueth that Cain built sixe others, as Maich, Iared, Tebe, Iesca, Selet and Gebat: but where Philo had this I know not. Now as Cain was the first Iupiter, and from whom also the Ethnickes had the inuention of Sacrifice: so were Tubal, Tubal and Tubalcain (inventors of Pastorage, Smiths-craft, and Musick) the same, which were called by the ancient prophane Writers, Mercurius, Vulcan, and Apollo; and as there is a likelihood of name betweene Tubalcain and Vulcan: so doth Augustine expound the name of Noemia or Naamath, the sister of Tubalcain, to signifie Venus, or beautifull, Voluptas, or pleasure; as the wife of Vulcan is said to be Venus, the Ladie of pleasure and beautie. And as Adam was the ancient and first Saturne, Cain the eldest Iupiter, Ena, Rhea, and Nomes or Naamath the first Venus: so did the Fable of the diuiding of the World betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of Saturne, arise from the true Storie of the diuiding of the Earth betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of Noah: so also was the Fiction of those Golden Aples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent, which tempted Eua: so was Paradise it selfe transported out of Asia into Africa, and made the Garden of the Hesperides: the prophecies, that Christ should breake the Serpents head, & conquer the power of Hell, occasioned the Fables of Hercules killing the Serpent of Hesperides, and descending into Hell, and captiuating Cerberus: so out of the taking vp of Henoch by God, was borrowed the conuersion of their Heroes (the inuention of Religion, and such Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Starres and Heauenly Signes, and (withall) that leauing of the World, and ascension of Astræa, of which Ouid:

Pluma caelestium terras Astræa reliquit;

Astræa last of heauenly Wights the Earth did leaue:

Ouid, Met. l. 1.

Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 2.

For although thereby the *Ethnickes* would vnderstand Iustice it selfe to haue fayled, as it is a vertue abstract, and may bee considered without a person, yet as it is vsuall among the ancient Poets to describe Vertues and Vices by the persons of men and women, as Desire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beautie or Lust by *Venus*; so doe they also the persons of Men by like Vertues and Vices: and therefore by Iustice and *Astraea*, *Enoch*; the iustice and pietie of *Enoch* being in the same manner exprest, as that of *Noah* was by *Moses*: for *Noah* was said to be a iust man, And *Noah* it walked with God. And of *Enoch* it is written, That hee walked with God, and hee was no more seene: for God tooke him away.

Gen. 7.
Gen. 5. 22. 24.

Lude. C. 11. Di.

From this storie also of the first Age, and from that part where *Moses* remembreth the Giants begotten by the sonnes of good men vpon the daughters of the wicked (whom *Moses* calleth mightie men, and men of renowne) did they steale those wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and againe their warre vnderaken against the gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as Saint *Augustine* termeth him. Which warre of their Giants, *Cornelius Seneca* thus describeth:

*Tentare (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captiuig, Iovis transferre Gigantes
Imperium, & victo leges imponere calo.*

The Giants did aduance their wicked hand
Against the Starres, to thrust them headlong downe;
And robbing *Ioue* of his Imperiall Crowne,
On conquered Heauens to lay their proud command.

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Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purposed to raise the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any coniunction of the starres, should bury them vnder the moysture of a second Floud, but that by this building (if they had bene herein victorious) they would haue giuen the Law to Heauen it selfe. Also the making of leagues, peace and couenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Æneides* hath a touch, was (as it seemeth) borrowed from *Moses*, *Exod. 24.* who when he read the Booke of the Couenant, sprinkled the people with blood.

Ioseph. l. 1. contra
Apian.

Plut. in Iside.

Strab. l. 17.

We find also many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternall Ancestor of *Henoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the same King of *Egypt*, which reigned at such time as *Moses* carried thence the children of *Israel*, (as of late some learned men, mistaking his time, supposed) called his sonne and successour *Setho*, of *Seth*: and of the same *Seth* (as many men of good iudgement haue granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*, called *Senthes*, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memorie of *Seth* most manifestly preferred, that the *Egyptians* worshipped *Seth*, as their most ancient parent, and of the first tradition: in honour of whom they called a principall Prouince *Sethestica*. We also finde in *Bitynia* the Citie of *Sethis*, and others of the same name elsewhere. And sure, from the *Egyptians* did the *Grecians* borrow this kinde of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquitie preceding their owne: and that they might not seeme to learne elsewhere, they gaue the same names to their owne Idols, which the *Egyptians* did to theirs.

§. V.

Of the three chiefest *I V P I T E R S*; and the strange storie of the third.

BVt of all those armies of *Iupiters* remembred by the Ancients, *Cicero* maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers haue also done, who fought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was *Iupiter*, the sonne of *Aether* and *Dies*, so called, because the one had reference to his celestiall conditions (for *Aether* is as much as shining or pure fire,) the other discovered his naturall vertues; which dayes and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to be the sonne of *Calum* or Heauen, for the same former respect; and this *Iupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

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The third, of whom all the *Grecian* fables were deuised, was of *Crete* (now *Candia*) the sonne of *Saturne* and *Ops*. The name deriued from the Latine is taken of *Iunians* *Pater*, from the Greeke word *Zeus*; it signifieth life, but somewhat strayned. *Boccius* in his Genealogie of the gods, conceiueth, that his name was borrowed from *Iupiter* the Planet; but whether that starre had such a name, before the same was giuen to men, I know not. *Iupiter* is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, aduenturous, liberall, mercifull, louing, and faithfull, (that is) giuing these inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these conditions, might be called thereafter *Iupiter*; but howsoeuer they were, or were not with those vertues enriched, yet, by imitation, all Kings, in the eldest times assumed those Titles and Sir-names: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world, (howsoeuer deferred) as the worthiest, that euer were, acquired by their well deseruings. *Ioues omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui; The Ancients* called all Kings *Iupiters*, as *Tzetzes* in his *Varia historia* confirmeth: *Reges olim Ioues vocarunt omnes; In old times* all Nations called their Kings *Iupiters*. But where this last and most remembred *Iupiter* was borne, it is vncertaine. Some there are that make him of *Crete*: others, that hee was but sent thither by his mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to be fostered and hidden from the furie of *Titan* his vnkle: because it was conditioned betweene *Saturne* and *Titan*, that *Saturne* being a younger brother, and reigning (for his owne life) by *Titans* permission, hee should put to death all his male children, 20 left the *Titans* might be interrupted by any of them in their succession; which agreement, because *Saturne* performed in his first borne, it is fayned that *Saturne* deuoured his owne children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine;

*Hand sit pinnior,
Cruda sepulchrum quid sit ipse filijs.* | *Saturne* to be the fatter, is not knowne,
By being the graue and buriall of his owne.

This composition betweene *Titan* and *Saturne*, *Syllia* also witnesseth in these;

*Conceptis verbis; TITAN iurare coegit
SATVRNVM, de se natum ne nutriet ullum,
Quo possint regnare senis post fata Nepotes.*

Things thus agreed: *Titan* made *Saturne* sweare
No sonne to nourish; which by reigning might
Vsurp the right of *Titans* lawfull heire.

But *Opis* the mother of *Iupiter*, being deliuered at once both of *Iupiter* and *Inno*, conveyed *Iupiter* (first called *Isanitus*) into *Crete*, as hee did afterwards his two brothers, *Nepune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought vp in *Gnosus*, the chiefe Citie of that Iland, by *Cressa* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a people and nation thereof. *Euseb. in Temp.*

Other challenge him to be of *Thebes* and a *Thebane*: others call him an *Arcadian*: others make him of *Messena*. The like contention is found among the *Greekes* touching his education and first fostering. Some affirme, that he was fed by *Hony-bees*: 40 in recompence whereof he changed their blacke coats and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting such a god: others, that he was nourished by *Beares*: others, by *Goates*: and of all these the idle *Greekes* haue many pretty tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturne* had broken his faith, he set on him, and tooke him & his wife prisoners, whom *Iupiter* againe rescued and deliuered.

But lastly, the father and the sonne equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturne* being the lesse powerfull, fled into *Italic*, & left his Kingdomes in *Greece* to his sonne. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many vertues the name of *Iupiter* was giuen him; yet, after hee vvas once settled and became potent, he gaue himselfe ouer wholly to palliardize and adulterie, without all respect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such as doe ascribe the actions of many to one *Iupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, hee was afterwards knowne to offend in the sinne of *Sodome* with *Ganimedes* and others; and did not onely begin with incest, marrying his owne sister *Inno*, but he rauished, betrayed, stole away, and tooke by strong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne Kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written, were of greatest fame; *Niobe*, *Laodemia*, and *Alcmena*, the wife of *Amphitryon*, by whome hee had *Pelafus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*; of whom the Mountaine *Taygetus* tooke name, with another sonne called *Saon*, of whom *Saona*:

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by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*; by *Lada*, *Cassor* and *Pollux*, *Helem* and *Clytemnestra*; by *Danae*, *Perseus*; by *Iordana*, *Dencalion*; by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*; by *Protegenia*, he had *Atblis* the father of *Endymion*; and by *Io* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that Countrey tooke name, for so the Greekes afterward called *Africa*. He rauished *Aegina* the daughter of *Aesopus*, and carryed her into the Iland *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom he begat *Aacus*; by *Torthebia* he had *Archezilans* and *Carbins*; by *Ora*, *Colaxes*; hee had also *Dardanus* by *Eledra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilium* and *Troy*. He begat the brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis*, *Hiarhas*. He had besides these (if they belye not their chiefe God) *Phileus* and *Pulumnus*, inueters of the Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be father to all these, who were borne in ages so farre differing. And of these his seuerall rauishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens wiues, daughters, and sonnes, buying of virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient fables of his transformations into shoures of gold, eagles, bulls, birds, and beasts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Græcian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greekes* and *Romans* feare to entitle this Monster, *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his second Booke, *de natura Deorum*, affirme, that hee deserued nothing lesse; and in his Oration, *pro domo sua*, reprocheth *Clodius* for his incest, by the name of *Iupiter*. His buriall was in *Crete* (saith *Lucian*.) *Cretenses non solum natum auid se & sepultum louem seclantur sed etiam sepulchrum eius ostendunt; The Cretians or Candians doe not onely auow that Iupiter was borne and buried among them, but they shew his graue and sepulchre*: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth, for in his time there remayned the monuments of his tombe in the Mountaine *Iasus*. This *Callimachus* in his hymnes also witnesseth, but, as offended thereat, saith thus:

The *Cretians* euer lyars were, they care not what they say:
For they a tombe haue built for thee, O King, that liu'lt alway.

Diodorus Siculus tells by way of report from the *Libyan* fables, confirmed (as hee saith) by some *Greeke* Writers, that the originall of these gods was from the Westerne parts of *Africa*. For there among the *Atlantida* reigned one *Vranus* (which signifieth Heauen) called so for his great skill in *Astrologie*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a god after his death. He had by many wiues 45 sonnes; but by his principall wife *Titea*, he had seuentene sonnes and two daughters, all which were called after their mothers name the *Titanes*. Of *Titea*, likewise it is said, that shee for her goodnesse was canonized as a goddesse, being dead, and called the Earth, as her husband was stiled Heauen. But of all the children of *Titea*, her daughter *Bastles* (which name sounding as *Queene* in *Englishe*, shee is by the Latine translator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the rest as farre in vertue as in yeares, was by generall consent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as *Queene* after his fathers death, being as yet a Virgin. Shee tooke to husband her brother *Hyperion*, to whom shee bare a sonne and a daughter, called *Sunne* and *Moone*. The beautie and towardlinesse of these children moued her brethren to enuy, & bred in them a feare of being excluded from the succession: wherefore they tooke the boy and drowned him in the Riuer *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The losse of this child caused his sister to breake her owne necke; and the losse of both her children made the mother to play many mad pranks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wilde fashion, in sight of all the people, before whom shee is said to haue vanished away. Ere shee dyed, her sonne (as the fable hath it) signified vnto her in a dreame, that hee and his sister, by the prouidence of God, should become immortal, that also the *Sunne* and *Moone* should be called by their names, and that their death should be reuenged vpon the murderers. According to which it is said, that the people did so call those two Planets, and vwithall held her selfe as a goddesse, and termed her the great Mother, vvhich name they had formerly giuen to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her brethren vvhilest they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguished, the other sonnes of *Vranus* diuided the Kingdome. Of these *Atlas* and *Saturne* were chiefe. *Atlas* reigned ouer the countries lying about the Mountaines, vvhich afterward bare his name; a iust and wise Prince, deeply skilfull in *Astrologie*, and for inuention of the *Sphere*, said to haue supported Heauen.

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He had many sonnes; but the principall of them called *Hesperus*, being of his fathers qualities and studies, was said to haue beene carried away by the winde, from the top of an high Hill in the midst of his contemplations; and his name in honour of him, imposed by the people vpon the morning starre. The seuen daughters of *Atlas* were also said to haue beene excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be Deified, or registred among the Worthies, brought forth children, answerable in qualitie to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seuen starres called *Pleiades* tooke name. *Saturne*, the brother of *Atlas*, reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk*, and *Italie*. *Iupiter*, another of the sonnes of *Vranus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had ten sonnes which he called *Curetes*; he called that Iland after his wiues name, *Idea*, in which life hee dyed, and was buried. But this *Iupiter* must not haue beene that great one, but vncle to the great *Iupiter*, if these fables of the *Libyans* were true. *Saturne* (as these *Libyans* tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keepe his people in subiection. His sister *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in some part of *Africk*. *Hammon* louing others as well as his wife, or better, got a daughter, called *Minerua*, neare to the Riuer *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. Hee also begat on *Amalthea* a sonne called *Bacchus*, whom hee caused secretly, for feare of his life, to be brought vp at *Nysa*, an Iland in the Riuer *Triton*, vnder the tuition of his daughter *Minerua*, and certaine *Nymphs*. To *Amalthea* hee gaue in reward a goodly Countrey, that lay on the Sea-coast, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea*'s plentifull horne, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard these newes, shee fled from her husband to her brother *Saturne*, who not onely entertained her as a sister, but tooke her to wife, and at her instigation made warre vpon *Hammon*, vauquished him by assistance of the *Titanes*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Iupiter*'s children before mentioned, held the Iland at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Crete* the Kings daughter, whom hee tooke to wife, and had with her (women, as may seeme, being very gracious in those names) the Kingdome. *Bacchus* was growne a proper young man, had found out the making of wine, the arte of planting trees, and many things else commodious for mankind, before the flight of his mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had hapned, and that *Saturne* was coming against him with the *Titans*; hee leuyed an Armie, to which the *Amazons*, liuing not farre from *Nysa*, added great forces, in loue of *Minerua*, who was entred into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerua* the women, they set forward against *Saturne*, met him, ouerthrew him, and taking many of the *Titans* prisoners, returned to *Nysa*, where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second Expedition. In the second Expedition he behaued himself so well, that he wan the loue of all the people by whom he passed; insomuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturne*'s rigorous gouernment, he was greatly strengthened, and the enemie as much infeebled by daily reuolts. Comming to the Citie of *Hammon*, he wan a battaile of *Saturne*, before the very walls. After which, *Saturne* with his wife *Rhea* fled by night, setting the Towne on fire to despight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturne* had a young sonne by *Rhea*, called *Iupiter*. This child *Bacchus* tooke with him in a great Expedition that he made into the East Countries; and comming into *Egypt*, he left this *Iupiter*, being then a boy, Gouernour of the Countrey; but appointed vnto him, as an Ouer-seer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Iupiter* grew to be called *Olympus*. Whilest *Bacchus* traualled through all Nations, as farre as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titanes* had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to warre vpon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*, with whom *Iupiter* from *Egypt*, and his sister *Minerua*, together with the rest, that afterwards were held as gods, joining all their forces, went into *Crete*, ouerthrew the *Titanes*, chased them, tooke & slue them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Iupiter*, the sonne of *Saturne*, succeeding them, reigned Lord alone ouer all the world, hauing none of the *Titans* left aliue, nor any other to disturbe him. Betweene this tale of the *Libyan* gods, and the Egyptian fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked Images of some one true historie. For the Expeditions of *Osiris*, and of

Bacchus, the waives of the Giants in the one storie, of the *Titanes* in the other; the Kingdom of Egypt given by *Hercules Lybicus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Iupiter*, the rattles of *Hys*, and the symbols of *Basilica*, with many petty circumstances, needrely enough resemble each other, howsoever not alike fitted to the right persons. *Sanchoniato* (as *Eusebius* cites him) would have all these to be *Phenicians*, and is earnest in saying, That it is a true storie and no allegorie. Yet he makes it seeme the more allegoricall, by giving to *Vranus* or *Heaven* for daughters, *Fate* and *Beautie*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* haue enough. To the Genealogie he adds *Elius* or the *Sunne*, as father of *Vranus*, and among the children of *Vranus*, *Is, itus, Patilus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giving withall to *Vranus* the proper name of *Terrenus* or *Indigena*, and of *Ilus* to *Saturne*, but omitting *Iupiter* of *Crete*. The Pedigree of them is this:

Euseb. l. 1. c. 7.

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§. V. I.

SAV. I.

Of CHAM, and other wicked ones, whereof some gat, some affected the name of Gods.

OF *Iupiter Belus*, the sonne of *Saturnus Babylonius*, otherwise *Ninrod*; it seemeth that *Cicero* had not heard, (atleast by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembred: for long after these times were the Greekes but *Saluages*, if they seeke no further off for their Gods.

But the Egyptians, euen after the flood, began (somewhat before this *Chaldean Iupiter*) to intitle *Cham*, the parent of their owne *Misraim*, *Iupiter Chamion*, or *Hammon*. For the Etymologie of this word (*Hammon*) which the Greekes deduce *ab a: entis*, from the sands, is ridiculous (saith *Peucer*;) neither yet is his owne much better, who brings it from *Hammoth*, which signifieth heate: because the said Temple of *Iupiter Hammon* was seated in *Libya*, where the ayre is exceeding hot & scorching. And as for the antiquitie of the latter *Iupiter* (among the Greekes & Romans the most renowned) it is certaine that he was borne not long before the warre of *Troy*, as by many of his. sonnes is made manifest; namely, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which lived in that age of *Priamus*, vnder whom, and with whom *Troy* was destroyed.

Peucer de Græclo.

Now seeing that mortall men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortall among the Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tyberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, & others, fought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monsters as the rest: For by what reason could the same *Deitie* be denied vnto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was giuen to *Venus*; seeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as she was:

§. VII.

That the wiser of the ancient Heathen had farre better opinions of God.

BUT that euer *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, beleeued in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (ouer-busily) haue mixed their owne inuentions with the Scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Hesiodus* in hell, where he fained that they were perpetually stung & pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read ouer all the books of *Moses*, as by places stolne thence, almost word for word, may appeare; of which *Iustine Martyr* remembreth many in that Treatise conuerted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though hee dissembled in some things, for feare of the Inquisition of the *Areopagites*, yet Saint *Augustine* hath already answered for him (as before remembred). *Et mirificus est delectatus est, quod de uno Deo tradita fuerant*; And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God, saith *Iustine Martyr*. Now howsoeuer *Laetantius* pleased to reprehend *Plato*, because (saith hee) *Plato* sought knowledge from the Egyptians, and the *Chaldeans*, neglecting the Iewes, and bookes of *Moses*; *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, finde reason to beleeue the contrarie, thinking that from thence hee took the grounds of all by him written of God, or fauouring of Diuinitie; and the same opinion had Saint *Ambrose* of *Pythagoras*.

E. of Pref. E. uangel. lib. 1. c. 1. Cy. il. cont. Julian. G. i. gen. cont. C. e. lum. Ambro. ad. lren. l. p. 6. lib. 1. c. 1. d. mus. sen. mon. Mart. in. Mart. his illa houte where in capt. tall matters were tried: so called it first because Ma. s. therein first pleaded his cause for the murder of the seruit.

But whether it were out of the same vanitie, which possesse all those learned Philosophers and Poets, that *Plato* also published (not vnder the right Authors names) those things which he had read in the Scriptures; disfeauering the seruetic of the *Areopagites*, and the example of his Master *Socrates*; by them put to death by poyson, I cannot iudge. *Iustine Martyr* (as it seemeth) afterbeth it wholly to *Plato*s feare, whose words, among many other of the same effect, are these; *Plato*s words mentionem facere, ob id, quod unum solum, Deum docuerat, sibi apud Athenienses, autem non putauit, veritus Areopagum; *Plato* fearing the *Areopagites* thought it not safe for him among the Athenians to make mention of *Moses*, that hee feared that there is but one God. But for that Diuinitie which he hath written in: *TIMAEUS* did: ipsum de Deo disseruit quod & *Moses*; He discoursed, and taught the same of God (saith *Iustine Martyr*) lirothos, which *Moses* did. For where it pleased God by his Angell to answere *Moses*, *Ego sum existens* (which is) *I am*; and, *existens misit me ad vos*; I am hath sent me vnto you; herein did *Plato* (saith *Iustine Martyr*) no otherwise differ, than that *Moses* vsed the word (*qui*) and *Plato* the word *quod*: *Moses* enim *qui* existat, inquit, *PLATO* quod.

Paul. in. tit. 1. Nat. com. l. 2. c. 7. Iust. Mart. d. n. Gen. fol. 8. 147. l. 1. p. 1. Enchirid. 3. 14. quod.

IN TIMEO.

De legib. 1. 10.

Laertius.

quod existit; For MOSES saith, He who is; PLATO, That which is. Now of Gods incomprehensible nature, and of the difficultie either to conceiue, or expresse the same, hee giueth this testimonie: *Genitorem Vniuersitatis tam difficile est inuenire, quam inuentum impossibile dignè profari; It is as hard to find out the Creator of the Vniuersall, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speake of him worthily.* And what can be more agreeable to the Maieftie of Gods Nature, than this propertie by Plato acknowledged? *Dens bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa; God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is euill he is no cause at all: and againe, Charitas Dei fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum; The love of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the originall of all things.* APVLEIVS the Platonist; *Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam nature dignitate: Et nihil est Deo similis & gratius, quam vir animo perfecto bonus; The most high God is also an infinite God, not onely by exclusion of place, but by the dignitie of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God than a man of a perfect heart.* THALES affirmed that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient: *Quia nunquam esse cepit; Because he neuer had any beginning.* ZENO, that God beheld euen the thoughts of men. *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be careful in the actions of their life, because God was euery where present & beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moses* storie of the Creation, than this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in *Euripides*, Scholler of *Anaxagoras*?

*Cælum terraq; vnius forma fuit:
Sed cum fuissent abiuncta amplexu mutuo,
Emergit omnis in lucem res progenita,
Arbores, aues, fera, quaq; affert mare,
Genusq; mortalium.*

Heauen and Earth one forme did beare:
But when dis-joynd once they were
From mutuall embraces,
All things to light appeared then;
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men
The still-remayning races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*: so we finde the same excellent understanding in *Orpheus*, who euery-where expresse the infinite and sole power of one God; though he vse the name of *Iupiter*, thereby to auoide the enuie and danger of the time; but that hee could attribute those things to the sonnes of men, and mortall creatures, which he doth to this *Iupiter*, there is no man who hath euer heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (saith MIRANDVLA) quos ORPHEVS canit, non decipientium demonum, à quibus malum & non bonum prouenit; sed naturalium virtutum diuinarumq; sunt nomina; The names of those Gods whom Orpheus doth sing, are not of deceiuing Demils, from whom euill comes, and not goodnesse; but they are the names of naturall & diuine vertues. Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himselfe, this his instruction to *Musæus*, and the Hymne following, teach vs: *Respicens verò ad diuinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum aduerte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi Regem. Vnus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse verò in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truely lend
Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,
And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one
Begotten of himselfe, from whom is borne alone
All else; in which hee's still: nor could it ere befall
A mortall eye to see him once, yet hee sees all.

And againe the same Author,

*IVPITER omnipotens, & primus, & vltimus idem;
IVPITER est caput & medium: IOVIS omnia munus.
IVPITER est fundamen humi & stantis Olympi.
IVPITER & mas est, & femina nescia mortis.
Spiritus est cunctis, validi vis IVPITER ignis.
Et pelagi radix, SOL, LVNA, est IVPITER ipse
Rex & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.
Nam prius oculis, magno post numine, sacrum
Cor referans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.*

The

The first of all is GOD, and the same last is he.
GOD is the head and midst, yea from him all things be.
GOD is the Base of earth, and of the starred skie.
He is the male and female too, shall neuer die.
The spirit of all is GOD, the SVNNE and MOONE, and what is higher:
The King, th' originall of all, of all the end.
For close in holy brest he all did comprehend,
Whence all to blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the Egyptians, Græcians, and other Nations by them infected were, I will onely reapeate two or three other opinions, and leaue the Reader to those large and learned Collections of *Iustine Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Ensebinus*, *Engubinus*, *Peucer*, *Plefsis*, *Danæus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the Stoick, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these attributes and properties: *Bonus, iustus, sanctus, seipsum possidens, utilis, speciosus, optimus, seuerus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c.* Good, iust, holy, possessing himselfe, profitable, beautifull, best, seuer, free, alwayes doing good, safe without feare, glorious and selfe-charitie. *EPICHRMVS* affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced euery nature, was onely and euery where powerfull: agreeing with *DEMOCRITVS*: *Rex omnium ipse solus; Hec u the only King of kings:* and with *Pindarus* the Poet, *Dens vnus, Pater, creator summus, atq; optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diuersos secundum merita præbet; One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best artificer, who giueth to euery thing diuers proceedings according to their deserts.* This God (saith *ANTISTHENES*) cannot bee resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere knowne; *Nisi in patria illa perenni, cuius imaginem nullam habes: Sane onely in that euertlasting Countrey, whose image thou hast none at all.* Hereof also *XENOPHONES* *COLOPHONIVS*: *Vnus Deus inter deos & homines maximus; nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis; There is one God among gods and men most powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like vnto mortals: and XENOPHON, Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potensq; quod omnibus pates: qualis autem forma sit, nemini pates, si ipsi soli, qui lucis omnia perlustrat; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mightie, as is manifest to all: but of what forme hee is, it is manifest to none, saue onely to himselfe, who illuminateth all things with his owne light.* Finally, *Plato* saith: *Totius rerum natura causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, æternus animantium sospitator, assiduum mundi sus opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neq; loco, neq; tempore vilo comprehensus, eoq; paucis cogitabilis, nemini offabilis; God is the cause ground, and originall of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soule, the eternall preseruer of lining creatures, the continuall framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceiue him in thought, none can expresse what hee is.* Therefore was it said by *S. Hierome*, *Si enim cunctos Philosophorum reuoluas libros, necesse est, ut in eis reperias aliquam partem ipsius.* *vasorum Dei, ut apud PLATONEM, fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud ZENONEM, Stoicorum Principem, in eros & immortales animas &c.* If thou consider all the bookes of the Philosophers, thou canst not but find in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in *PLATO*, God the Creator of the world: in *ZENO*, Prince of the Stoicks, *Hell* and immortal soules, &c. And this is certaine, that if we looke into the wisdom of all Ages, we shall finde that there neuer was man of solid understanding or excellent iudgement: neuer any man whose minde the Arte of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensue inspection aduised; but that he hath found by an vnresistable necessitie, one true God, and euertlasting being, all for euer causing, and all for euer sustaining; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reuerence acknowledged, or more learnedly exprest, than that Egyptian *Hermes*, how soeuer it fayled afterward in his posteritie: all being at length by deuilish policie of the Egyptian Priests purposely obscured; who inuented new gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the Deuill perswaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keepe in awe and order their common people.

§. VIII.

That Heathenisme and Iudaisme, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under IVLIAN miraculously confounded.

BVt all these are againe vanished: for the inuentions of mortall men are no lesse mortall than themselves. The Fire, which the Chaldeans worshiped for a God, is crept into euery mans chimney, which the lacke of fuell starueth, water quencheth, and want of ayre suffocateth: *Impiter* is no more vexed with *Iunoes* ielousies; *Death* hath perswaded him to chastitie, and her to patience; and that *Time* which hath deuoured it selfe, hath also eaten vp both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea, 10 their stately Temples of stone and durefull Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found vpon the earth, nor any monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in Phoenicia, that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in Libya, Creta, Thessalia, or elsewhere, that can aske counsaile or helpe from *Impiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apolloes* Priests are become speechlesse, and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Deuills telling mens fortunes therein, is taken vp by counterfait Egyptians, and coozening Astrologers.

But it was long ere the Deuill gaue way to these his ouerthrowes and dishonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chiefe Mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repay- 20 red, and reedified againe, till by the hand of God himselfe it receiued the last and vter subuersion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the Eubæan Pyrates: Secondly, by the Phlegians vtterly sackt: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the Sonne of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the Armie of *Xerxes*: Fifthly, by the Captaines of the *Phoenices*: Sixtly, by *Nero*, who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein againe set vp at the common charge. But whatsoeuer was gathered betwene the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian Armie made spoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this, it was againe gloriously rebuilt, and so remained till such time as *Iulian* the *Apostata* sent thither to know the successe of his Parthian enterprise, at which time it was vtterly burnt and consumed 30 with fire from Heauen, and the Image of *Apollo* himselfe, and all the rest of the Idols therein, molten downe and lost in the earth.

The like successe had the Iewes in the same *Iulians* time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of Ierusalem: for while they were busied to lay the foundations, their buildings were ouerthrowne by an Earthquake, and many thousands of the Iewes were ouerwhelmed with the ruines, and others slaine, and scattered by Tempest and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more fauourably for the Iewes, ascribing this to the nature of that Element. For, saith hee, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the Province of Iudæa, being by *Iulian* busied in the reedifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire issuing neere the foundation, and oft consuming the Workemen, 40 made the enterprize frustrate.

§. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Deuill to maintaine his Kingdome.

NOW the Deuill, because hee cannot play vpon the open Stage of this World (as in those dayes) and being still as industrious as euer, findes it more for his aduantage to creepe into the mindes of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, workes them to a more effectuall adoration of himselfe than euer. For whereas hee first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead Stones cut into faces of 50 Beasts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now sets before them the high and shining Idoll of glorie, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. He tels them that truth is the Goddesse of dangers and oppressions: that chastitie is the enemy of Nature, & lastly, that as all vertue (in generall) is without taste; so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth euery sense (for true wisdom (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, than in the obtaining of power to oppress, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-Politician* find in his pupils any remorse, any feeling or feare of Gods future Iudgement, he perswades them that God hath so great neede of mens soules, that hee

he will accept them at any time, and vpon any conditions: interrupting by his vigilant endeouours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by laying those great blockes of rugged pouertie, & despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his diuine presence. But as the minde of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and ouer-growne with grasse, by which enter our charitable thoughts and diuine contemplations: so hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly miserie passing by the one, worldly prosperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our sufferings and patience to attend vs: (all which haue gone before vs to prepare our ioyes) at the other our cruelties, conetousnesse, licentiousnesse, iniustice, and oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearefull and terrible sorrow) staying for vs. And as the Deuill our most industrious enemy was euer most diligent: so is he now more laborious than euer; the long day of Mankind drawing fast towards an euening, and the Worlds Tragedie and time neere at an end.

CHAP. VII.

Of NOAH'S Flood.

§. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and some humane testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of NOAH'S Flood.



IF this destruction it pleased God to giue warning vnto *Noah*: who (saith *Iosephus*) fearing to perish among the rest, *Scedens cum suis in aliam regionem migravit*: He departed with his children, & traualled into another Region. And of these Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himselfe, *Berosus* writeth in this manner; That they exceeded in all sorts of inhumane and unnatural wickednesse, and that they were contemptors & religious & Deorum; contemptors of religion and of the Gods: among which mightie men (saith *Berosus*) *unus erat qui Deorum, venerator, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat NOAH*. There was one more wise and reuerencing the Gods than the rest, whose name was *NOAH*: who with his three sons *Sem*, *Iaphetus*, and *Cham*, and with their Wiues, and the Wife of *Noah*, (namely, *Titea* the great, *Pandora*, *Noëla*, and *Noëla*) preferred themselves in the Arke. This Arke God commanded *Noah* to prepare: And God said vnto *NOAH*, Make thee an Arke of Pine-trees: thou shalt make Cabines in the Arke, and shalt pitch it within, and without with Pitch. For God made *Noah* to know, that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graues of the rebellious and cruell Generations were already fashioned in the Cloudes, which 40 soone after should swallow vp & couer all liuing creatures, which breathed in the Aire: *Noah* and his family excepted.

But this vniuersall graue of waters, and generall Deluge hath not bene receiued by all: for diuine testimonies doe not perswade all naturall men to those things, to which their owne reason cannot reach: *Dum oboluta in obscuro veritas latet: whilst the truth lieth wrapt up in obscuritie*. Many there are who haue disputed against the vniuersalitie of this overflowing, and haue iudged that this Flood of *Noah* fell but in some particular places and Kingdomes: moued so to thinke, because in elder ages there haue bene many other Floods (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof *Nicholas Damascenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Iosephus*. *Est super Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes sermo est diluuij tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in Arca deuictum in huius vertice hesisse, lignorum Legislator scribit: thus saith this Author. There is (saith he) about Minyada (or the Countrey of Minya) an exceeding high Mountaine in Armenia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many hauing fled thither, were saued in the time of the Deluge: and that one remained a long time after certaine pieces thereof; and this might bee the same, of which *MOSES* the Law-giuer of the Iewes maketh mention. And of this opinion were the*

Thalmudists (saith *Annius*) that many Giants saved themselves vpon Mount Sion.

But *Berosus* (who after *Moses* was one of the most ancient; howsoeuer he haue bene since deformed & corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the generall Flood, taking from thence the beginning of his History in these words: *Ante aquarum cladem famosam, qua uniuersus perijt Orbis, &c. Before that famous destruction of waters, by which the world uniuersall perished: witnessing withall, that Noah with his wife Tisca, & his three Sons with their wiues (in all eight persons) were only saved.*

§. II.

Of the Flood in the time of OGGES: and that this was not NOAH'S Flood.

BVt from the vanitie of the Greeks, the Corrupters of all truth, (saith *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquities, came the error first of all: who therein flattering themselves also, sought to perswade the world that there was no Flood preceded the Fould of *Ogyges*, King of the Thebians in Boeotia, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore (saith *Rhodoginus*) *Ogyges* *appellatur Poeta, tanquam peractis dixisset, ab Ogyge vetustissimo: The Poets gaue the name of Ogygia to things exceeding ancient, as of Ogyges the most ancient.*

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest, that he liued but in *Iacobs* time (though *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses* time) and was borne 67. yeeres after him. There is also an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he farre latter) as *Rhodoginus* in the ninth Booke of his Antiquities remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in Aegypto regnasse autement hunc: unde sit CADMVS qui in Graciam profectus Thebas condidit, à Bone inulato sic nuncupatus; quoniam Syrotem lingua Bos dicitur Thebe. There are (saith he) who thinke that this Ogyges did reigne in Egypt, whereby he should be CADMVS, who trauieling into Greece built Thebes, so named of a Beefe slaine: because in the Syrian Language, a Beefe is called Thebe.*

But this Flood of *Ogyges* fell in the yeere of the World 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the Septuagint: and the Flood of *Noah* in the yeere 2242. after the same account; and so there came 1200. betweene these Floods, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now although the very yeere and time of this ouerflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set downe, but that there is a great difference among Writers, yet whoeuer makes it most ancient, finds about 500. yeeres difference betweene that and the generall Flood.

For *Paulus Orosius* affirms, that this tempest fell vpon the Athenians, but 1040. yeeres before Rome was built. *Bucholzerus* saith, it was 1043. elder than Rome; which was founded (according to the same *Bucholzerus*) in the worlds yeere 3219. though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will giue my reasons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds yeere 3280. Now the generall Flood preceded the building of Rome (saith *Bucholzerus*) 1563. yeeres: and the Flood of *Ogyges* (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference betweene these two Floods must be 520. yeeres, to which we (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah*, *Ogyges* *Prisus*, as some doe) it appears by this, that the Flood of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it selfe any further than the banks of *Archi-Pelago*, or the *Aegean* Sea. For whereas *Nela*, *Plinie*, and *Solinus* witnesse, that the Citie of *Ioppe* in Iudaea was founded before the Flood; and that (notwithstanding the waight of Waters) there remained on certaine Altars of stone the Title of the King, and of his Brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: sure it is no where found among prophane Historians nor in the Scriptures, that euer the Flood of *Ogyges* spred it selfe ouer any part of Syria, much lesse ouer all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed vp (Cities seated on the North part of *Peloponnesus*) of which *Ouid*:

*Si queras Helicen, & Bura, Achaidos urbes,
Inuenies sub aquis.*

BURA

*Si queras Helicen, & Bura, Achaidos urbes,
Inuenies sub aquis.*

*Ouid. Metam.
lib. 15. 303.*

Bura and *Helice*, on *Achaian* ground

Are fought in vaine, but vnder Sea are found.

Of this Flood of *Ogyges* was inuented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the daughter of *Caus*, the sonne of *Titan*, being beloued and forced by *Jupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Iuno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the Earth to be deliuered on; & withall, caused the monstrous Serpent *Python* to follow & affright her, wherefoeuer she trauelled: till at length arriuing at the Ile of *Ortygia*, she was there receiued; in which she was deliuered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins: whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his reigne) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the Earth (heat by putrifaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thick mists and fogges, that in *Attica*, and along the Coasts of the *Aegean* Sea, neither the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by night, could pierce the ayre; or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the Earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the ayre began to be cleare, the people of *Ortygia* espied the light of the Moone somewhat before day, & in the same morning the Sunne also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the Moone, and *Apollo* the Sunne) they were reported to be borne in the Ile of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwards called *Delos*; which signifieth manifestation.

And surely it is not improbable, that the Flood of *Ogyges*, being so great, as Histories haue reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayre, sensibly discerned in those parts, and some vnusuall face of the Skyes. *Varro* in his Bookes *de gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by *Saint Augustine*) reporteth out of *Cassor*, that so great a miracle happened in the Starre of *Venus*, as neuer was seene before, nor in latter times: For the colour, the greatnesse, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out, as *Adraflus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion*, *Neapolites*, famous Mathematicians, affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*.

Now concerning the course of that or any other Planer, I doe not remember, that I haue any where read of so good Astrologers, flourishing among the *Greeks*, or elsewhere in those dayes, as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets; so exact, that it should need no information: Of the colour and magnitude. I see no reason, why the difference found in the Starre of *Venus*, should be held miraculous; considering, that lesser mists and fogges than those which covered Greece with so long darkness, doe familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the Sunne and Moone: That the figure should varie, questionlesse it was very strange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason, that the side of *Venus* which the Sunne beholds, being enlightened by him, the opposite halfe should remaine shadowed; whereby that Planer would, vnto our eyes, deservyng onely that part whereon the light falleth, appeare to be burned, as the Moone doth seeme; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

A worthy Astrologer now liuing, who by the helpe of perspective Glasses hath found in the Starres many things vnknowne to the Ancients, affirmeth so much to haue bene discovered in *Venus* by his late obseruations. Whether some watry disposition of the ayre might present as much to them that liued with *Ogyges*, as *Galileus* hath seene through his Instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discouerie of a truth formerly vnknowne, doth rather conuince Man of ignorance, than Nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Flood of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of *Saint Augustine*) accompanied with such vnusuall (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturall) signes, testifying the concurrence of causes with effect, in that inundation; whereas the Flood of *Noah*, which was generall, and altogether miraculous, may seeme to haue had no other token, or fore shewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himselfe, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Flood came suddenly, and took them all away.

H.

§. III.

§. III.

Of DEVCALIONS Floud: and that this was not NOAHS Floud: nor the Vmbri
in Italie a remnant of any vniuersall Floud.

A Second Floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine, was that of
Deucalion in Thessalia; of which S. Augustine out of Varro: His temporibus (vs
VARRO scribit) regnante Atheniensibus CRANAO, successore CECROPS (vs au-
tem nostri, EVSEBIVS & HIERONYMVS) adhuc eodem CECROPE permanente, diluuium
fuit, quod appellatum est DEVCALIONIS: (that is) In these times (as VARRO reporteth)
CRANAVS the successor of CECROPS governing the Athenians, or (as our EVSEBIVS and
HIEROME say) CECROPS yet living, that Floud (called DEVCALIONS) happened.

And in the beginning of the eleventh Chapter of the same eighteenth Booke, he vseth
these words: *Eduxit ergo MOSES ex Egypto populum Dei nouissimo tempore CECROPS
Atheniensium Regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret Alcatades, apud Sicyonios Marathus,
apud Arginos Tripas: MOSES led the people of God out of Egypt about the latter time
of Cercops King of the Athenians, Alcatades reigning over the Assyrians, over the
Sicyonians Marathus, and over the Argines Tripas.* So as leauing the curiositie of a
few yeeres, more or lesse, it appeareth, that this Floud of Deucalion was either at the e-
gression of the children of Israel out of Egypt, or neere it: and then after Noah 753.
yeeres, according to Funtilius, who makes Cecrops to liue in the yeere of the World 2409.
or if we follow Mercator, then 739. yeeres after Noah, and in the yeere of the World
2395. But if Deucalion were borne in the age of the World 2356. according to Codo-
man; then giuing vnto Deucalion 40. yeeres of age when this Floud happened, it falleth
within one yeere of Mercators account. But Deucalion by all approved Historians is
said to haue bene 82. yeeres old at that time. Now Clemens Alexandrinus dares the
time of this Floud of Deucalion, and the conflagration and burning in Phaëtons time, by
the reigne of Crœsus, King of the Argines; but Crœsus liued King of the Argines sixe
yeeres after Israel departed Egypt, which makes twenty yeeres difference, according to
Funtilius, who will haue this Floud and Burning to haue fallen 14. yeeres before Moses
left Egypt: for he gaue of the Worlds yeeres to the Floud and Burning the yeere 2440.
and to Moses his egression the yeere 2454. And yet Cedrenus thinke that Moses was
more ancient, and liued with Inachus; but that cannot be true: for then had the Floud
of Deucalion, and the burning of Phaëton, preceded the Floud of Ogyges, which is denied
by all: for that of Thessalie (called Deucalions) followed that of Attica (called Ogygia)
at least 250. yeeres, or thereabouts. Eusebius in his Chronologic makes it 230. & so doth
V. Orofius: Eusebius about the 50. yeere of Moses life, and Cyrillus about the 67. and
both after Noahs Floud 770. yeeres: for these be Clemens Alexandrinus his words: *Fuit
autem in Grecia tempore quidem Phornei, qui fuit post Inachum, inundatio que fuit
tempore Ogygis: There happened in Greece in the time of Phorneus, who liued after
Inachus, the Floud of Ogyges.* Now if the Floud of Ogyges in Attica were 1020. or
1016. yeeres before the first Olympiad, according to Eusebius and Orofius; (as before) then
is it manifest, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it falls out, that Ogyges Floud,
happened before the Hebrewes left Egypt 250. yeeres, or 260. yeeres, according to the
difference between the opinions of Eusebius and Orofius. And for my selfe (who rather
follow those Chronologers, which giue 60. yeeres more to Abraham after the Floud,
than the rest) I reckon the times which come betwene these Flouds in this sort. The
generall Floud was in the yeere of the World 1656. Iacob was borne in the yeere of the
World 2169. so as from the beginning of the Floud to Iacobs birth, there were consumed
513. yeeres. Ogyges Floud happened 100. yeeres after Iacob was borne; and there-
fore after the generall Floud 613. yeeres. Now Deucalion was borne in the yeere of the
World 2356. and had liued 82. yeeres, when his Kingdome of Thessalie was ouerwhel-
med; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his Floud was after Noahs Floud ended, 782.
yeeres. And hereto Annus his Xenophon agreeth, who makes 700. yeeres betwene the
generall Floud and Deucalions birth; to which adde 82. yeeres of his Age (as before)
and then the Floud of Thessalie followed the generall 782. yeeres. The words of that
Xenophon are these: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deucalionis, secundo anno
Sphaeri, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus anno duos & octoginta Thessaliam vidit
inundatam: From the drowning of the World to the birth of Deucalion, in the second
yeere*

Cedren. l. 1. f. 34.

Clem. Alex. l.
f. 10. ex Ctes.

Eusebii Chron.

yeere of SPHERVS, are numbred 700. yeeres, and when DEVCALION was 82. yeeres old,
besaw Thessalia drowned. This Floud happened in the Winter time about Parnassus:
witnesseth Aristotle in the first of his *Meteors*. And Varro (whom Saint Augustine so often
citeth for his excellent Learning; especially in Antiquities) findeth this Floud of De-
ucalion to haue happened in the time of Crœsus, who succeeded Cecrops: Orofius thinke
it somewhat later, Amphytrion reigning in Athens, the third from Cecrops: Only this
of Deucalion was very great, and reached not onely ouer Thessalie it selfe, and the Re-
gions adioyning Westward, but it couered the greatest part of Italie: and either the
same, or some other particular Floud then happening, oppressed Egypt, saith Eusebius.
And therefore did the Greekes eyther thinke it, or faine it to be vniuersall, and Deucalion
then King, sauing himselfe and some others on the Mountaine of Thessalie (of all other
the highest, saith Solinus) was by reason thereof (as Strabo witnesseth) said to be the
preferuer of Mankind. That this Floud couered a great part of Italie, Plinie and Solinus
make it probable, who affirme, that the people then inhabiting Italie, were therefore cal-
led *Iucones*: quia ab inuicibus diluuij superfuissent; and therefore also were they esteemed
the most ancient Nation, as Strabo confirmeth in his first Booke, and Trezenius in his
second: which Vmbri these Authors make the Parents of the Sabines, and the Sabines
to be the Parents of the Samaites, Piceni, Lucani, Bruttij, and all others inhabiting an-
ciently the bankes of the Mediterranean Sea. But that these Vmbri were not the Inhabiters
of Italie before the Floud of Noah, and so tooke name by sauing themselves vpon the
Appennine Mountaines, the Scriptures teach vs; shewing who, and who onely then were
preferred: which is sufficient. Report hath aduentured further, telling vs, that the first
people which after the generall Floud inhabited Italie, were the *Camefenes*; (so named
from Camefe, whom CATO in *originibus*, another of Annus his Authors, names for a con-
fort of Ianus) which people liued altogether a sauage life, till such time as Saturne arri-
uing on those Coasts, deuised Lawes to gouerne them by: the memorie of whose A&es
in that Region, Diodor and Thallus among the Greekes, Nepos Cassius and Varro among
the Latines, haue preferred; and of whom Virgil:

*Primus ab aethereo venit SATVRNVS Olympo,
Arma IOVIS fugiens, & regnis exul adeptus,
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, Legesq; dedit; Latiumq; vocari
Maluit.*

SATVRNE descending from the Heauens high,
Fearing the Armes of IVPITER his Sonne,
His Kingdome lost, and banisht thence, doth flie.
Rude people on the Mountaine tops he wonne
To liue together, and by Lawes: which done,
He chose to call it Latium.

And afterward in the Verses following he speaketh of the *Aufones*, and after them, of the
Sicani: Nations, which againe sought to dis-plant the ancient Inhabiters:

*Tummannus Aufonia, & gentes venere Sicani.
Then came th' Aufonian Bands, and the Sicanian Tribes.*

Of these *Sicani* (which left Spaine, and sat downe in Italie) Thucydides and Plinie giue te-
stimonic: who were againe expelled by the *Ligy*, saith Thucydides. After all these plantati-
ons & replantations, came the Vmbri, descended of the *Gauls* (saith Annus), not of those
Gauls of France, but of those of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of Italie, euen all
Electuria and Campania; as Herodotus, Plinie, and Dionysius haue assured vs: and therefore
this Floud of Deucalion was long after that of Noah. For all those Nations were planted
in Italie, and dispossessed of Italie againe, before the Vmbri were euer heard of, or had being.
So that Kingdome was first called *Camefene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Aufonia*, then
Sicania; before the Vmbri (in whose time Deucalions Floud happened) possessed the same,
about 306. yeeres before the Warre of Troy: Lycaon then gouerning *Arcadia*; who being
the father of two and twentie sonnes, the youngest called *Oenotrius* invaded Italie, who
gaue it the name of *Oenotria*. This name it held vntill *Italus* of the same Nation changed
it into *Italie*, after his owne name, about 250. yeeres before the fall of Troy. After these,

H 2 came

Solin. l. 14.
Strab. l. 9.
Plin. l. 3. c. 14.
Sol. c. 7.
Plin. libid.
Atheniensis dip-
ma. b. l. 15. out
of Dracon C. 109-
rans saith, that
Camefe was the
wife and sister
of Ianus.
Lacl. l. 1. c. 13.

A. Encl. 8. 319.

Virg. l. 8. Aen.

Thucyd. l. 6.
Plin. l. 3. c. 5.
Annus ex Sca-
muele Thalmu-
dis.
Herod. l. 1.
Plin. l. 3. c. 5.
Diod. l. 1. c. 7.

Panfan. Arcad.
lib. 8.

A. Pol. 7. c. 10.

Hierod. l. 1.
Plin. l. 3. c. 4.

came the *Pelasgi*, of whom *Plinie* in his third Booke and fifth Chapter, and *Strabo* in his fifth, *Thucydides* in his sixth, speakes at large: and after them the *Lydi*, vnder *Tyrrhenus* their Captaine, that gaue name to the *Tyrrhemi*; who casting thence the *Vmbri*, tooke from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelue Cities; to which (after they had possesse and past ouer the *Appenine* Mountaines) they added diuers others, whereof *Telmina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not anciently such a Nation as these *Vmbri* in those parts, I doe not asseme; hauing respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinkes, that the name was deriued from the Greeke word *Ombros*; but that these *Vmbri* of *Italie* were descended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it shall be shewed hereafter. 10

§. IIII.

Of some other Records testifying the vniuersall Flood: and of two ancient Deluges in Egypt: and of some elsewhere.

Enf. de prop.
Euseb. l. 9. c. 4.

Saint *Augustine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greekes* and *Latines* made not any mention of the Vniuersall Flood, because they had nothing of Antiquitie foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodogianus*, before remembred) were all things among the *Greekes* (which antiquitie had worne out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *English* commonly call (worme-eaten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were successiuelly planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did euery Familie, which afterward became a great People, with whom the knowledge of diuine Letters was not receiued, finde no Parent of more antiquitie, than such as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their owne; and as the *Gracians*, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigene*, and growing out of the Earth, or inuent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certaine knowledge of *Noahs* Flood, as *Berosus* witnesseth; and *Nicolaus Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirme by heare-say, that some Giants faued themselves vpon the Mountaines *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authoritie approved: vntill the word *Sermo est*; That such a speech there was. And *Eusebius* remembreth a place out of the ancient Historian *Abydenus*: who writteth, that *Sisithrus*, to preserue himselfe from a Flood fore-told him by *Saturnus*, fled to the Hills of *Armenia* by ship, ad *Armenian nauigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the Waters were fallen) sent forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned againe, which hee also did a second time, but at the third returne the birds feet were covered with mudde and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius* words out of *Abydenus*, which may seeme a true description (though in other termes) of *Noahs* Flood.

Diod. l. 1.

Herod. l. 4. c. 6.

Cyillus also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this generall Flood. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Egyptian* Priest, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy Bookes of *Egypt*, the storie of the Flood vniuersal, which (saith he) happened long before the *Gracian* inundations. Fryer *Annus* his *Xenophon* remembreth a third Flood, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat more ancient than that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the generall Flood for the first, which happened (saith he) vnder the old *Ogyges*: Sub *prisco Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the second *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then liuing, 44. yeeres before that of *Attica*, in the 34. yeere of *Belochus* King of the *Affrians*, though I doe not beleue him as touching the time. But this Flood covered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, especially all that Region subiect to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus* his Liuer, afterward slaine by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* deliuereth in these words: *Fluuium propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatem, aquarum, Aquilam tunc appellatum, HERCVLEM cum consilio magnitudine, tum virtute, voluit vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum conuertisse: Unde & Græci quidam Poeta rem gestam in fabulam vertentes, HERCVLEM tradunt Aquilam PROMETHEI securi depascentem occidisse; This Flood (meaning of *Nilus*) for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Eagle: but *HERCVLES* by his great iudgement and vertue did againe compress and straighten this Riuer, so farre extended and ouer-spread, turning it into the old channels: whence certaine Greeke Poets (conuerting this labour and worke of *HERCVLES* into a fable)*

fable) denied, that *HERCVLES* slew the Eagle which fed on *PROMETHEUS* Liuer; meaning, that he deliuered *Prometheus* of that sorrow & torment, which for the losse of his People and Countrey (by the Waters destroyed and covered ouer) he suffered.

A fourth Flood chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annus* conceiueth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this brieft fort writeth of all these Inundations: *Inundationes plures fuisse: prima nouimestris inundatio scierum sub prisco OGYGE: secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many Inundations* (saith the same *Xenophon*); the first, which was vniuersall, of nine Moneths, and this happened vnder the first *Ogyges*: the second was *Niliaca*, and of one Moneths continuance, in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus*, *Egyptians*: a third of two Moneths, vnder *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three moneths, in *Thessalia*, vnder *Deucalion*: and a fifth of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) vnder *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helens* rape. *Diodorus* in his fifth Booke and eleuenth Chapter, taking the *Samothracæ* for his Authors; remembreth a Flood in *Asia* the lesse, and elsewhere, of no lesse destruction than any of the other particular Inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*; the Sea of *Pontus* and *Hellepont* breaking in ouer the Land.

But there haue been many Floods in diuers times, and ages, not inferior to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the yeere of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the same yeere, *Gregory* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a maruellous ouerflowing in *Italy*, and especially in the *Venetian* Territorie, and in *Liguria*, accompanied with a most fearefull storme of thunder & lightning: after which followed the great Plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast vp & left vpon the Land, after the Waters decreased and returned. And in the yeere 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordrecht* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Flood to be of *Schaia* or *Attica*. Before that, and in the yeere 1238. *Themius* speaketh of an Earthquake, which swallowed many thousands: and after that, of a Flood in *Friseland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Strozius Sigog.* in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italie*, in the time of Pope *Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicily* were swallowed: another in the Papacie of *Alexander* the sixth: also in the yeere 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperor. He also remembreth a perillous ouer-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Craconia*, by which many people perished. Like- wise *Viginier* a French Historian speaketh of a great Flood in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 1557. with so dreadful a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and Iudgement Day; saying, That by the violent descent of the Waters from the Mountaines, about *Nismes* there were remoued diuers old heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places torne vp and rent: by which accident there was found both Coyne of Silver and Gold, diuers peeces of Plate, and Vessels of other Metall, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goths* inuaded that Prouince, in the yeere 1156.

40

§. V.

That the Flood of *NOAH* was supernaturall, though some say it might haue bene foreseene by the Starres.

NOW howsoeuer all these Floods, and many other, which haue covered at seuerall times seuerall Regions, not only in these parts of the World, but in *America* also, (as I haue learned of some ancient Southsayers among them) may be ascribed to naturall causes and accidents; yet that vniuersall Flood (in the time of *Noah*) was powred ouer the whole face of the Earth by a power aboue Nature, and by the especial commandement of God himselfe, who at that time gaue strength of influence to the Stars, & abundance to the Fountaines of the Deepe: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible, than any ability of nature could effect, or any second causes, by whatsoeuer vnion, could performe, without receiuing from the Fountain of all power strength, & faculties supernaturall. *Hemricus Mechliniensis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries vpon the great coniunctions of *Albus Masar*, obserueth, that before the Flood of *Noah*, the like coniunction of *Iupiter* and *Saturne*, happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation since called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the Flood of *Noah* might be fore-told, because *Cancer* is both a watric Signe, and the House

Alfo de Gen. 1. or
dia Theolog. et
Astrolog.
Gen. 7. 11.

* The word
cataclysmus
properly signi-
fieth any place
of stoppage, a-
gainst which
the force of
the water be-
ing naturally
carried down-
wards, dash-
eth and break-
eth; of
desolous,
allido, or
frango. Hence
because Win-
dres doe not
only open, but
also shut, the
word hath
been expound-
ed (it indores)
for Barres or
Floud-gates.

of the *Moone*, which is the *Ladie of the Sea*, and of *Moysture*, according to the rules of *Astronomie*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* vpon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming, that although *Noah* did well know this *Floud* by diuine reuelation, yet (this coniunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not onely signes, but also working causes, by strength receiued from the first cause, which is God himselfe: and further, that by * *Catarracta Cali* (Englified the *Windores of Heauen*) *Moses* meant this great and watric coniunction; the word (*Catarracta*) signifying flowing downe or comming downe. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordaine by the course of the *Heauens* such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby forsake to those wicked wayes wherein they walked, and call vnto God for mercy.

Of this iudgement was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who vnderstood, that the words *Catarracta Cali*, or *Windores of Heauen*, were to be taken for the former coniunction, or for these watric Signes, *Cancer*, *Pisces*, *Pleiades*, *Hyades*, and *Orion*; and of the Plants, *Mars*, *Venus* and the *Moone*: which are the forcible causes of the greatest Inundations. His owne words are these: *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebraeorum Catarractas Cali vocasse, nisi partes illas Cali, quae generatiuae sunt Pluuiarum & Inundationum Aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, ut Cancer, &c.* as aforesaid. As yet (saith he) *I perceiue not what the Prophet of the Hebrewes meaneth by those words (Catarracta Cali, or Windores of Heauen) vntlesse he thereby vnderstanding those Celestiall powers, by whose influences are engendred the Raine, and Inundations of Waters, such as are the watric Signes of Cancer, &c.*

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his vnsearchable Wisdom this coniunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigor and faculty, and gaue to euery operation encrease of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs & Fountaines, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heape of their waters; taking retention from the Clouds, and condensing ayre into water by the ministerie of his Angels, or howsoever else best pleased his All-powerfulnesse.

S. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of Matter to make the vniuersall Floud: And what are *Catarracta Cali*,

GEN. 7. VERS. 11.

Now if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God resteth the seuenth day: (that is) he did not then after create any new species) which granted, it may seeme that then all the Earth and Ayre had not waters sufficient to couer the habitable World fiftene Cubits about the highest Mountaines. Of this proposition, whether God hath so restrayned himselfe, or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the World had want of water to ouer-couer the highest Mountaines, I take that conceit to be vnlearned and foolish: for it is written, that the *Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken up* (that is) the waters forsooke the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatsoeuer was disperst therein, pierced & brake through the face thereof. Then let vs consider, that the Earth had about one and twentie thousand miles, the Diameter of the Earth, according to that circle, seven thousand mile, and then from the *Superficies* to the Center some three thousand five hundred miles. Take then the highest Mountain of the World, *Caucasus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the Mountaines, of *Armenia* or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Tennerif*, and I doe not finde, that he that looketh highest, stretcheth about thirtie miles vp right. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the Earth three thousand five hundred miles deepe; should not well helpe to couer the space of thirtie miles in height, this thirtie miles vp right being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and sixteene times: for the *Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken up*, and the waters drawne out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we consider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extension of the Ayre ouer and about it, wee shall finde the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this Ayre, as euery where compasseth and embraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conuersion of Ayre into Water, a change familiar in those Elements; it will not seeme strange to men of iudgement, yea but of ordinarie vnderstanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was couered ouer with Waters, without any new Creation.

Lastly,

Lastly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacensis*, to which I may adde *Bersius* and others, That such a coniunction there was, fore-shewing that destruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Catarracta Cali*, or *Windores of Heauen*, was meant this coniunction; there needes no other answer than that obseruation of *Ludovicus Vines*, who affirmeth, That by the grauest *Astrologian* it was obserued, that in the yeere 1524. there should happen the like coniunction as at *Noahs* Floud; than which (saith he) there was neuer a more faire, drie, and seasonable yeere: the like destruction was prophesied of the yeere 1588. But *Picinus* Earle of *Mirandula* proueth, that there could not be any such coniunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other mysterie in the word *Catarracta Cali*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* vsing the word *Windores of Heauen* (if that be the sense of the word) to expresse the violence of the Raynes, and powring downe of Waters. For whosoever hath seene those fallings of water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the *Spowts*, (where clouds do not breake into drops, but fall with a resistlesse violence in one body) may properly vse that manner of speech which *Moses* did; That the *Windores* or *Floud gates* of *Heauen* opened: (which is) That waters fell contrarie to custome, and that order which we call naturall. God then loosened the power retentive in the vppermost ayre, and the waters fell in abundance: *Behold* (saith *Iob* c. 12. v. 15.) *he withholdeth the Waters, and they drie vp* (or better in Latine, *Et omnia siccantur*; And all things are dried vp) but when he sendeth them out, they destroy the Earth: And in the 26. Chapter: *He bindeth the Waters in the Clouds*. But these Bonds God loosed at that time of the generall Floud, & called vp the Waters which slept in the great Deepe; and these ioyning together, couered the Earth, till they had performed the worke of his will: which done, he then commanded them to returne into their darke and vast Caues, and the rest (by a winde) rarified againe into ayre, formerly condensed into drops.

S. VII.

Of some remainder of the memorie of *NOAH* among the Heathen.

NOAH is commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his own Wife, and his Sonnes, and his Sonnes Wiues, taking with them of euery Creature which took life by generation, seuen of the cleane, & of the vncleane, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth quietnesse: after others, and according to the prophesie of his Father *Lamech*, cessation; to whom after-times gaue many Names, answering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, *The first Ogys*, because in the time of the *Grecian Ogys* there was also a great Floud of *Achaia*: *Saturne* they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gaue him the Name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steale away *Iupiters* fire, fire in that place being taken and vnderstood for the knowledge of God and heauenly things. Others thinke, that he was so called for his excellent wisdom and foresight. He had also the Name of *Ianus*, (i. e. *vinosus*, because *Iain* signifieth Wine in the Hebrew. And so *Tertullian* findes him written in *Libris Ritualibus*, in the Bookes of Ceremonies, preceding both *Saturne*, *Vranus*, and *Ioue*: which three enioyed an elder time than all the other ancientest fayned gods. And this Name *Iain* is taken from the Hebrew and Syrian, and not from the Latine: for it was in vse before there was any Latine Nation, or any Kingdome by that Name knowne. Of the antiquitie of *Ianus*, *Fabius Pictor* giueth this testimonie: *IANI atate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus peioribus nondum haerent vlla regnandi cupiditas, &c.* *Vinum & Far* primus populus docuit *IANVS* ad sacrificia: primus enim *Aras & Pomaria & sacra docuit*; in the time of *IANVS* (saith he) there was no Monarchie: for the desire of rule had not then folded it selfe about the hearts of men. *IANVS* first taught the people to sacrifice wine and Meale: he first set up Altars, instituted Gardens and solitarie Groves, wherein they vsed to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies. A greater testimonie than this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeth so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest *Noah* flourished, there was not any King, or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the first that tooke on him soueraigne authority. Secondly, *Noah* after the Floud was the first that planted the Vine, and became a Husbandman; and therefore offered the First-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, he was the first that rayseed an Altar, & offered sacrifice to God; a thanksgiving

for

for his merciful goodnesse towards him. *Noah* was also signified in the Name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Iannus*) because he beheld the times both before & after the Flood. *Quia praterita nouerit, & futura prospexerit*, saith *ARNOBIVS*: *Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come.* He was also in the person of *Iannus* shadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen Orbis*, *The Seed of the World*: because as out of that confused Heape were drawne all the kinds of Beasts and Plants, so from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whereof *Ouid* in the person of *Iannus*:

Arm. cont. Gent.
lib. 6.

Ouid. de Fastis.
lib. 1.

*Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant,
Aspice quam longi temporis acta cano.*

The ancient call'd me *Chaos*: my great yeares
By those old times, of which I sing, appears.

He was also intituled *Caelum* and *Sol*, *Heaven* and the *Sunne*, for his excellent knowledge in Astronomie: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus* and *Alex. Aphrodisens* so call, because he was the restorer of the *Greekes* to their former libertie, but in respect of the Flood. For the *Greekes* called *Liber* 78, and his Nurfes *Hyades*, of Rayne, because *Noah* entred the Arke when the Sunne ioyned with the Starres *Hyades*, a constellation in the Brow or Necke of *Taurus*, and euer after a Monument of *Noahs* Flood. He was also by others furnished *Triton*, a Marine god, the Sonne of *Neptune*; because he liued in safetie on the Waters. So was he knowne by the name of *Dionysus*, *quasi diuorum mentem pungens*, *Bite-braine*, or *Wit-singer*; though *Diodorus* 20 conceiue otherwise, and deriue that name à *Patre & Loco*; *Of his Father, and the place of his birth*, (to wit) of *Ioue*, and *Nisa*, a Towne of *Arabia felix*, saith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. He had also the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; because he first yoked Oxen, and tyll'd the ground: according to that of *Moses*; *AND NOAH became an Husbandman*. Now howloeu the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus* (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certaine, that the Name was borrowed, and the Inuention stolne from *Noah*. But this Name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Boacus*, was taken (saith *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danens* from *Noachus*, (*N*) being changed into (*B*); and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the Vine after the Flood: and of *Noah* (the first and ancient *Bacchus*) were all those fables deuised, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Booke and fifth Chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was surnamed *Nysius*, of the Mountaine *Nysa* in *India*; where the *Grecian Bacchus* neuer came, whatloeu themselves faime of his enterprises: and these Mountaines of *Nysa* ioyned with those of *Parapanisus*, and those other *Easterne* Mountaines, on which the Arke of *Noah* rested after the Flood.

Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this second Parent of Mankind might the better be preferred, there were founded by his Issues many great Cities, which bare his Name, with many Riues & Mountaines, which oftentimes forgot that it was done in his regard, because the many Names giuen him brought the same confusion to places as to himselfe. Notwithstanding all which, we find the Citie of *Noah* vpon the bankes 40 of the red Sea, and elsewhere: the Riuer of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolemy*, *Danuis*; diuiding *Ilyria* from *Pannonia*. Thus much for the Name.

§. VIII.

*Of sundry particulars touching the Arke: as the place where it was made,
the matter, fashion, and name.*

NOW in what part of the World *Noah* built the Arke, it doth not appeare in the Scriptures, neither doe I find any approoued Author that hath written thereof: onely *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiue, that *Noah* built his Arke neere the Mountains of *Caucasus*, because on those Hills are found the goodliest Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the warre among a people, called *Nyses*, inhabiting the other side of *Caucasus*, he found all their Burials & Sepulchers wrought ouer with Cedar. To this place (saith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to separate himself from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God & Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the Arke; to which also he addeth the conueniencie of Riues, to transport the Timber which he vsed, without troubling any other Carriages.

Only

Onely this we are sure of, that the Arke was built in some part of the Easterne World, & to my vnderstanding, not far from the place where it rested after the Flood. For *Noah* did not vse any Mast or Sayle (as in other Ships) & therefore did the Arke no otherwise moue, than the Hulke or body of a Ship doth in a calme Sea. Also, because it is not probable, that during these continuall and downe-right Raines there were any Windes at all, therefore was the Arke little moued from the place where it was fashioned and set together: for it is written, *God made a Wind to passe vpon the Earth, and the Waters ceased*. And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storme or forcible winde at all, which could driue the Arke any great distance from the place where it was first by the Waters lifted vp. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the Arke had *fundum planum*, a flat bottom, and not rayed in forme of a Ship, with a sharpenesse forward, to cut the waues, for the better speed.

This kind of Vessell the *Hebrewes* call *Thebet*, and the *Greekes* *Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucalions* Ship: and some say, that the Hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight dayes hee arriued, was first called *Larnassus*, and by the change of (*L*) into (*P*) *Parnassus*; but *Pan-Stieph. de Urb. sanctus* thinks that it tooke name of a Sonne of the Nymph *Cleodora*, called *Parnassus*, fol. 127. the Inuenter of *Auguration*.

Pencerius findes the word (*Parnassus*) to haue no affinity with the *Greece*, but thinks it de Oracul. fol. deriued from the *Hebrew* word *Nabus*, which signifieth *Auguration* and *Divination*: or 24. from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the Leafe before cited.

Iosephus calls the Arke *Machina*, by the generall name of a huge Frame; and *Epiphanius* Epiph. in Ancor. out of the *Hebrew*, *Aron*: but herein lyeth the difference betweene *Aron* and *Thebet*. That *Aron* signifieth properly the Arke of the *Sanctuarie*, but *Thebet* such a Vessell, as swimmeth, and beareth it selfe vpon the Waters.

Lastly, this Arke of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a ship in this, that it had a Corner and Rooffe, with a Crest in the middest thereof, and the sides declining like the Rooffe of an House, to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himself and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noysomnesse 40 of the many Beasts, which filled the other roomes and parts of the Arke.

Of what Wood the Arke was built, it is vncertaine. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher* once and in this place onely vsed, is diuersly vnderstood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Geneua* Translation calls it *Pine-tree*; the *Rabbin*, *Cedar*; the *Seuentie*, *square Timber*; the *Latine*, *smooth Timber*. Others will haue it *Cypres Trees*, as dedicated to the dead, because *Cypres* is worne at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signifie any speciall kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed the voyce of God therein; if not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, hauing the promise of God, and his grace and mercie for his defence: For with *Noah* God promised to establish his couenant. *Plinie* affirmeth, that in *Egypt* it 17. 18. was the vse to build ships of Cedar, which the wormes eate not; and he auoweth, that he Plin. l. 16. c. 40. saw in *Psida*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Citie, and that they were still found in his time, which was about 1188. yeares after: prouing thereby, that this kind of wood was not subiect to putrifying or mouldring in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carie, and of a sweete sauour, lasting also better than any other wood, & because neere the place where the Arke rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the mountains of the East, besides those of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the Arke might be of that wood: which hath, besides the other commodities, the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build ships withall. *Pencerius* conceiue, that the Arke had diuers sorts of Timber, & that the bottome had of one sort, the decke & partition of another; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar will serue for all parts of a Ship, as well for the body, as for Masts and Yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction receiued from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the Arke; and to pitch it, and to diuide it into Cabines: thereby to seuer the cleaue beasts from the vncleane, and to preserve their seuerall sorts of food; & that it might be capable of all kind of liuing creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God, who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it without

Plin. l. 6.
Steph. l. 1. v. b.
Herod. l. 4.
Strabo l. 7.

without the helpe of a Compass, or the North star. The Pitch which *Noah* vled, is by some supposed to haue beene a kind of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of *Bosome* and *Gomorrah*, how the dead Sea, or *Asphalts* and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West *India*: and therein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire onely after the manner of hard Wax.

S. IX.

That the Arke was of sufficient capacite.

THE Arke, according to Gods commandment, had of length three hundred Cubites, little of breadth, and thirte deepe or high: by which proportion, it had sixe parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. AUGUSTINE: *Proculdubio figura est peregrinantis in hac seculo Civitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesie, que sit salua per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Iesus Christus: nam & mensuravit longitudinem, altitudinis, latitudinisq. eius significat corpus humanum, in cuius veritate ad homines pronuntiatus est venturus, & venit, &c. without doubt. (saith he) it is a figure of the Citie of God traunailing in this world as a stranger (that is) of the Church, saved by the Tree, whereupon the Mediator betwene God and Man, the Man Iesus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, height, and breadth, answereth the shape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was fore-told and performed.*

By what kind of Cubite the Arke was measured, it hath beene a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: The first kind of Cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, measured from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the Palme-Cubit) which taketh one handfull more than the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the Persian Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit three ynches. The fourth is the sacred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fift Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth six common Cubits. But of all these sorts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens statures hath made the difference. For as there is now a lesse proportion of bodies, so is the common Cubit, from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of lesse length than it was in elder times.

S. AUGUSTINE considering the many sorts of Beasts and Birds which the Arke held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the Arke had proportion after the Geometrical Cubit, which containeth almost sixe of the Common: For, measuring the Arke by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacite of that Vessel built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the Ship of *Ptolome*. *Philopater*. But S. AUGUSTINE (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his iudgement as touching the Geometrical Cubit; and found, vpon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a Body to preferue all sorts of Creatures, by God appointed to be referued. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of Fishes into the Arke, because they were kept lining (saith S. AUGUSTINE) in their owne element. *Non fuit necesse conseruare in Arca, que possent in aquis vivere; non solum mersa sicut Pisces, verum super-natantia, sicut multa alites: it was not needfull to conserue those Creatures in the Arke, which could liue in the waters; and not onely Fishes which can liue under water, but also those Fowles which sit and swim on them.* And againe, *Terra, non aqua, male dicta, quia ADAM non huius, sed illius fructum vetitum comedit: it was the Earth, and not the waters, which God cursed; for of the forbidden fruite of the Earth, and not of the Sea, did ADAM eat.* So as S. AUGUSTINE gathereth hereupon (as afore said) that so huge a Frame needed not.

And if we looke with the eyes of iudgement herunto, wee shall finde nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) haue more of mischief and of ignorance, than of any reuerend reason, found many impossibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifest, and vndoubtedly true, that many of the Species, which now seeme differing, and of severall kindes, were not then in *terrenis natura*. For those Beasts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to preferue them, seeing they might be generated againe by others: as the Mules, the *Hyen*'s, & the like; the one begotten by Asses and Mares, and the other

by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by discouering of strange Lands, wherein there are found diuers Beasts & Birds, differing in colour or stature from those of these Northern parts; it may be supposed by a superficial consideration, that all those which weare red and pyed Skins, or Feathers, are differing from those that are lesse painted, and weare plaine russet or blacke; they are much mistaken that so thinke. And for my own opinion, I find no difference, but only in magnitude, betwene the Cat of Europe, and the Owne of India; & euen those Dogges which are become wilde in *Hispagniola*, with which the Spaniards vled to deuoure the naked Indians, are now changed to Wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattell, and doe also oftentimes teare asunder their owne Children. The common Crow and Rooke of India is full of red feathers in the down'd and low Islands of Caribana; and the Black-bird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with blacke and carnation, in the North parts of Virginia. The Dog-fish of England is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of Species, then were the Negro's, which we call the Blacke-Mores, non animalia rationalia, not Men, but some kind of strange Beasts; and so the Gyants of the South America should be of another kind, than the people of this part of the World. We also see it daily, that the natures of Fruits are changed by transplantati-on, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Clymate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often grafting, and the best Melons will change in a yeere or two to common Cowcummers, by being set in a barren Soyle. Therefore taking the kindes precisely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the Arke, after the measure of the common Cubit, was sufficiently capacious to containe of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but halfe a foot of measure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantly stature (and lesse allowance we cannot giue to the difference betwene them and vs) then did the Arke containe 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in breadth, and 60. foot deepe.

But first of all, to make it manifest that the Geometrical Cubit is not vled in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the Bed of *Og*, King of *Basan*, had beene nine Geometrical Cubites long, it had taken 54. Cubites of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliath*, who had the length of six Cubites and a handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull (a proportion credible) if these Cubites had beene Geometrical, then had beene 54. foot in height, and vwards, which were monstrous and most incredible; for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliath* beene nine foot long, and farre weightier and bigger than all *Dauids* bodie, who carried it away.

Again, if the Geometrical Cubit had beene vled for a Measure in the Scripture, as many Commenters haue obserued, then had the Altar (appointed to containe five Cubites of length, five of breadth, and three of height) haue reached the length of 27. foot, vpright, and so must their Priests haue ascended by steps or Ladders to haue performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandment, giuen in these words: *Thou shalt not goe up with steps unto mine Altar, that thy shame be not discouered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high, which make foure foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their Office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the measure of Giantly stature, which measure (doubtlesse) might giue much the more capacite to the Arke, although it be also probable, that as the Men were, so were the Horses whereon they rode, and all other creatures of a correspondent size. And yet (as I take it) though by this means there were not any whit the more roome in the Arke, it were not hard to conceiue, how all the distinct Species of Animals, whose liues cannot be preserved in the Waters, might according to their present quantities be contained in a Vessel of those dimensions which the Arke had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now vsual measure: whence it followeth of necessitie, that those large Bodies which were in the dayes of *Noah* might haue roome sufficient in the Arke, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of creatures to be saved, (that is) sequen of the cleane, two of the vncleane (with necessarie foode) might haue place in the Arke; *But* hath very lear-

Peregrinus.

De Ciuit. Dei, lib. 5. c. 26.

Athen. dipnosop. lib. 4. Plutar. in vita Demetrii.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 5. c. 27.

Acoss. bish. India

1. Sam. 17. 41

Exod. 10. 26

learnedly declared : the briefe summe of whose discourse to that purpose, is this. *The length of the Arke was three hundred Cubites, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fiftie Cubites, and the product by the height of thirtie Cubites, sheweth the whole Concauities haue bene 450000.* Now whereas the posts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may seeme to haue taken vp a great part of the hollow : the height of the roofoe, which (the perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500. cubical Cubes, was a sufficient recompence : If therefore in a Ship of such greatnesse we seeke room for 89. distinct Species of Beasts, or (lest any should be omitted) for 100. seuerall kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bignesse are no way answerable to them, and for meat to sustaine them all. For there are three sorts of Beasts, whose bodies are of a quantitie best knowne, the Beeffe, the Sheepe, and the Wolfe : to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to foure Beecues, one Lyon to two Wolues, and so of the rest. Of Beasts, some feede on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables : of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the Law of *Moses*, whereof seuen of a kind entred into the *Arke*, namely, three couples for breede, and one odde one for sacrifice : the other eight and twentie kinds were taken by two of each kinde, so that in all there were in the *Arke* one and twenty great Beasts cleane, & six and fiftie vnclane, estimable for largenesse as ninetie one Beecues, yet for a supplement (lest perhaps any Species be omitted) let them be valued as a hundred and twentie Beecues. Of the lesser sort feeding on vegetables, were in the *Arke* sixe and twentie kinds, estimable with good allowance for supply, as fourescore Sheepe. Of those which deuoure flesh were two and thirtie kinds, answerable to threescore and foure Wolues. All these two hundred and eightie Beasts might be kept in one storie or roome of the *Arke*, in their seuerall Cabbines; their meate in a second : the Birds and their prouision in a third, with place to spare for *Noah* and his family, and all their necessities.

S. X.

That the *Arke* rested vpon part of the Hill *Taurus* (or *Caucasus*) betwene the East *Indies*, and *Scythia*.

T. I.

A preterition of some questions lesse materiall : with a note of the vse of this question, to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.

WHat time *Noah* tooke to build the *Arke*, I leaue to others to dispute : but hee receiued the Commandement from God a hundred yeeres before the waters fell; and had therefore choice of time and leysure sufficient. As for the number of Deckes & Partitions, which *Origen* diuides into foure, *S. Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controuersie: or whether those creatures which sometimes rest on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Aligators*) the Sea-Cowes or Sea-Horses, were kept in the *Arke*, or no, I thinke it a needlesse curiositie; and yet to this faith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fish-pool might be made as well within the *Arke*, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider of labour to disprove the foolerie of the *Hebrewes*, who suppose that the *Arke* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Crytall to receiue in Light, and keep out Water, were but to reuiue the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seeke most to satisfie my selfe and others in, is, in what part of the World the *Arke* rested after the Flood: because the true vnderstanding of some of these places (as the Seat of the terrestriall Paradise, and the resting of the *Arke*) doe onely and truly teach the Worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations; before and after the Flood; and all storie, as well generall as particular, thereby may be the better vnderstood.

T. II.

A proposall, of the common opinion, that the *Arke* rested vpon some of the Hills of *Armenia*.

ANd first, for the true place where the *Arke* rested after the Flood, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* vnailed to their first settlement and plant.

plantation, I am resolu'd (without any presumption) that therein the most writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led so to thinke out of my Humour or newnesse of opinion, or singularity; but doe herein ground my selfe on the originall & first truth, which is the word of God, and after that vpon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, that the *Arke* staid vpon one of the mountaines of *Ararat*, which the *Chaldean Paraphrast* hath conuerted *Kardu*, meaning the hills *Gordai* or *Gordai* in *Armenia* the greater : (as the words *Gordai* and *Kardu*, seeme to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are; I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing : (to wit) that it rested on

that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. *Nicolaus Damascenus* calls this mountaine of *Ararat*, *Baris*, being the same which the *Chaldean* nameth *Kardu*, to which mountaine the Fryer *Annius* (citing this place out of *Iosephus*) makes him finde another adioyning, called *Ocila*, and to say that the *Arke* (of which *Moses* the Lawgiuer of the *Hebrewes* wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocila*. But I doe not finde any such mountaine in being, as this *Ocila*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Iosephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontorie in *Arabia felix*, of that name; and *Plinie* findes a Mart-towne so called in the same, which *Ptolomie* calls *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to bee one and a part of the *Armenian* mountaines. *Berosus* calleth those mountaines of *Armenia* *Gordiei*, and *Curtius Cordai* : *Ptolomie* *Gordai* and *Gordai*; of which the Countrey next adioyning is by this *Nicolaus Damascenus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as *Berosus* coniectures) for *Milyada* or rather *Minni* : which word is vsed for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* seemes to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram* : as if we should say *Minni of Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, *Plinie* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardies* about these mountaines, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The mountaines are seated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the mountaines called *Taurus*, or *Niphates* in the plains of *Armenia* the great, neere the Lake *Thospitis*; whence the River of *Tigris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines *Gordai* (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent : but this out of *Iosephus*; which name (saith *Iunius*) was of the euent, because of *Noahs* comming downe with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed euent; seeing any hill from whence on euery side we must descend, may thus be called : as *Iunius* corrects the place in *Iosephus* *Λουβαρις* (*Kubaris*.) That the place is thus to be read, he coniectureth, because *Iosip. l. 1. c. 4.* sayes, the place is called *Λουβαρις* (as it were the descent or comming downe) and *Epiphanius l. 1. contr. Hæres.* calls it *Λουβαρις*. which word in the *Armenian* and *Egyptian* tongue signifieth descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a Synagogue, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the Latine *Delubrum* may seeme to bee deriued; and *Act. 6. 9.* they that belonged to the Synagogue of the *Egyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu*. Yet this opinion hath bene embraced from age to age, receiuing a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any farther examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly bee giuen, especially to that mountaine, by reason that the passage was more faire, vp and downe vnto it, than to any of the rest adioyning.

T. III.

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build *Babel*, would haue come sooner, had they come from so neere a place as *Armenia*.

BUt there are many arguments to perswade me, that the *Arke* of *Noah* did not rest it selfe in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountaine *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiean* mountaines.

For the first, it is agreed by all which follow *Berosus*, that it was in the 130. yeere, or in the yeere 131. after the flood, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward called *Babylonia*, *Chus*, and *Chaldea*. If then the *Arke* had first found land in *Armenia*, it is very vnp probable, that the children of *Noah* which came into that valley could haue spent so many yeeres in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was onely interiacent, which might by easie iourneyes haue bene past ouer in twenty

twentie dayes; and to hasten and helpe which passage, the nauigable riuer of *Tygrus* offered it selfe, which is euery where transpassable by boates of great burden: so as where the Desert on the one side resisted their expedition, the riuer on the contrary side serued to aduance it; the riuer rising out of the same Ledge of mountaines, or at the foote of them, vvhether the *Arke* of *Noah* vvas first supposed to settle it selfe; Then if the Nations vvhich followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surprise of a second flood (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it foundeth ill to the care of reason, that they would haue spent many yeeres in that low and ouerflowne Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many Riueres which imbroyder or compasse it: for the effects witnessed their affections, and the workes vvhich they vnderooke, their vnbeliefe, being no sooner arriued in *Shinar*, but they began to provide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his Kingdome, the first known Citie of the world, founded after the flood about 131 yeeres, or (as others suppose) ten yeeres later: though (for my selfe) I rather thinke, that they vnderooke that worke in two respects; first, to make themselves famous, *To get vs a name* (saith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to vsurpe dominion ouer the rest.

t. IIII.

The second argument, That the Easterne people were most ancient in populositie, and in all humane glory.

For a second Argument: The ciuilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the world first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath beene, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noahs* taking land there. And that this is true, the vse of Printing and Artillerie (among many other things which the East had) may easily perswade vs, that those Sunne-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the East *Indians* (time out of minde) haue had Gunnes and Ordnance of batterie, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, make vs now to vnderstand, That the place of *Philostratus* in *vita Apollonij Tiani*, l. 2. c. 14. is no fable, though exprest in fabulous words: vvhether he saith, that the wise men, vvhich dwell betweene *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, vse not themselves to goe forth into battaile: but that they driue away their enemies vvvith thunder and lightning sent from *Iupiter*. By which meanes there it is said, that *Hercules Aegyptius* and *Bacchus*, ioyning their forces, were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there cast away his golden shield. For the inuention of letters vvas ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because hee brought them first into Greece: of which the people (then rude and sauage) had reason to giue him the honour, from whom they receiued the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no lesse ancient than *Seth* or *Itenoch* were: for they are said to haue written on pillars of stone (as before remembred) long before the flood. But from the Easterne world it was that *John Cuthenberg* a *Germane*, brought the deuice of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being instructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicholans Gersone* a *Frenchman*, betwixt both the letters and inuention. And notwithstanding that this mysterie was then supposed to be but newly borne, the *Chinases* had letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phanicians*; and also the Art of Printing, when as the Greekes had neither any ciuill knowledge, or any letters among them.

And, that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* haue witnessed, who about an hundred yeeres since discovered those Kingdomes, & doe now enioy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinases* account all other Nations but *Saluages*, in respect of themselves.

And to adde strength to this argument, the conquest and storie of *Alex. Macedon* may iustly be called to witness, who found more Cities and sumptuositie in that little Kingdome of *Perus*, which lay side by side to the East *India*, than in all his other trauails & vnder takings. For in *Alexanders* time learning & greatnesse had not trauailed so far to the West as *Rome*: *Alexander* esteeming of *Italie* but as a barbarous Countie, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that stood in his eye, and the fame of the East pierced his eares. And if we looke as farre as the Sun-rising, and heare *Paulus Venetus* what hee reporteth of the vittermost Angle and *Island* thereof, wee shall finde that those Nations haue sent out, and not receiued, silent knowledge, & not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more ciuill, the farther West the more sauage, And

And of the Isle of *Iapan* (now *Zippingari*) *Remetus* maketh this report: *Incola religioni, literis, & sapientia sunt addictissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi, nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoscunt Principem, unum Deum adorant, The Islanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and Philosophie, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent than prayer, which they vse in their Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one King, and worship one God.* The antiquitie, magnificence, ciuilitie, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policie in gouernment, is reported to be such by those who haue bin employed into those parts, as it seemeth to exceede (in those formerly named, and diuers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.

t. V.

The third argument, From the wonderfull resistance which SEMIRAMIS found in the East Indies.

But for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the inuasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and aduised Reader: who may consider in what age shee liued, and how soone after the worlds new birth shee gathered her Armie (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth) of more than three Millions to inuade *India*, to which hee adioyned also 500000. Horse, and 100000. Waggones: whereof if we beleeue but a third part, it shall suffice to prooue that *India* was the first planted and peopled Countie after the flood. Now as touching the time wherein shee liued: All Historians consent, that shee was the wife of *Ninus*; and the most approued Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Sonne of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Sonne of *Cush*, *Cush* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinar*, hee was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Citie and Tower of *Babel* may appeare; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast betwixt *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Armie was composed. Let vs then see with whom shee encountred in that warre with this her powerfull Armie: euen with a multitude, rather exceeding, than equalling, her owne, conducted by *Stavrobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whose multitudes this is the witness of *Diod. Siculus*. *STAVROBATES auitis maioribus quamque erant SEMIRAMIDIS copijs: STAVROBATES gathering together greater troups than those of SEMIRAMIS.* If then these numbers of *Indians* had beene encreased but by a *Colonie* sent out from *Shinar*, (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt tooke some time in the performance) this encrease in the East, and this Armie of *Stavrobates* must haue been made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might easily grow vp in that time, from so great a Troupe as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Storie of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication natural, produce so many bodies of men as were in the *Indian* Armie victorious ouer *Semiramis*, if the *Colonies* sent thither had beene so late as *Rebel* ouerturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if wee allow 65. yeeres time after the Flood, before *Nimrod* was borne: of which, thirty yeeres to *Cush* ere hee begat *Seba*, after whom hee had *Hauilah*, *Sabsah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: GEN. 10. 7. and then thirtie yeeres to *Raamah*, ere hee begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were borne before *Nimrod*: and fife yeeres to his fife elder brothers, which make fixtie fife, and then twice thirtie yeeres for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their sonnes; and that a third Generation might grow vp, which makes in all an hundred twenty fife yeeres, there will then remaine 50. fixe yeeres to haue bin spent in trauailing from the East, ere they arriued in *Shinar* in the yeere after the Flood 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might bee of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to haue arriued at *Shinar* in the yeere 101. and the confusion to haue beene at *Pelegs* birth, these men doe all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time, and build *Nimrods* Towre in the Ayre; and not on those low and marsh grounds (which require sound foundations) in the Plaines of *Shinar*. For except that huge Towre were built in a day, there could bee no confusion in that yeere 101. or at *Pelegs* birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that *Nimrod* vsurped Regall authority in the 131. yeere after

Glycia Gen. &
de Taurica pro-
ductione, fol. 173.

after the Flood, (according to *Berosus*) and that the worke of *Babel* lasted forty yeeres (according to *GLYCAS*) *Hominiens in ea perficienda totis 40. annis incassum laborantibus; Men labouring in vaine 40. yeeres to finish it.* By which account it falls out, that it was 170. yeeres after the Flood, ere a *Colony* was sent into *East India*; which granted (the one being the maine body, and the other but a Troupe taken thence) it can hardly be beleueed, that *Staurabates* could haue exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Empresse of all that part of the world, gathered the most of Nations into one bodie.

†. VI.

The fourth Argument from diuers considerations in the person of NOAH.

Fourthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the flood, & had lived therein the long time of 600. yeeres, was all that space 130. yeeres after the flood, without any certaine habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of those people, by *Noah* destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Western world; (which trauailes *Noah* put ouer to young and able bodies) and that *Noah* himselfe then couered with many yeeres, planted himselfe in the same place which God had assigned him: which was where he first came downe out of the *Arke* from the waters: for it is witten, that after *Noah* came downe out of the *Arke* hee planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman: whose businell was to dresse and manure the earth; and not to range ouer so many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia felix*, where hee should (if the tradition be found) haue left certaine Colonies: thence into *Africa* towards *Tripoli*, then into *Spain*, where they say he settled other companies, and built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his sonnes wiues: from thence into *Italie*, where they say hee found his sonne *Cham* the *Saturne* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subjects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the storie) had patience for three yeeres; but then finding no amendement, they say he banisht him out of *Italie*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Annianus*, a plaine imitation of the *Græcian* fables. For let euery reasonable man conceiue, what it was to trauaile farre in such a Forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the earth by the flood, the same lay waste and ouer-growne for 130. or 140. yeeres, and wherein there could hardly be found either part or passage through which men were able to creepe for woods, bushes and bryars that in those yeeres were growne vp.

And there are so many reasons, prouing that *Noah* neuer came into the valley of *Shinar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italie* or *Spain*: For *Noah*, who was Father of all those Nations, a man reuerenced both for his authority, knowledge, experience and pietie, would neuer haue permitted his children and issues to haue vnder taken that vnbeleueing presumptuous worke of *Babel*. Rather by his presence and proualent perswasions he would haue bound their hands from so vaine labours, & by the authority which he receiued euen from God himselfe, hee would haue held them in that awfull subiection, as whatsoeuer they had vainely conceiued or feared, yet they durst not haue disobeyed the personall commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regall authority ouer his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of mankind was by themselves purchased through crueltie and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise vp building against his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a prouocation of God to lay on them the same, if not a more sharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that euer he came so farre West as *Babylonia*; but rather, that hee sent those numbers, which came into *Shinar* (being the greatest troupe, because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) vnder *Nimrod*, or those vpon whom he vsurped. *Nanclerus* and *Celestinus* take the testimony of *Methodius* Bishop of *Tyre* for current, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Isolan*: of which *Nimrod* commanded the issues of *Cham*, *Isolan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Iaphet*. This opinion I cannot iudge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the sonnes of *Sem*: *Isolan*, *Hauilah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to haue dwelt in the *East India*. The rest of *Sems* issues had also the Regions of *Persia* and the other adioyning

adjoyning to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of *Isolan*, or of all the rest a certaine number (*Cham* and his issue only excepted) that *Noah* kept with himselfe; it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I shall speake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which mooues me to beleue, that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those that came into *Shinar*, is, that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the story of the Hebrewes, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the Father of all mankind, and the chosen seru-
uant of God, was too principall a person, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) withdrawne himselfe; and rested a part with his best beloued, giuing himselfe to the seruice and contemplation of God and heauenly things, after he had directed his children to their destined portions. For he landed in a warme and fertile soile, where hee planted his Vineyard, and drest the earth; after which, and his thankes-giuing to God by sacrifice, hee is not remembered in the Scriptures, because he was so farre away from those Nations of which *Moses* wrote, which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

†. VII.

Of the senselesse opinion of *ANNIUS* the Commentor vpon *BEROSUS*: who finds diuers places where the *Arke* rested; as the *Caspian* and *Gordian* hills which are three hundred miles asunder; and also some place of *Scythia*.

It remaineth now that we examine the Arguments & authorities of *Frier Annius*, who in his Commentaries vpon *Berosus* and others, laboureth maruailously to proue, that the *Arke* of *Noah* rested vpon the *Armenian* mountaines called *Caspj*, which mountaines separate *Armenia* from the vpper *Media*, and doe equally belong to both. And because all his Authours speake of the mountainties *Gordian*, he hath no other shift to vnitie these opinions, but by vnitng those farre-distant mountaines together. To effect which, hee hath found no other inuention, than to charge those men with error, which haue carefully ouerseene, printed, and published *Ptolimies* Geographic, in which they are altogether disseuered. For that last edition of *Mercators*, sets these hills fve degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) asunder. And certainly, if we looke into those more ancient copies of *Ptolimæus* and others, we shall find nothing in them to helpe *Annius* withall: for in those the mountaines *Caspj* stand seuen degrees to the East of the *Gordian*, which make 420. miles. And for those Authours by whose authoritie *Annius* strengtheneth himselfe, *Diodorus* whom he so much followeth, giueth this iudgment vpon them in the like dispute. *Aberrantur verò omnes, non negligentia, sed regno- rum sensu ignorantia; They haue all erred* (saith he) *not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdomes.* But for an induction, to proue that the *Arke* of *Noah* stood on the mountaines of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of the *Scythians*: and to proue the same he citeth *Marcus Porcius Cato*, who auoweth that 250. yeeres before *Ninus*, the earth was ouerflowne with waters, & in *Scythia* *Sagarenatum* mortale pars prima genus; and that in *Scythia* the stocke of mortall men was renewed. The same Authour also teacheth that the *Vmbri* before remembered (who were so called, because saued from *Dencalions* flood) were the Sonnes of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex his venisse IANVM cum DYRIM, & Gallis progenitoribus Vmbriorum; From these Scythians, he saith, that IANVS came with DYRIM, and with the Galli the progenitors of the Vmbri; And againe, Equidem principatus originis semper Scythiis tribuitur. Certainly, the Prime antiquitie of off-spring is alway giuen to the Scythians.* And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that those Regions called *Scythia* and now *Tartaria*, and by some Writers *Sarmatia*, *Asiatica*, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of *Asia* vnder tribute till *Ninus* time. Also *Plinie* called the *Vmbri* which long since inhabited *Italie*, *Gens antiquissima, a most ancient Nation*, who descended of these *Scythians*. Now that which *Annius* laboureth is to proue that these ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephewes of *Noah*) did first inhabit that Region of the mountaines, on which the *Arke* rested; and confessing that this great ship was ground- ed in *Armenia*, he faineth a nation of *Scythians* called *Araxea*, taking name of the mountain *Araxar*, neere the Riuer of *Araxes*. And because his Author *Cato* helpeth him in part

(to wit, That in *Scythia* mankind was restored after the great floud, 250. yeares before *Ninus*) and in part utterly destroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the vword *Saga*; as, *In Scythia Saga renatum morsale genus*, *In Scythia Saga mankind was restored*, hee therefore in the Proeme of his Commentary vpon *Berosus*, leaueth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *homines in Scythia saluatos*. For *Scythia Saga* or *Sage*, is vndoubtedly vnder the Mountaines of *Parapanisus*; on which, or neare which it is most probable that the *Arke* first tooke ground: and from those East parts (according to *Moses*) came all those companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*.

But now the best authority which *Annins* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where hee hath read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name & *Scythia Rege eorum*, from *Scythia* their King. But (in a word) wee may see his vanity, or rather (indeede) his fallhood in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a most approued and diligent Author, beginneth in that place with these words: *Fabulantur Scythia; The Scythians fable*: and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giueth this title to that very Chapter. *Scythiarum origo & successus, fabula; The originall and successe of the Scythians, a fable*. And (indeede) there needs no great disproofe hereof, since *Ptolomy* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga* or *Sage*, and lets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians*, *Saga* which *Pliny* confirmeth: for in respect that these *Saga* (saith *Pliny*) are the next *Scythians* to the *Persians*, therefore they giue all the rest that name. Now that any Nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Persians*, there is no man beleueth. But this supposed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lyeth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the *Saga*; and the Country about *Araxes* *Ptolomy* calleth *Colibene* and *Soducene* and *Sacapene* without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed *Scythians* either with *Imaus* or without, to the number of 100. feuerall Nations, are by *Ptolomy* precisely set downe.

But to come to those later Authors, whereof some haue written, others haue scene a great part of those North-east Regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence: First, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without these Mountaines is also beyond our purpose) *Scythia inter Imaum montem ea est, que proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte: à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridia Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, & que ostia Oxæamnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis, & parte ipsius maris hinc usq; ad Rha fluminis ostia terminatur: Scythia within the Mountaine Imaus is that part of the World, which in their owne speech is at this time called Gassaria; and the same is bounded on the West side by Sarmatia Asiatica (or of Asia) on the East by the Imaus Mountaines: on the North by unknowne Lands: on the South by the Sacce (which are in the Sacc) the Sogdiani, and the Margiani, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a part of the same Sea as farre as the mouth of Rha.*

Now if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia Asiatica*, to the West of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (que magna sanè Regio est, & que innumeras nationes complectitur) which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable Nations (saith *Niger*) much of it being betwene *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth sufficiently warrant vs, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plaine, he disleuereth *Sarmatia* it selfe from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, which he leaueth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the West bound of *Scythia*.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian* or *Scythian* Nations; neither doth his fellow *Frier Iohn Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincents* in his description of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neyther doth *Haythous*, an *Armenian* borne, of the bloud of those Kings (though afterward a Monke) euer acknowledge himselfe for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* Races descended: though he write that storie at large, gathered by *Nicholas Salcuni*, and (by the commandement of Pope *Clement* the fifth) in the yeere 1307. published.

Neyther doth *Mathias a Michon* (a Canon of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* borne, and that traualled a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, finde *Armenia* any way within the compasse of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*, and yet no man (whose Trauailes are extant) hath obserued so much of those Regions as he hath done: prouing and disprouing many things, heretofore subiect to dispute. And among others he burieth that ancient and receiued

receiued opinion, That out of the Mountaines *Riphei*, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, spring the Riuer of *Tanais* or *Don Volga* or *Edel*; prouiding by vnanswerable experience, that there are no such Mountaines in rerum natura; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountaines of those famous Riuer are now by the Trade of *Muscovia* knowne to euery Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddie, and marshy grounds. The Riuer of *Tanais* or *Don*, ariseth to the South of the Citie *Tulla*, some twentie English miles, out of a Lake called *Iwanowesero*, in the great Wood *Okenitzkies* or *Isciphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolomie* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riseth out of a Lake called *Fronaw*, in the great Wood *Kodkowzki*: from which Lake the two other famous Riuer flow of *Boysythenes* (now *Neyper*) and *Dsuina* or *Dinidna*. And this learned *Polonian* doth in this sort bound the *European Sarmatia*. In *Sarmatia* of Europe are the Regions of *Russians*, *Lithuanians*, *Muscouians*, and those adioyning, bounded on the West by the Riuer of *Vissa*, the Name perchance mis-printed *Vissa* for *Vistula*, a Riuer which parts *Germania* and *Sarmatia*; and for the East border he nameth *Tanais*, or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* he cutteth from Europe by the same Riuer of *Tanais*, and the *Caspian* Sea, to with-hold it from stretching farther East: this *Asian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolomie* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem: Scythia within the Mountaine Imaus*. And the same *Mathias Michon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which *Frier Annins* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica* it selfe about three hundred and a few odde yeers before his owne time: these be his words: *Constat eam esse gentem nouam, & aduentitiam à partibus Orientis (mutatis sedibus) paulò plus abhinc trecentis annis Asia Sarmatiam ingressam: It is manifest (saith he, speaking of the Scythian Nation) that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coasts of the East: from whence they entred into Asia, and gat new leases a little more than 300. yeeres since: For (indeed) before that time the *Goths* or *Poulois* inhabited *Sarmatia Asiatica*. And this *Mathias* liued in the yeere 1511. and this his Discourse of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Augusta* in the yeere 1506. as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (saith he) came from the East, for in the East it was that the *Arke* of *Noah* rested, and the *Scythia Saga* were those people which liued at the North foot of those Mountaines, of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mixe themselves with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other testimony than the generall description of the Earth now extant, and the witness of *Ptolomie*, it is plaine, that betwene all parts of *Armenia*, and *Scythia*, there are not only those three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian* Sea: on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariace*) betwene *Taxarus* and *Iactus*; but what are these *Scythians* to any *Ariace*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annins* placeth in *Armenia*, more than the *Scythians* of Europe?*

†. XIII.

40 The first Argument, The Vine must grow naturally neere the place where the *Arke* rested.

TO this if we adde the consideration of this part of the Text, That *Noah* planted a Vineyard, we shall find that the fruit of the Vine or *Rayfin* did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the *Arke* was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in *Italie* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a faire colder Country. For *Tyrrhenus* first brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at such times as *Brennus* and the *Gaules* invaded *Italie*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gaules* remained betwene the *Pyrenes* and the *Alpes*, neere vnto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, vntill they drunke Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italie*; and after they tasted thereof they hastened to inhabit that Countrey, which brought forth such pleasant fruit: so as it appeareth, that the Plant of the Vine was not natural in *France*, but from *Italie* brought thither; as by *Saturne* from else where into *Italy*.

Now it is manifest, that *Noah* traualled not farre to seeke out the Vine. For the Plantation therof is remembered, before there was any counsaile how to dispose of the World among his children: and the first thing he did, was, to till the ground, & to plant a Vineyard, after the Sacrifice and Thankesgiuing to God; and whereof the *Arke* rested, there

Beros. l. 1.

1. 10. 1. 10. 7.

Gen. 11. 2.

L. 6. c. 17.

Tab. Asia. 7. c. 8.

Rha now Volga
com. 2. Asia.
fol. 472.Ad meridiem
flexo Bosphoro
pari septentrionalis
pontis Euxini usq; in
ostia Coracis
fluuij: unde restituta à parte
dextra Colchis,
Iberia, Albanisq;
in litus Hyrcani maris
prominent Speciosiss.
l. 10.

Sig. Holersheim.

Cassius calleth
this Riuer Tanais,
Niger, Diogenes,
Strabo, Plinius,
Ptolemaeus, &
Plinius.

Gen. 9. 20.

S. ruius Aeneid.
Entrepus.

there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare, that he tra-
uailed farre: for the Scriptures teach vs, that he was a Husband-man, & not a Wanderer.

I. X.

An answer to an obiection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them
from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of Noah came together into Shinaar, it doth not appeare
saying that it may be inferred out of these words (from thence) because it is written:
So that the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the earth; which hath no other sense,
but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Towre: for those were
from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the West-
ward. And by these words of Sybilla (as they be conuerted) it seemeth that all came not
together into Shinaar; for they haue this limitation: *Quidam eorum turtem edificauerunt
altissimam, quasi per eam caelum essent ascensuri*: Certaine of them built a most high Towre,
as if they meant thereby to haue scaled the Heauens.

I. X.

An answer to the obiection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and
the height of the Hills there.

BUT before I conclude this part, it is necessarie to see & consider, what part of Scrip-
ture, and what reason may be found out, to make it true or probable, that the Arke
of Noah was forsaken by the waters on the Mountaines of Armenia. For the Text hath
only these words: *The Arke rested on* (or vpon) *the Mountaines of Ararat*; or *Armenia*,
saith the marginall note of the Geneva: the Chaldean Paraphrast calls it *Kardu*, of which,
the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith Epiphanius. Now this *Ararat*; (which the Sep-
tuaginta does not conuert at all, but keepe the same word) is taken to be a Mountaine of
Armenia; because *Armenia* it selfe had anciently that name: so as first out of the name,
and secondly out of the height (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion
taken, That the Arke first sat thereon.

But these suppositions haue no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, nei-
ther is any part, or any of those Mountaines of equall stature to many other Mountaines
of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the Arke found the highest Mountaine
of all other to rest on: for the Plaines were also vncovered, before Noah came out of
the Arke. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that
they did not differ altogether therein, we might giue more credit to the conceit. For in
the Bookes of the Sybils it is written, that the Mountaines of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, vpon
which it was supposed that the Arke stayed after the Flood. And the better to parti-
cularize the place and feate of these Mountaines, and to proue them in *Phrygia*, and not
Armenia, they are placed where the City of *Calenes* was afterward built. Likewise in the
same description hee maketh mention of *Marpyus*, a Riuer which runneth through part
of *Phrygia*, and afterward ioyneth it selfe with the Riuer *Meander*, which is farre from
the *Gordian* Mountaines in *Armenia*. We may also finde a great mistaking in IOSEPHVS
(though out of BEROSVS, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that IOSEPHVS
sets *Ararat* betweene *ARMENIA* and *PARTHIA*, toward *ADIABENE*, and affir-
meth withall, that in the prouince of *Ceron* (by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, so called by
reason that the waters haue from thence no descent, nor issue out) the people vaunt
that they had in those dayes referred some peices of Noahs Arke. But *Parthia* toucheth
no where vpon *Armenia*, for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Prouince of *Assyria*: so
that all *Media* and a part of *Assyria* is betweene *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the
discovery of the Mountaines *Gordiei* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Iosephus*; yet
the Text which *Iosephus* citeth out of *Berosus*, differs far from the words of that *Berosus*,
which wandreth vp and downe in these dayes, set out by *Annins*. For *Berosus*, cited by
Iosephus, hath these words: *Fertur & nauigij huius pars in Armenia apud montem Cor-
dicorum superesse, & quosdam Bitumen inde abrafum secum reportare, quo vice amuletis loci
huius homines uti solent*: (which is) *It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remain-
ing in Armenia vpon the Gordian Mountaines; and that diuers doe scrape from it the Bitu-
men or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it instead of an amulet*. But *Annins* his

Edition

Edition of the Fragment of *Berosus* vseth these words: *Nam eleuata ab aquis in Gordia
montis vertice quiescit, cuius adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa Bitumen
colligere quo maxime vntur ad expiationem*: For the whole Arke being lifted vp by the
waters, rested on the top of the Gordian Mountaines; of which it is reported that some parts
remain, and that men doe carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith: so as
in these two Texts (besides the difference of wordes) the name is diuersly written. The
ancient *Berosus* writes *Gordiei* with a (C.) and the Fragment *Gordiei* with a (G.) the
one that the Bitumen is vsed for a preferatiue against Poyson or Inchantment; the o-
ther in Sacrifice. And if it be said that they agree in the generall, yet it is reported by
neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approued Authour: for one of
them vseth the word (*fertur*) the other (*dicitur*) the one, that so it is reported, the
other, that so it is sayd; and both but by heare-say, and therefore of no authority nor
credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neither report af-
ter it, nor giue credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, these Mountaines which *Ptolomie* calls *Gordiei*, are not those Moun-
taines which himselfe giueth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the Mountaines of *Armenia*
Moschici. These be his owne words: *Montes Armenia nominantur, qui Moschici ap-
pellantur, qui preiudicantur effi, ad superiacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui
Paryades dicitur: The Mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, stretch
along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians; also the Hill which is called Paryades:*
which Mountaines *Plinie* calleth *Paricari*, & both which lye to the North of *Gordiei* or
Bari, in 43. and 44. and a halfe; and the *Gordian* Mountaines in 39. and a halfe: from
the Northernmost of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were first *Gordians*
and then *Georgians*, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Insidels of *Persia* and
Turkie, doe still remaine *Christians*. Concerning the other suppositions, that the Moun-
taines of *Gordiei*, otherwife *Bari* *Kardu* or *Lubar* (which *Ptolomie* calleth *Torgodaien*)
are the highest of the World, the same is absolutely false.

I. XI.

Of *Caucasus*, and diuers farre higher hills than the *Armenian*.

FOR the best *Cosmographers* with other, that haue seene the Mountaines of *Armenia*
find them farre inferiour, and vnder-set to diuers other Mountaines euen in that part
of the World, and else where: as the Mountaine *Athos* betweene *Macedon* and *Thrace*,
which *Ptolomie* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacus*, (saith *Castaldus*) is farre surmounting
any Mountaine that euer hath bene seene in *Armenia*: for it casteth shade three hun-
dred furlongs, which is seuen and thirtie miles and vpwards: of which *Plutarch*: *Athos
adumbrat latera Lemnia bonis: Athos shadoweth the Coasts of Lemnos*. Also the Mount of
Olympus in *Thessalie*, is said to be of that height, as neither the Windes, Cloudes or
Raine ouertop it. Again, the Mountaine of *Antandrus* in *Mysia*, not farre from *Ida*,
whence the Riuer *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is also of a farre
more admiration than any in *Armenia*, and may be seene from *Constantinople*. There
are also in *Mauritania* negre the Sea, the famous Mountaines of *Atlas*, of which *HERO-
DOTVS*: *Extat in hoc mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, ita sublimis esse dicitur, ut ad illius
verticem oculis mortalium peruenire non possint: Vpon this Coast there is a Mountaine called
Atlas, whose height is sayd to be such, as the eye of no mortall man can discern the top thereof*.
And if we may belecue *Aristotle*, then are all these inferiour to *Caucasus*, which he ma-
keth the most notorious both for breadth and height: *Caucasus Mons omnium maximus,
qui assium ad ortum sunt, acumine atq, latitudine, cuius iuga a Sole radiantur effi, ad con-
tinentium ab ortu: & iterum ab occasu, Caucasus* (saith *ARISTOTTE*) *is the greatest Moun-
taine both for breadth and height of all those in the North-east, whose tops are lightned by
the Sun-beames, effi, ad continentium* (which is, saith *Macrobius*) *betweene the first crowing
after mid-night and the breake of day*: Others affirme, that the top of this Mountaine
holds the Sunne-beames when it is darke in the Valley; but I cannot belecue either:
for the highest Mountaine of the World knowne is that of *Tenerife* in the *Canaria*:
which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. Leagues together but
the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enioy the Suns company at any such late houres. Besides
these Mountaines which *Aristotle* calleth *Caucasus*, are those which separate *Colchis* from
Iberia;

Iberia; though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth diuide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for hee acknowledgeth that the Riuer of *Phasis* riseth in the same Mountaine, which himselfe calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phasis* springeth from those Hills which sunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which Riuer (it is manifest) yeeldeth it selfe to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabesunda*) howsoever *Mercator* bring it from *Peryardes*.

†. XII.

Of diuers incongruities if in this storie we should take Ararat for Armenia.

SO as it doth first appeare, that there is no certaintie what Mountaine *Ararat* was: for the Bookes of the *Syblis* set it in *Phrygia*, and *Berosus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Berosus* authoritie, those men haue great want of proofes that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the *Arke* grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition haue equall credit: for there are many Hills which exceed all those of *Armenia*, and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the *Arke* should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proued that there is any such Hill in *Armenia*, or in *verum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (sayth *Hierome*) signifieth high Towres: and so may all high Hills be called indifferently; and therefore we may better giue the name of *Baris* to the Hills of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riseth) than to any Hills of *Armenia*. For those of *Caucasus* in the East, are vndoubtedly the highest of *Asia*.

Fourthly, the Authours themselves doe not agree in what Region the Mountaines *Gordici* stand: for *Ptolomie* distinguisheth the Mountains of *Armenia* from the *Gordicæan*, and calleth those of *Armenia* *Moschici* and *Paryardes*, as aforesaid. Now *Paryardes* is seated neere the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the West-side riseth *Euphrates*, and out of the East-side *Araxis*: and the Mountaines *Moschici* are those Hills which diuoyne *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

†. XIII.

Of the contrary situation of Armenia, to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no maruaille that the same Ledge of Hills running from Armenia to India, should keepe the same name all along: and euen in India be called Ararat.

LASTly, we must blow vp this Mountaine *Ararat* it self, or else we must digge it down, and carry it out of *Armenia*, or find it else where, and in a warmer Country, and (withall) set it East from *Shinaar*; or else we shall wound the Truth it selfe with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to euery eye, we must vnderstand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moses*) is not any one Hill, so called, no more than any one Hill among those Mountaines which diuide *Italie* from *France* is called, the *Alpes*: or any one among those which part *France* from *Spaine* is the *Pyrenian*; but as these, being continuations of many Hills, keepe one name in diuers Countries: so all that long Ledge of Mountaines, which *Plinie* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolomie* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, vntill they encounter and crosse the Mountaines of the great *Imau*, are of one generall name, and are called the Mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, because from thence or thereabout they seeme to arise. So all these Mountaines of *Hircania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caspj*, *Moschici*, *Amazonici*, *Heniochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diuersly called by *Plinie* and others) *Ptolomie* calls by one name *Caucasus*, lying betweene the Seas *Caspium* and *Euxinus*: as all those Mountaines which cut asunder *America*, euen from the new Kingdome of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these Mountaines of *Ararat* runne East and West, so doe those maruailous Mountaines of *Imau* stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well-neere, are called by the name of *Imau*, euen as *Plinie* calleth these former hills *Taurus*, and *Moses* the hills of *Ararat*. The reason of seuerall names giuen by *Ptolomie*, was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdomes, which these great mountaines bound and disseuer; as *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Susiana*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Parapanisus*: ha-

Plinie in his description of Lycia. l. 5. c. 27.

uing all these Kingdomes either on the North or South side of them. For all the mountaines of *Asia* (both the lesse and the greater) haue three generall names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receiue other titles; as they feuer and diuide particular places and regions. For these mountaines which sunder *Cilicia* from the rest of *Asia* the lesse on the North side, are called *Taurus*; and those mountaines which part it from *Comagena* (a Prouince of *Syria*) are called *Amannus*: the mountaines called *Taurus* running East and West, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Though *Taurus* the Riuer of *Euphrates* forceth her passage, leauing the name of *Amannus* to the mountains on her West-banke; and on her East side the mountaines are sometimes knowne by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolomies* three tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates*; (as in the fourth) retaining that vncertaine appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*: and after the Riuer of *Tygris* cutteth them asunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, vntill they separate *Assyria* and *Media*; but then they call themselves *Coatras*, though betweene the vpper and nether *Media*, they doe not appeare, but altogether discontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but runne through the Easterne *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves *Orontes*, and towards the East part *Coronus*; out of the Southerne part whereof the Riuer of *Bagradus* riseth, which diuideth the ancient *Persia* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they giue to the *Parthians* and *Hircanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the mountaines of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the Riuer *Margus*, afterward yeelding her selfe to *Oxus* (now *Abia*): and drawing now neere their wayes end, they first make themselves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Parapanisus*; and lastly of *Caucasia*, euen where the famous Riuer of *Indus*, with his principal companions *Hydaspis* and *Zaradrus*, spring forth and take beginning. And here doe these Mountaines build themselves exceeding high, to equall the strong Hills called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35. 36. and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140 of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these Mountaines in this place onely are properly called *Caucasi* (saith *Ptolomie*) that is, betweene *Parapanisus* and *Imau*: and improperly, betweene the two Seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*.

†. XIII.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountaines Caucasus and toward the East Indies: and of other excellencies of the soile.

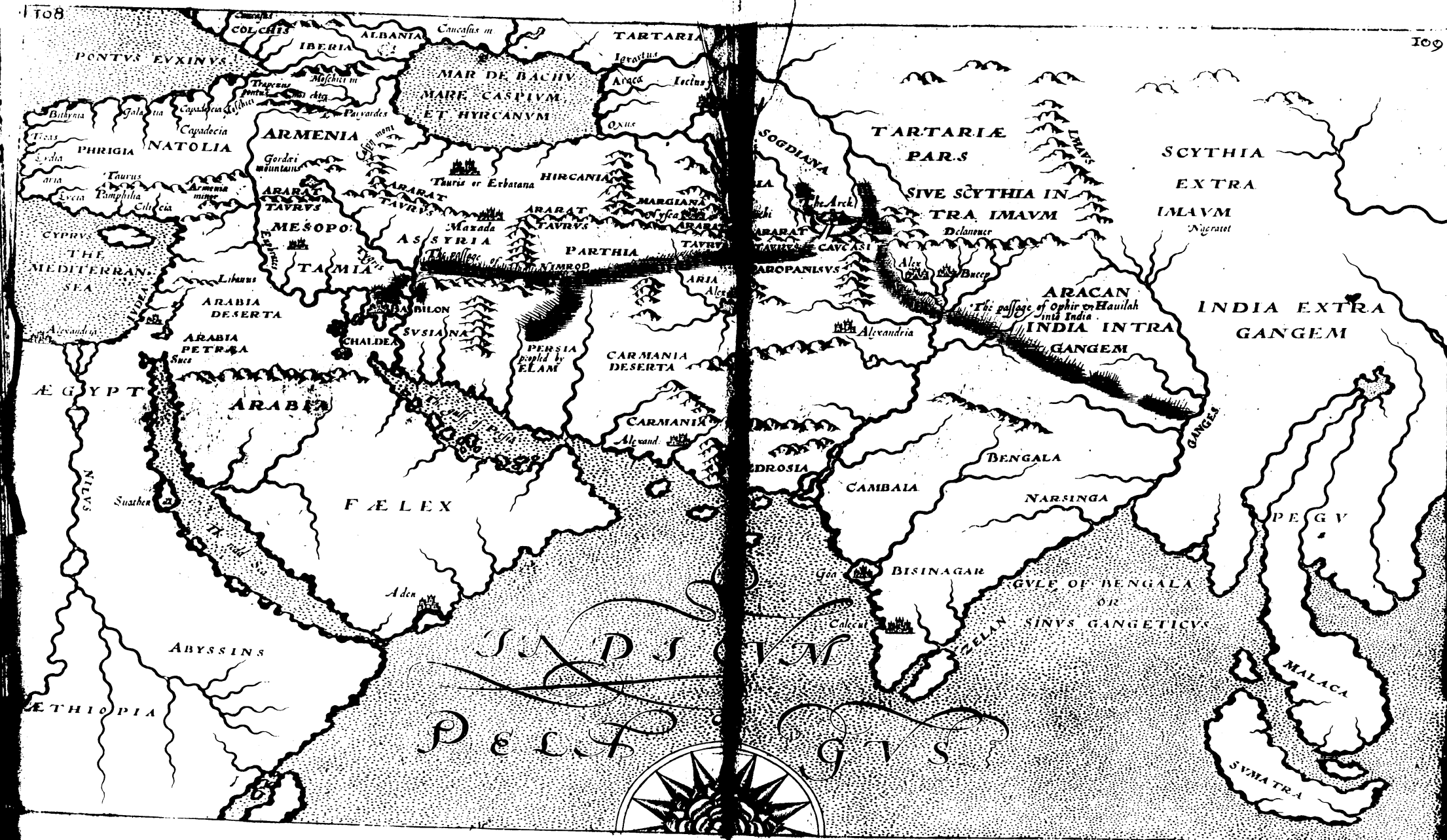
NOW in this part of the World it is, where the Mountaine and Riuer *Imaus*, and the Mountaine *Nysens* (so called of *Bacchus Nysens* or *Noah*) are found: and on these highest Mountaines of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceiue that the *Arke* of *Noah* grounded after the Flood: of all his coniectures the most probable, and by best reason approued. In his *Indo-Scythia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantastickall opinions of this subiect. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth; that as in this part of the world are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same Line, & in 34. 35. & 36. degrees of Septentrionall Latitude, are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *Indea*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*: and vnder these Mountaines *Strabo* affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: & it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Palestina*, where the searchers of the land, by *Moses* directiō, found bunches of equal bignes at *Escol*. The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of these Hills, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana* neere the Mountaines of *Meros* did *Alexander* feast himselfe & his Armie ten daies together, finding the most delicate Wine of all other.

Numb. 13. 24.

†. XV.

The conclusion, with a briefe repeating of diuers chiefe points.

AND therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those Mountaines doe also traueise *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it selfe sometime is knowne by the name



the Valley of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lyeth from *Shinaar* North-west, ninety six degrees from the East; and if *Armenia* had bene but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the Compasse. But *Gregorie* and *Hierome* warne vs, *In scripturis no minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllaba, apices, & puncta in diuina Scriptura plena sunt sensibus; In the Scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for euery speech; syllable, note, or accent, and point in diuine Scriptures are replenished with their meanings.* And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth vs that the children of *Noah* came from the East, we may not belecue Writers (of little authority) who also speake by heare-say and by report, *ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all ad-uenture. But this is infallible true, that *Shinaar* lyeth West from the place where the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the flood; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first ciuill, which had *Noah* him selfe for an Instructor: and directly East from *Shinaar* in the same degree of 35. are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies also which ouer-topped in number those Millions of *Semiramis*, proue, that those parts were first planted. And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficient: for my selfe I build on his wordes who in plain termes hath told vs, that the Sonnes of *Noah* came out of the East into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the *Arke* rest on those Easterne Mountaines, called by one generall name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the Mountaines of *Ararat*, and not on those Mountaines of the North-west, as *Berosus* first fained; whom most part of the Writers haue followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentifull warme East where *Noah* rested, where hee planted the Vine, where hee tilled the ground & liued thereon. *Placuit vero NOACHO agricultura studium; in qua tradenda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eamq. rem sua ipsius lingua ISH-ADAMATH (hoc est) telluris vir appellatur celebratusq. est; The studie of Husbandrie pleased NOAH (saith the excellent learned man ARIAS MONTANVS) in the knowledge & order of which it is said, that NOAH excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his owne language a man exercised in the earth. Which also sheweth, that he was no Wanderer, and that he troubled not himselfe with the contentions, beginning againe in the world, & among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the world, where hee was first deliuered out of the prison of the *Arke*, whereinto God had committed him, to preserue him and mankind.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the Flood; and of the Sonnes of NOAH, SHEM, HAM, and IAPHET, by whom the earth was repeopled.

§. I.

Whether SHEM and HAM were elder than IAPHET.



These Sonnes of *Noah*, which was the eldest, there is a question made. Saint *Augustine* esteemed *Shem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Iaphet* for the yongest: and herein the opinions of Writers are diuers. But this we finde euery where in the Scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was neuer any respect giuen to the eldest in yeres, but in vertue; as by the examples of *Enoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *Danid*, is made manifest. In a few wordes, this is the ground of the controuersie; The *Latine* translation, and so the *Genaua*, hath conuer-
ted this Scripture of *Genesis* the 10. v. 21. in these wordes: *Vnto SHEM also the Father of all the Sonnes of HEBER, and elder brother of IAPHET, were children borne.* But *Iunius*, agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the same wordes in this manner: *To SHEM also the Father of all the Sons of HEBER, and brother of IAPHET the eldest sonne, were children borne:* So the transposition of the word (*elder*) made this difference. For if the word (*elder*) had followed after *Iaphet*, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it bene as plaine for *Iaphet*, as it is by these translations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods blessings are not tyed to first and last, in bloud

bloud, but to the eldest in pietie, yet the arguments are stronger for *Iaphet* than for *Shem*. And where the Scriptures are plainly vnderstood without any danger or incouenience, it seemeth strange why any man of iudgement should make valuation of coniecturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the five hundredth yeere of his life, begate the first of his three Sonnes, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Iaphet*: and in the sixe hundredth yeere (to wit) the hundredth yeere following, came the generall flood; two yeeres after which *Shem* begate *Arphaxad*, which was in the yeere 602. of *Noahs* life, and in the yeere of *Shems* life one hundred: so as *Shem* was but 100. yeeres old, two yeeres after the flood: and *Noah* begat his first borne being 500. yeeres old; & therefore, were *Shem* the elder, he had then beene a hundred yeeres old at the flood, and in the sixe hundredth yeere of *Noahs* life, and not two yeeres after. Which seeing the Scriptures before re-
 10 membred hath denyed him, and that it is also written: *Then Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger sonne had done unto him (to wit) HAM*; of necessitie the first place doth belong to *Iaphet*. This younger sonne, so conuerted by the vulgar and *Genena*, *Iunius* turnes it *filius minimus*; His youngest sonne; but *S. Chrysostome* takes it otherwise, and findes *Cham* to bee the middle or second brother, and *Iaphet* the yongest sonne of all: which *Cham* for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakednesse he derided) was dis-inherited, & lost the preeminencie of his birth, as *Eſau* and *Ruben* did. *Pererius* conceiueth that *Ham* was called the yonger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but auoweth withall, that the *Hebrew* hath not that precise difference of younger and yongest, because it wanteth the comparatiue degree. It is true that *Shem* himselfe was alwaies
 20 named in the first place, yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Iaphet*: in the second Verse *Moses* leaueth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Iaphet* first. So the first place was giuen to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weightie respect, that the *Hebrew* Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *Dauid*, and *Christ* our Sauour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulgar *Pagninus*, and the *Genena*, who agree in this conuersion, *SIEM FRATER IAPHET maior*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Iunius*, and *Tremelius*, *SIEM fratris IAPHET maioris*; or with *Pererius*, *SIEM frater IAPHET ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Iaphet*, let the Reader iudge. But for ought that I haue seene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that *Iaphet*
 30 was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the strength of the former Argument, That *Shems* age at the time of the flood did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures tooke no account of smaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that *SIEM was an hundred yeeres old, & begat ARPHAXAD two yeeres after the flood*; and againe in the 12. Verse: *So SHELA lived after he begat EBAR, foure hundred and three yeeres*, &c. so as the number of two yeeres, of three yeeres, of five yeeres, and afterward of two yeeres, were alwaies precisely accounted.

§. II.

Of diuers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first plantings of the world; as that all Histories must yeelde to *MOSES*: that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that knowne great Lords of the first ages were of the Issue of *HAM*.

BUt let vs go vnto the Worlds plantation after the flood, which being rightly vnderstood, we shall find that many Nations haue supposed or fayned themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which neuer saw or approached the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plaine in the Scriptures how the sonnes and issues of
 40 *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receiue allowance herein, the same must bee with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so farre as the storie of Nations is therein handled, we must know, that both the truth and antiquitie of the bookes of God finde no companions equall, either in age or authoritie. All record, memorie, and testimonie of antiquitie whatsoeuer, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath
 beene

beene borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all carefull obseruers of time haue noted: among which thus writeth *Eusebius* in the Proeme of his Chronologie: *MOSES is found more ancient than all those whom the Grecians make most ancient, as HOMER, HESIOD, and the Traian warre, and farre before HERCVLES, MVSÆVS, LINVS, CHIRON, ORPHEVS, CASTOR, POLLVS, ASCVLAPIVS, BACCHVS, MERCVRIVS, and APOLLO, and the rest of the gods of the nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of IVPITER, whom the Greekes banquished in the top and highest Turret of their Dininitie.*

For of the three *Iupiters* remembered by *Cicero*, the ancientest was the sonne of *Ether* *Cicero de Nat. Deorum*, 1. 3. whose three sonnes begotten on *Proserpina*, were borne at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the first King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: *Eduxit MOSES populum Dei ex Egypto nouissimo tempore CECROPIS Atheniensis Regis*; *MOSES brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the last dayes of CECROPS, King of the Athenians*, saith *S. Augustine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of the Citie it self, but *Theseus* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diuersly
 10 prooued, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut a sunder the purpose in hand, by alleaging many authorities in a needlesse question, but leaue it to the proper place.

30	The Sonnes of IAPHET were,	{ <i>Gomer,</i> <i>Magog,</i> <i>Madai,</i> <i>Javan,</i> <i>Tubal,</i> <i>Mesbach,</i> and <i>Tiras.</i>	The Sonnes of GOMER were,	{ <i>Askenaz,</i> <i>Ripbath,</i> <i>Tagorma.</i>
			The Sonnes of IAVAN were	{ <i>Eliſa,</i> <i>Tarſhis,</i> <i>Kittim,</i> and <i>Dodanims.</i>

First, we are to consider, that the world after the Flood not planted by imagination, neither had the children of *Noah* wings to flie from *Shinaar*, to the uttermost border of
 30 *Europe*, *Africa* and *Asia* in haste, but that these children were directed by a wise Father, who knew those parts of the world before the Flood, to which he disposed his children after it, and sent them not as Discoverers, or at all-adventure, but assigned & allotted to euery Sonne and their issues, their proper parts. And not to harken to fabulous Authors, who haue no other end than to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Augustus* in the fiction of *Æneis*) or else to glorifie their owne Nations; Let vs build heerein vpon the Scriptures themselves, and after them vpon Reason and Nature. First therefore wee must call to minde and consider, what manner of face the earth euery-where had in the
 40 130. yeere after the great inundation, and by comparing those fruitfull Vallies, with our own barren and cold ground, informe our selues thereby, what wonderfull Desarts what impassable fastnesse of woods, reeds, bryars, and rotten grasse, what Lakes and standing Pooles, and what Marishes, Fens, and Bogs, all the face of the earth (excepting the Mountaines) was pestered withall. For if in this our Climate (where the dead and destroying Winter depresseth all vegetatiue and growing Nature, for one halfe of the yeere in effect) yet in twenty or thirty yeeres, these our grounds would not all ouergrow and be couered (according to the nature therof either with Woods, or with other offensive Thickets and Bushments: much more did all sorts of Plants, Reedes, and Trees, prosper in the most fruitfull Vallies, and in the Climate of a long and warme Summer, and hauing withall the start of 130. yeeres, to raise themselves without controulment.

This being considered, it will appeare, that all these people which came into *Shinaar*,
 50 and ouer whom *Nimrod* either by order or strength tooke the Dominion, did after the confusion of Languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mighty People, disperse themselves into the Regions adioyning to the said Vallie of *Shinaar*, which contained the best part of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*, and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: some of them towards the South, others towards the West and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both East and West from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Palestina*, which the *Canaanites* first posselt; yet could he not enjoy the lot of his inheritance on the suddaine, but by time and degrees. For wee finde, that *Abraham*, the true successour of *Shem*, dwelt in
 K x *Chaldea*

Chaldea at *Vr*; and from thence (called by God) hee rested at *Charran* in *Mesopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare* hee travailed to *Sichem* in *Palestina*: and yet there had passed betwene *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themselues) seven Descents, before *Abraham* moued out of *Chaldea*; where, and in *Babylonia*, all those people by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many yeeres, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Assyria*, and founded *Ninewe*. Indeed the great Masters of Nations (as farre as wee can know) were, in that Age of the Issues of *Ham*; the blessing of God giuen by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Iaphet* taking lesse effect, vntill diuers yeeres were consumed; and vntill the time arriued, which by the wisdom of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, for many Descents together.

§. III.

Of the Iles of the Gentiles in *IAPHETS* portion: of *BEROSVS* his too speedie seating *GOMER* the sonne of *IAPHET* in *Italie*; and another of *IAPHETS* sonnes *TUBAL* in *Spaine*: and of the Antiquitie of Longinque Navigation.

TO beginne therefore (where *Moses* beginneth) with the sonnes of *Iapheth*, among whom the Iles of the Gentiles were diuided: which diuision, as well to *Iaphets* sonnes as to the rest which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the diuision were made at *Phaleg* birth) in the yeere of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the yeares after the Flood one hundred and one, of which question elswhere.

The habitations proper to the sonnes of *Iaphet* were the Iles of the Gentiles, which include all *Europe* with all the Ilands adioyning; and compassing it about: *Europe* being also taken for an Iland, both in respect that the Sea *Hellefont* and *Egeum*, *Bosphorus* and *Euxinus* cut is off from the great Continent of *Asia*, as also because *Europe* it selfe is (in effect) surrounded with water, sauing that it is fastned to *Asia* by the North, for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the *Mediterran* to the South and South-west, the Ocean to the West, and *Brittish*, *Germane*, and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciale* to the North North-east, and North-west. Besides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or Iles lying betwene *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*, and the Iles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Crete*, or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Iles of *Brittanic* and *Zealand*, with their young ones adiacent.

This partition and portion of *Iapheth*, with the part which hee held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of God by *Noah*, *Dilates Deus IAPHETH*; Let God spread abroad (or increase the Posteritie of) *IAPHETH*, and let him dwell in the Tents of *Shem*. For though *Iunius* heere vseth the word (*alliciat*) and not *dilates*: and the *Genua* persuaides; yet the *Septuagint* haue *dilates* or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing giuen to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his Seede for euer. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the Posteritie of *Iapheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they should bee made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Iaphets* sonnes, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may beleue *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authoritie the greatest number of all our late Writers haue followed) did in the tenth yeere of *Nimrods* Reigne depart from *Babylonia*, and planted *Italie*: which also *Funclius* confirmeth in these words, *Anno decimo NIMRODI, &c. In the tenth yeere of NIMRODS Reigne, GOMERVS GALLVS planted a Colonie in that Land afterward called Italie: and in the twelfth yeere of the same NIMRODS Reigne TUBAL seated himselfe in Austuria in Spaine (now called Biscay) which was in the 140. and 10 in the 142. yeeres after the Flood, according to BEROSVS.* But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of Tongues the children of *Noah* did not separate themselues, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let vs therefore consider with reason, what time the building such a Citie and Towre required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any readie meanes to performe such a worke as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Funclius* himselfe out of his Author *Berosus* witnesseth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium; To the height and magnitude of the Mountaines.* Sure that both this Citie and Towre was almost builded, the Scriptures witnesse: But the

The Lord came downe to see the Citie and Towre, which the Sonnes of men builded. Let vs then but allot a time sufficient for the making of Bricke to such a Worke, of the greatest height (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that euer was. For where the vniuersall Flood couered the highest Mountaines fiftene Cubits; Let vs build vs a Citie and a Towre (saith *NIMROD*) whose top may reach vnto the Heauen: meaning, that they would raise their Work about fiftene Cubits higher than the highest Mountaine, otherwise they could not assure themselues from the feare of a second inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the Worke. They also began this building vpon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which these waters, forcibly ouer-bearing and ouer-flowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest, approued also by the Prophet *Hieremie*, speaking of *Babylon* in these words: *Thou that dwellest vpon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantiall foundation, for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which, *Glyca* vpon *Genesis* giueth fortie yeeres. For it seemeth, that the Tower was neere finished when God ouerthrew it: it being afterward written, so the Lord scattered them from thence vpon all the Earth, and they left to build the Citie. Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Towre is not then named) that they very neere had performed the Work of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the Citie adioyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted, that till such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the Towre was throwne down) these Nations did not disperse themselues: for from thence the Lord scattered them vpon all the Earth, (that was) when they perceiued not one anothers speech. Now to thinke that this Worke in the newnesse of the Word (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeeres; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same yeere could creepe through 3000. miles of Desert, with Women, Children, and Cattell: let those light Beleeuers, that neyther tyethemselues to the Scripture, nor to reason, approue it, for I doe not. And if the *Arke* of *Noah* was 100. yeeres in building, or but neere such a time, (and then) when the World had stood 1556. yeeres, it were more than foolishnesse and madnesse it selfe, to thinke that such a Worke as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Flood to the arriual at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. yeeres, and whereof they had spent some part in trauailing from the East. Again, if all *Asia* set to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that Work 400. yeeres (or be it but halfe that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourished in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plentie of materials & carriages: This Worke of the Tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those few yeeres remembered. And for conclusion, let all men of iudgement weigh with themselues how impossible it was for a nation or Family of men, with their Wines, and Children, and Cattell, to trauaile 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and 40 Desarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find it rather a Worke of 100. yeeres than of 100. dayes. For in the West Indies, of which the *Spaniards* haue the experience, in those places where they found neither Path nor Guide, they haue not entred the Countrey ten miles in ten yeeres. And if *Nimrods* people spent many yeeres by the account before remembered in passing from the East India or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. Degrees of Longitude, vntill they came into *Shinaar* which lyeth in 79. Degrees (the distance betwene those places contayning 36. Degrees, which makes 7.0. Leagues, which is 2160. miles) & did all the way keep the Mountaines and hard ground; then the difference betwene *Babylon* and *Biscay* is much more: for the bodie of *Biscay* lyeth in ten Degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinaar*, (as aforesaid) in 79. so the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Austuria* or *Biscay* is 69. Degrees, which make 1380. Leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* tooke diuers yeeres to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160. miles; or (supposing that the *Arke* rested in *Armenia*) little about 400. miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many yeeres to *Gomer* & *Tubal* to trauaile 3000. miles, to Countreys lesse known vnto them by far, than the Land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradise* was knowne to *Noah* before the Flood: and so was the Region of *Eden* by *Moses* afterward remembered; but what hee vnderstood of most part of the World else it is unknowne. And therefore did *Annius* ill aduise himself to plant *Gomer* in *Italie*, and *Tubal* in *Spaine*, in the tenth & twelfth of *Nim-*

15a.65.v.8.

reads Reigne: Shall the Earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a Nation be borne at once? But it may be objected, That the Sonnes of Iapheth might come by Sea, and so saue this great trauaile through Desarts by Land. But we neuer reade of any Nauigation in those dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarke so great a people as we may iustly suppose those Conductors carryed with them, will not easily beleue that there were any Vessels in those dayes to transport Armies, and (withall) their Cartell, by whose Milke they liued and fed their Children: For Milke and Fruit were the banquetting Dishes of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldest times, euen the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themselves by the Heardes and numbers of their Cattell: who had Flockes of Sheepe, and great Droues and Heardes of their own, and their own 10 Sheep-heardes and Heardsmen. Now if Tubal had past by Sea from any part of Palestina, Syria, or Cilicia, he might haue made good choice within the Streights, and not haue ouer gone Granado, Valentia, and other Prouinces in that Tract: past the Streights of Gibraltar, disdayned all Andalusia and Portugal, with all those goodly Ports and Countries; and haue sought out the yron, woody, and barren Countrey of the World (called Biscay) by a long and dangerous Nauigation. But before the journey of the Argonauta, there were scarce any Vessels that durst crosse the Seas in that part of the world: and yet that which Iason had (if the Tale be true) was but a Galley, & a poore one (God knows) and perchance such as they vse this day in Ireland: which although it carryed but foure and fiftie Passengers, yet it was farre greater than any of the former times: 20 *Erat enim antea paruum in nauicularum usus: For in former times they used very small vessels.* I deny not but that the Tyrians gaue themselves of old to farre-off Nauigations, whence Tibullus ascribed the inuention of Ships vnto them:

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros.

Tyrus knew first how Ships might vse the Wind.

Diod. Sicul. l. 4. c. 4. fol. 115.

And for those Boates called *longa naves* or Gallies, Pliny saith that *Agesias* ascribeth the deuice to *Paralus*: and *philostephanus* to *Iason*: *Ctesias* to *Samyras*; and *Sapbanus* to *Semiramis*: *Archimachus* to *Aegron*: to which inuention the *Erythrai* are said to haue added 30 certaine numbers of Oares: and then *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* to haue increased them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to haue brought them to foure Bankes: the *Quinq. Remi* first to haue bene vse by *Nesichthon* the *Salaminian*, with which Vessels in those parts of the World, the *Romans* serued themselves in the *Punicke Warre*. But these bee perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the deuiling of these Gallies on *Sesofiris*, though *Semiramis* vsed them in the passage of her Armie ouer *Indus* in *Abrahams* time. So it is said, that *Danaus* was the first that brought a Ship into *Greece*: and yet the *Samothebracians* challenge the inuention; and yet *Tertulian* (on the contrarie) giues it to *Minerva*: others to *Neptune*; *Thucydides* to the *Corinthians*. And so ignorant were the people of those Ages, as the *Egyptians* vsed to 40 coast the Shores of the Red Sea vpon raffles, deuised by King *Erythrus*: and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Brittans* had a kind of Boat (with which they crosse the Seas) made of sin ill twigs, and couered ouer with Leather: of which kind I haue seene at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elsewhere. *Naves excorior circumfusa in Oceano Britannico* (saith) *Textor*: of which *Lucan* the Poet:

*Primum cana salix, made facto vimine, parua
Texitur in puppim, casq. indusa iuuenco,
Velloris patiens tumidum superciliat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusq. Britanni
Nauigat Oceano.*

The moystned Osyer of the hoarie Willow
Is wouen first into a little Boar:
Then cloth'd in Bullockes Hide, vpon the billow
Of a proud Riuer, lightly doth it float
Vnder the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of ouer-swelling Poe
Sailes the *Venetian*: and the *Britaine* fo
On th' out-spread Ocean.

And

And although it cannot be denied, when *Noah* by Gods inspiration was instructed in so many particulars concerning the *Arke*, that then many things concerning Nauigation were first reuealed, yet it appeares that there was much difference between the *Arke* of *Noah*, and such Ships as were for any long Nauigation. Yea, ancient Stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume vpon any long Voyages to Sea, at least with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattell: as also common reason can tell vs, that euen now when this Art is come to her perfection, such Voyages are very troublesome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that Age of *Nimrod* any Ship, or vse of Ships fit for any long Nauigation. For if *Gomer* & *Tubal* 10 had passed themselves and their people by Sea, the exercise of Nauigation would not haue bene dead for so many hundred yeares after. Leauing therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men else to their fancies, who haue cast Nations into Countries far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moses* and the Prophets: to which Truth there is ioynd both Nature, Reason, Policie, and Necessitie: and to the rest, neither probabilitie, nor possibilitie.

§. IIII.

Of GOG and MAGOG, TVBAL, and MESHECH, seated first about Asia the lesse; out of EZECHIEL, CAP. 38. 39.

20

NOW although many Learned and Reuerend men haue formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which also hath been and is receiued; yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, *Arias Montanus* was also in some things much mistaken: and for *Iosephus*, as hee hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errors withall, so was hee in this Plantation of the World very grosse and fabulous; whereby both *Ensebius*, *Iherosolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that haue taken his testimonies for currant, haue bene by him farre misse-led. But the better 30 to conceiue what Regions of the World *Gomer* the first sonne of *Iaphet* posselt, as also *Tubal*, it is needefull to begin with *Magog*: because the Scriptures take most knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*: which two names haue troubled many Commentators, saith *Matth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that euer I read) I find most iudicious in the examination of this Plantation. Hee takes authoritie from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapters directeth vs, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was Prince or Chiefe Conductor in their Attempts against *Israel*. For besides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-east parts of the greater *Asia*, which *Iapheths* Issues posselt, all *Asia* the lesse was peopled by them. And that those of the Issue 40 of *Iapheth* (whom *Ezechiel* speakes of) were seated hereabout, it may best appeare, if we consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependencie vpon the former Prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, *Ezechiel* prophesieth of the vnitng of the two Kingdomes of *Israel* and *Iuda*, after their deliuerie from captiuitie. c. 37. v. 19.

By which Prophecie of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to giue life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpose it is written; And *DAVID* my Seruant shall bee King ouer them, and they shall haue one Sheeheard, (that is) they shall be vnited as they were in *Davids* time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter *Ezechiel* prophesieth against those Nations, which should seeke to impeach this Vnion, and disturbe the people of *Israel*, whom God purposed to receiue to grace, 50 and promised to restore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infested the *Israelites* after their returne, and sought to subiect them: all which were the Subiects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cassiterians*, next bordering *Palestina*, or the holy Land, followed also by the rest of the Nations of *Asia* the lesse, which lay North from *Iudaea*. The words of *Ezechiel* are these: Sonne of man, set thy face against *GOG*, and against the Land of *MAGOG*, the chiefe Princes of *MESECH* (or *MOSUCH*) and *TVBAL*: and afterward, Behold, I come against the chiefe Prince of *MESECH* and *TVBAL*: and in the sixth verse; *GOMER* and all his Bands, and the House of *Togorma* of the North quarters. Herein *Ezechiel* hauing first deliuered c. 38. v. 2.

in Reg.

L. de Fide.

Strab. l. 13.

Suid. col. 107.

Iun. in Ex. c. 6.
88.

Strab. l. 16.

the purpose of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were, that should in vanitie assaile *Israel*. He ioyneth them together vnder their Prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Juda*, and how seated and ioyned together. *Gog* signifieth in the Hebrew saith Saint *Hierome*) tellum or covering of a house: and *Pintus* upon *Ezech* affirmeth that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for (saith hee) *Antichristus est Diaboli tegumentum sub specie humana: That Antichrist shall be the covering of the Devil under humane forme*. He addeth, that *Magog* is as much as to say as *Gog*: the Letter (*M*) being an Hebrew Preposition, and importeth as much as of or from: so hee taketh *Magog* for those people which follow *Antichrist*. So farre *Pintus*; at least in this not amisse, that he expoundeth *Magog*; not for any one person, but for a Nation; with which agreeeth this observation of *Beroaldus*. *Magog* (saith he) in Hebrew is written *Ham-Magog*, which sheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter (*H*) which is vsed but for an Emphasis (which the Hebrewes call *Hetia-cia*) is neuer added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Magog*, or according to others, the people of *Gog*) also Prince of *Misshch*, (or *Mosoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first Verse of the 29. Chapter is made manifest: Behold I come against thee *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *MESHECH* and *TUBAL*. This must needs bee meant by the Successours of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) seeke to make the *Jewes* their Tributaries only, but endeuoured by all means, and by all kind of violence to extinguish the Religion it selfe (which the Hebrewes protest) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worship and serue the mortall and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remayned but the very name, and dead Images. Saint *Ambrose* and *Isidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: be like because they invaded *Europe*, and sacked *Rome*, and many other places and Cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* deriues the *Turke* from the *Scythians*, esteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: others of a Region: others for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as *Iunius*, who sayes that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the *Greekes* Stories call *Gyges*: who in former time hauing slaine *Candaules the Lydian*, gaue his owne name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygides*; and thereof also the *Gygean Lake*; which Lake *Strabo* also findeth in *Lydia*, (of which *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis*. *Plinie* calleth it *Gygeum stagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Alexander* set it about the Riuer of *Hyllus*, and *Menander*; but the difference is not great. *Atarius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who after hee had subdued the Countrey about the Riuer *Rhodium* which runneth into the *Hellespont*, called the Promontorie *Tratse* after his owne name *Gyges*. These Opinions doe also seeme to strengthen that of *Iunius*. For *Magog*, saith hee, is that part of *Asia* the lesse, which *Halyattes* obtained, and after him his Sonne *Crasus*; who (as *Iunius* further notes) hauing mastered all those Regions as farre South as *Libanus*, in that Border built the Citie *Gipanta* or *Gogkanta* (which in the Syrian signifieth the Citie of *Gog*) seated in *Calefryia*, whose people were the ancient Enemies of the *Jewes*.

Now that *Magog* is found in *Calefryia*, *Plinie* affirmeth, saying; *Calefryia habet Bambycen que alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris vero Magog*. *Calefryia* hath in it *Bambyce*, which by another name is called *Hierapolis*, but of the Syrians *Magog*. Hee further telleth vs that the monstrous Idoll *Atergatis*, called by the *Greekes* *Derceto*, was here worshipped. *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying that the Citie had anciently another name, which yett hee expresseth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as founding nothing elegantly in the *Greeke*. But if we may beleue *Strabo*, then was *Edessa* in *Mesopotania* the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same Idoll was worshipped. *Ortelius* is doubtfull whether one of these Authors did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough bee that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palestina*, and were both subiect vnto the Kings of the Race of *Seleucus*. Now I doe not condemne the Opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Iosephus*, but grant, that perhaps *Magog* might also bee the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the Prince of *Magog*, the Nations of *Calefryia* and the North parts adioyning bee meant by *Magog*: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might bee propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to be denyed, that the *Scythians*

in

in old times coming out of the North, east wasted the better part of *Asia* the lesse, and posselt *Calefryia*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the Syrians call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog* *Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plaine: for this Citie *Hierapolis* or *Magog* standeth due North from *Iudea*, according to the words of *Ezechiel*, that from the North quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the *Israelites* were the *Ptolomies*, Kings of *Egypt*: so those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the Successours of *Seleucus*, the Successour of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrim* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Kages*, mentioned in the Storie of *Tobias*. *Plinie* takes it not onely to haue bene called *Bambyce*, as

Lib. 4. cap. de bell. Sacro.

we haue said, but also *Edessa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the same name; now the known name is *Alleppo*: for so *Belonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This Citie had the Title of Sacred, as the Sacred Citie, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatry, and wherein was worshipped the Idoll of the Mermayde *Atergatis*, or *Atergitis*, according to *Plinie*, which the *Greekes* call *Derceto*. If then we confere the words of *Ezechiel* in the third verse of the thirtie eight Chapter, wherein he ioyneth together *Gog Mesech*, and *Tubal*: and withall remember that *Hierapolis* was the Citie of *Magog*, which also is seated directly North from *Iudea*: with whom also *Ezechiel* completh *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; wee may (as I conceiue) safely conclude, that these Followers and Vassals of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in respect of *Iudea*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a people of the lesser *Asia*, and *Calefryia*: and therefore that the opinions of *Berosus*, *Iosephus*, and whosoeuer else hath followed them therein are to be rectified. But if *Iosephus* referre himselfe to later times, and thinke that some Colonie of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Asia* passe into *Spain* (to wit) from that piece of Land betweene *Colebis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*, (most part posselt by the *Georgians*) then is his iudgement of better allowance. For without any repugnancie of opinions, it may be granted, that in proceesse of time these people might from their first habitation, passe into the Countreies nere the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after Ages into *Spain*.

Iosephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, saying, that they were anciently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence (saith *Iustine*) they passed into *Spain* to search out the Mines of that Region: hauing belike vnderstood that it was a Southerly Countrey and Mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes* liued altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in these following Verses, telling how the *Argonautes* did visit them;

*Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis:
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant:*

The *Chalybes* plough not their barren soyle
But vndermine high Hills for Iron Veines:
Changing the purchase of their endlesse toyle
For Marchandize, which their poore liues sustaines.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was first peopled by the *Africans*, who had euer since an affection to returne thither, & to repeople it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were easily drawne to passe ouer the Streights into that Countrey; and after by the *Moor*s who held *Granado*, and the South parts eight hundred yeeres, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. And either of these opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth yeere of *Nimrods* Reigne, *Tubal* past into *Spain*, and therein built Saint *Fual*: a poore Towne, and a poore deuice, God knowes. Certaine it is that we must finde *Mosoch* or *Mesech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togarma* not farre off, or else we shall wrong *Ezechiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Mesech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togarma* their Assitants. And that *Mesech* inhabited *Asia*, *Funclius* (though he followed *Berosus*) confesseth, for these bee his words: *MESACVS, qui à MOSE MESECH, priscos Mesios ab Adula monte vsq; ad Ponticam regionem passus: hæc regio postea Cappadocia dicta est, in qua vrbs Mazica, &c. hæc est terra MAGOG principalis; MESACVS, whom MOSES calleth MESECH, placed the ancient Mesians*

Mesians from the Mount Adulas, unto the Coast of Pontus. This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Maxica, &c. this is the principall Countrey of MAGOG. And this doth *Annius* also auow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Mesich* and *Tubal*: and therefore, that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spain* lying directly West, and not North from *Iudea*. Also *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophesieth of the destruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Mesich* and *Tubal* ioynly. And for a finall prooffe, that these Nations were of a Northern Neighbour Land (how farre foeuer stretched) *Ezechiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horsemen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon Horses, euen a great multitude and a mightie.* Then if any man belecue that these troupes came out of *Spain*, *ouer the Pyrenes*, and first passed ouer a part of *France, Italie, Hungarie, and Sarmatia*, and imbarqued againe about the *Hellepont*, or else compassed all *Pontus*, and *Eufratus*, to come into the lesser *Asia*, which is halfe the length or compasse of the then knowne World; he may be called a strong beleueer, but he shall neuer be iustified thereby. But on the contrarie it is knowne, that *Seleucus* v. as a Prouince neighbouring *Palestina* or *Iudea*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magog*) ioyned vnto it: whose Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Asa* the lesse, (namely the *Selencida*) and held it, till *Scipio, Asiaticus* ouerthrew *Antiochus* the Great: after which they yet possesse *Syria* till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Mesich* be in *Cappadocia*, or vnder *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the same Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be said. First, he seated himselfe with *Togorma*, not farre from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward hee proceeded further into *Asia* the lesse; and in long tract of time his valiant Issue filled all *Germanie*, rested long in *France* and *Britannie*, and possessed the vtmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as *Melancthon* well notes) the signification of their parents name, which is *Vtmost bordering*. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their swelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they returne vpon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy restorer of our Antiquities, *M. William Camden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth signifie Robbers; necessitie enforcing them to spoyle their Neighbours, to whom in their originall they were as neere ioyned, as afterwards in the feates which they possessed. For that the Warlike nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accustomed to be beaten by the *Gaules*, the authoritie of *Cesar* affirming it is prooffe sufficient. But in times following they pursued richer Conquests, and more easie though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprizes not here to be spoken of) they were drawne at length into *Asia* the lesse, and occupied those parts, which had formerly bene held by their Progenitours. I say not that they clayned those Lands as theirs by Descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne Pedigree. Neyther can any man therefore deny, that they were of olde seated in *Asia*, because in late Ages they returned thither; vnlesse hee will thinke, that all those Nations which from farre parts haue invaded and conquered the Land of *Shinaar*, may by that Argument bee proued not to haue issued from thence at the first.

Now concerning *Samothes*, for his excellent wisdom firnamed *Diu*, whom *Annius* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which Brother *Moses* neuer heard of, who spake his knowledge of *Iapheths* sonnes) they must find him in some olde Poet: for *Furcius*, a great *Berosian*, confesseth: *Quis hic SAMOTHEs fuerit incertum est; quothu SAMOTHEs uia, it is uncertaine*; neither is there any prooffe that he was that same *Diu*, whom *Cesar* saith the *Gaules* suppose to bee their Ancestor; yea, and *Vignius* confesseth with *FUNCTIONIS*: *Mais on ne sçayt qu'il estoit; No man knowes who he was.*

§. V.

Against the fabulous *BEROSVS* his fiction, That the Italian *IANVS* was *NOAH*.

BVt before I goe on with *Noah* his Sonnes, I thinke it necessarie to disproue the fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himselfe: an inuention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as hee hath wrested) by those Authours of whom him-

himselfe hath Commented: as the Fragment of *Berosus*, *Fabius, Piclor, Cato, Lanius* and others. For *Annius* seekes to perswade vs, that *Noah* (surnamed *Ianus*) was the same which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italie*, wherein he liued 92. yeeres. This to disproue, by *Moses* silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disproue it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Babel, Erce, Achad, Chalde* and *Ninue* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great marke to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. yeeres. But it were a needlesse labour for me to disproue the authoritie of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, seeing so many learned men haue so demonstratiuely proued that Fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *Assyrian* in his Oration against the *Greekes*, auoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote onely three Bookes, dedicated to *Antiochus* the successor of *Seleucus Nicator*: but *Annius* hath deuised fise Bookes, wherewith he honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled onely the estate of the *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this Fragment with the businesse of all the World. And if wee may beleue *Eufrius* better than *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *Latines* (before *Aeneas*) consumed but 150. yeeres: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Aeneas* aduiall into *Italy* there past 1126. (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Ianus* (who was the first of their Kings) liued at once with *Ruth*, who marryed *Booz*, in the Worlds yeare (as some reckon) 2717. after the Flood 1064. and *Noah* dyed 350. yeeres after the Flood: and so there past betwene *Ianus* of *Italie* and *Noah* surnamed *Ianus* 704. yeeres. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Ianus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Fannus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Fannus*: which *Latinus* liued at once with *Tantanes* the 27. King of *Assyria*; with *Pelassus* of *Peloponnesus*; with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampson* Iudge of *Israel*. Now all these fise Kings of the *Latines* hauing consumed but one hundred and fiftie yeeres; and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fiftie yeeres, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Ianus* liued.

True it is, that the *Greekes* had their *Ianus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they *Iou* the sonne of *Xuthus*, the sonne of *Dencalion*, from whom they draw the *Tones*, who were indeed the children of *Iauan*, the fourth sonne of *Iapheth*. For the vulgar Translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Iauan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint, i. Hellas*; which is the same. So had they *Medus* the son of *Madea*, whom they make the Parent of the *Medes*, though they were descended of a far more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third sonne of *Iapheth*.

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the *Brittish* Language hath remayned among vs about 2000. yeeres, and the *English* speech euer since the inuasion of the *Angles*, and the same continuance haue all Nations obserued among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore, it is strange if either *Noah* (by them called *Ianus*) had left in *Italie* his grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spain*, that no plaine resemblance of the *Hebrew, Syrian, or Scythian* (which no time could haue quite extinguished) should haue bene found in the Languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personall Plantations of *Ianus, Gomer, Tubal, &c.* in *Italie, Spain*, or *France*, are meerey fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselves with the *Gracian Ianus*, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceeded the fall of *Troy* but 150. yeeres (saith *Eusebius*) which was in the time of *Latinus*, the fift King: which also *Saint Augustine* and *Iustine* confirme: and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibilitie. And if this be not sufficient to disproue this vanitie, I may out of themselves adde thus much: That whereas some of them make *Vesta* (others *Camafena*) the wife of this *Ianus*, who instituted the holy Fire of the *Vestal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Ianus* all their Idolatrous and Heathenish Ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to beleue that *Noah* himselfe (who is said by *Moses* to haue walked with God, to be a iust man, and whom God of all Mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and vngratefull, to set vp or deuise any Heathen, Saluage, or Idolatrous adoration, or haue instituted any Ceremony, contrarieto that which he knew best pleasing to God himselfe.

§. VI.

That GOMER also and his sonne TOGORMA of the Posteritie of IAPHETH, were first seated about Asia the lesse: and that from thence they spread westward into Europe, and Northward into Sarmatia.

TO turne now to the sons of Noah, and the Worlds Plantation after the Flood: therein I obserue, that as both reason and necessitie taught them; so, when they multiplied in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next Countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such a manner as that they might repaire to each other, and keepe intelligence by River: because the Land was yet Desart, and ouer-prest with Woods, Reeds, Bogs, & rotten Marishes. As when Nimrod seated in *Babylonia*, Chus took the South part of *Chaldea*, down the riuer of *Gehon*, by which he might passe to & fro from *Babylon* to his own Plantation: those also, which were of the Race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur* or *Orechos* neere the Lakes of *Chaldea*, might by the same riuer get vnto *Babylon*, and receiue succour from thence. All which Tract of Land vpon *Gehon* Southward, *Moses* in the description of *Paradise* calleth the Land of *Chus*: because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Chusite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and stayed not in the East) were for a while oppressed, till God afterward by the seed of *Abraham* made them his owne Nation and victorious. *Hanilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and sonne of *Cush*, tooke both banks of *Tygris*, especially on the East side of the Riuer: by which Riuer his people might also passe to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperiall seate of which Region of *Hanilah* or *Susian*, was anciently called *Chus* or *Chusan*, afterward *Susa*. *Cush* himself tooke the Bankes of *Gehon*, and planted those Countries Westward, and Southwestward towards *Arabia* the Stony, and the Desart, where *Ptoleme* placeth the Citie of *Chusidia*, first *Chusia*.

Seba, and *Sheba*, with the rest that planted *Arabia felix*, had *Tygris* to conuey them into the *persian gulf*, which washeth the bankes of *Arabia felix* on the East side: so as those sons of *Cush* might take Land downe the Riuer as they pleased. Also the Citie of *Nineue* was by *Nimrod* founded on the said Riuer of *Tygris*; and from thence a Colony past to *Charran*, standing also vpon a nauigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Iapheths* sonnes settle themselves together, and tooke their seates in *Asia* the lesse: from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the Isles of the *Gentiles*. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, sate downe first of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Palestina* and *Phenicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his children past on into *Asia* the lesse, as those of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* spread themselves into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatia*. The first *Gomerians*, and first Planters in *Asia* the lesse, held the Country of the *Cimmerians* (witnesseth *Herodotus*) the same Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-Greeks* called *Galatia*, to whom *Saint Paul* wrote his Epistle so intituled. This Nation of the *Cimmerians* (whom the inuincible *Scythians* afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first Plantations) gaue names to diuers places, as to the Mountaines about *Albania* (called *Cimmerini*) and to the Citie of *Cimmeris* in *Phrygia*: also *Bosphorus Cimmerius* tooke appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was also a Citie of that name, called *Cimmerian*: which *Plinie* saith (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of *Cerberion*, but *Cerberion* was a Towne in *Campania*, so called of the vnhealthfull waters, fauouring of Brimstone, which *Augustus* caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the Lake *Lucrinus*.

The children of *Tubal* ranged as farre as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moschici* were Neighbours, which others write *Meshech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*. For these *Meschi* (which *Ptoleme* calleth *Moschi*) inhabit *Syria* a Province of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountaines *Moschici*, in the Valley betweene the Mountaines *Moschici*, and the Mountaines *Paryarides*: out of whose North part springeth the Riuer *Phasis*; from the East part *Araxis*; and from the West *Euphrates*; and of this *Meshech* are descended also the *Mosconians* (saith *Melanchton*) and it may bee, that in proceesse of time some of them inhabited those Regions also: For *Meshech* (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth *extending*, *enlarging* or *stretching forth*.

forth. *Togorma* also at first did inhabite amongst his parents and kinred. The *Togormians* were also called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchie* of *Phenicia*, the same which *Plinie* calleth *Gaben*: from whence *Salomon* had his most excellent *Masons*, which hewed stones for the Temple of *Hierusalem*. Thence the *Togormians* stretched into the lesse *Armenia*, whose Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokarte*: of which Cities *Tigranes*, subdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hierosolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*, forgetting the prophesie of *Ezekiel* against the *Tyrians*. They of the house of *Togorma*, brought so thy *Faires horses*, and horse-men, and mules, which could not well bee driuen ouer the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But *Iosephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I doe not deny, but they might be in the ensuing ages: and so might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred yeares after the twelfth of *Nimrods* reigne. The *Iewes* conceiue that the *Turkes* came of those *Togormians*, because their Emperor is called *Togor*. The *Chaldeans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Laonicus* affirmes, that the *Turkes* descended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Musconia*. But for these subderiuations it were infinit to examine them. Only of the first and second plantation, and of the first Nations after the flood, is the matter which I labour to discouer; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we must Note, that those grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of lesse vnderstanding, & had not therefore the leading of Colonies sent out, their proper habitations could bee hardly knowne: onely reason hath taught vs, that they dwelt among the rest, and were couered with the fame of others, who tooke on them the Conduction and Dominion ouer the rest.

From *Madai* the third sonne of *Iapheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the sonne of *Medea*.

§. VII.

Of *Iauan* the fourth son of *Iapheth*: and of *Meshech*, of *Aram*, and *Meshech* of *Iapheth*.

OF *Iauan* the fourth sonne of *Iapheth* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greekes*: and so the *Latine* and *Greek* Interpreters for *Iauan* write *Greece*, as in *Esay*: *Et mittam ex his qui saluati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam: And I will send those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece*. The *Genens* here vseth the word (*Tarsibib*) for *Tarsus*, a City in *Cilicia*, though *Tarsis* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Genens* vse the names *Tubal* and *Iauan*, and not *Italy* and *Greece*: keeping the same *Hebrew* words. Of the *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themselves dreame that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Ancesters, and growing (as it were) out of the foile it selfe: who abounding in people, sent Colonies into *Asia* the lesse, of whom came the *Iones* of those parts. Others deriue the *Athenians* from *Ion* the sonne of *Xuthus*, the son of *Deucalion*; but the antiquity of *Iauan* marres the fashion of that supposition, who so many years preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion*, or *Deucalion*. *Pausanias* tels vs that *Xuthus* stole out of *Theffaly* with all his Fathers treasure, and his Brothers portions, and arriuing at *Athens*, hee was graciously receiued by *Erichtheus*, who gaue him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he receiued two sonnes, *Ion* and *Achæus*, the supposed Ancesters of the *Athenians*: (For *Attica* was called *Ionis*, saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theffus*;) who, when he had ioined *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a pillar in that *Isthmos* or *Strait*, which fastneth *Peloponnesus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these words: *Hæc non sunt Peloponnesus, æst* *Ionis*; *These Countries are not of Peloponnesus, but of Ionis*: and on the other side which looked towards the South, and into *Peloponnesus*, this: *These parts are Peloponnesus, and not Ionis*.

Strabo out of *Hecataeus* affirmeth, that the *Iones* came out of *Asia* into *Greece*; which is contrary to the former opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* transporting certain companies into *Asia* the lesse, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof than hee learned of the *Greeks* themselves, yet I finde this coniecture of *Hecataeus* reasonable enough. For though it were to him vnknowne, yet sure I am that *Asia* the lesse had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Iauan* did not flie from *Babylonia*.

Babylonia into Greece, but tooke Asia the lesse in his passage; and from thence past ouer the neere way, leauing his owne name to some maritimate Prouince on that side, as hee did to that part of Greece so called. But yet *Strabo* himselfe beleued, that *Ionia* took the name from *Ion* the son of *Xanthus*: for so much he had learned from themselves, which was also the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greekes* in after-times cast themselves into that part of Asia the lesse, opposite vnto them, which they held for diuers years. And howsoeuer the *Greekes* vaunt themselves to be Fathers of Nations, & the most ancient; yet all approued Historians (not their owne) deride and disproue their pride, and vanity therein. For this dispute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) rested betweene the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Incline* out of *Trogus*, in the warre betweene *Vexors* of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, witnesseth: which preceded farre the reigne 10 of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of Greece was euer heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greekes* were all saluages, without law or religion, liuing like brute beasts in all respects; and *Cecrops* (saith *Saint Augustine*) liued together with *Moses*.

Lib. 18. de Civ.
Dei. 10.

2^a d. 110. v. 5.

Gen. 15. 13.

The sixth sonne of *Iapheth* was *Meshech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Mosech*: (a part of those Nations commanded by *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*.) But this we must remember, that betweene *Meshech* the sonne of *Aram*, and *Meshech* (or *Mosech*; the sonne of *Iapheth*), there is little difference in name, and both by diuers Interpreters diuersly writen. *Montanus* with the Vulgar writeth *Mesch*, the sonne of *Aram*, *Mes*; the *Geneua*, *Mas*; *Iunius*, *Mesch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Psalm*, that eyther 20 *Meshech* the sonne of *Iapheth*, was the parent of those people, or gaue name to that Prouince wherein *Dauid* hid himselfe: or else (vvhich may rather seeme) that it tooke name from *Mesch* the sonne of *Aram*. For *Dauid* bewailing his exile (while he liued among a barbarous and irreligious People) vseth these words: *Woe is me that I remaine in Meshech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: vvhich *Iunius* conuerteth thus: *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habitotantum Scenite Kedareni*. The *Septuagint* giues it this sense: *Woe is me because my habitation (or abode) is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar*: vvhich vvhich this of the *Latine* agreeth; *Hei mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitauit cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldean* otherwise, and in these vvhords: *O me miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Asianis, habitauit cum tabernaculis Arabum*; O wretch, that I am, for 30 *I haue traueiled among those of Asia: I haue dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians*. But howsoeuer or which soeuer conuerſion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Prouince of *Arabia Petraea*; and the *Chaldean* putteth *Asia* in stead of *Meshech*, but the *Hebrew* it self hath *Meshech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is most likely, because it answers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) seeing *Mesch* the sonne of *Aram*, 1. *Chron.* 17. is called *Meshech*, it is indifferent whether this Nation tooke name from *Meshech* or *Mesch*, both bordering *Iudea*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for so *Ezechiel* makes *Meshech* and *Tubal*. But as for those that take *Meshech* out of the word *Mosech* (giuen by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muscouian*: sure they presume much vpon the affinity of names, as aforeſaid. And ſure I am that *Dauid* neuer trauelled so farre North; 40 (for to him *Muscouia* was vtterly vnknown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his persecution: the same being a City on the Mountains of *Samir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arius Montanus* makes *Mosech* the Father of the *Muscouians*: and herein also *Melanchton* runnes with the tide of common opinion, and sets *Meshech* in *Muscouia*, though with some better aduice of iudgement; as, first seated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence traueiling Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Psalm*, (*Hei mihi quod exulo in Meshech*) to signifie, *Gentis eius feritatem insignem esse; That the ferity of that Nation exceeded*: which fiercenesse or brutality of the *Muscouians*, *Dauid* neuer proued, or (perchance) neuer heard of. But the same ferity or cruelty which those Northerne *Muscouians* had, may as well be ascribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this 50 Country tooke name of *Kedar* the second sonne of *Ismael*, of whom a people of equall fiercenesse to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, euen to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Ismaelites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people:) the same being foreſhewed by the speech of the Angell to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 16. v. 12. *And he shall be a wilde man: his hand shall be against euery man, and euery mans hand against him*. Now *Arabia* the Desert (saith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians* *Cochlei* on the East, and the *Cedrai* Southward, both which ioine together vpon the *Nabathai*. So it appeareth (as before

before) that *Meshech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Israel*, and that *Kedar* also did ioine to *Meshech*: all which vvere Regions of *Syria*, or of *Asia* the lesse, commanded by the Successors of *Seleneus*, enemies of the re-establiſhment of *Israel* and *Iuda*. But (as I haue already ſaid) it might well bee, that long after the first plantation the issue of *Meshech* (or *Mosech*) might passe into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and giue names, both to *Mazega* in the one, and to the Mountaines *Mosehici* in the other, and from thence might send people more Northerly into *Musconia*, & so all opinions ſaued. But all ſaluage Nations ouer-growne and vncultivated, doe (for the most part) shew a late plantation, euen as Ciuitly, Letters, and magnificent Building, witnesseth antiquity.

10 *Tiras*, the seventh sonne of *Iapheth*, vvhich *Montanus* reckons among the ſonnes of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirme. *Iosephus* vvas the first that determined hereof: and because the Scriptures are altogether ſilent, what part of the world *Tiras* peopled, the coniectures are indifferent, and giue no ground at all of diſpute. It followeth now to ſpeake of the ſonnes of *Gomer*, vvhich vvere three,

Ascanes, *Riphat*, and *Togorma*.

S. VIII.

20 Of *Ascanes* and *Riphat*, the two elder ſonnes of *Gomer*.

Ascanes vvas the Father of those which the *Greeks* call *Regini*, (saith *Iosephus*) but he giues no reason vvhly. *Eusebius* makes *Ascanes* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Iewes* in their *Thargum* make him the roote of the *Germane Nation*, but their expositions are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, neere the Riuer of *Hilus* and *Cios*: *Melanchton* being of the same opinion, that the *Tuſcones* vvere descended of the *Ascanes*: (for *Tuſcones*, saith he, is as much to say, as of the *Ascanes*, *proposito articulo die Ascanes*) and that the word signifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient ſuperſtition to pray at 30 the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombes of Martyrs. Not farre from *Phrygia* was the lake *Ascania*, knowne by that name in the *Romanes* time. And among the Kings which came to the ſuccour of *Troy*, was *Ascanius* (*Deo ſimilis*, saith *Homer*) like vnto God: because he was beautifull and ſtrong: for in the same manner doth *Virgil* grace *Aeneas*, *Os humeroſſi, Deo ſimilis in ſace and body like one of the Gods*: *Virgil* also remembreth ſuch a Riuer, together with the Hills *Gargara*: as, *Illic ducit amor trans Gargara, tranſſit ſonantem* 40 *Ascanium*; Appetite leads them both ouer the Mountaines *Gargara*, and the roaring *Ascanius*. But this *Pliny* maketh more plaine in the deſcription of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Brillion* vpon the Riuer *Ascanius*, which is adioyning to *Myſia*, and is neere the border of the *Troian Empire*: and the Lake *Ascanes* he directeth vs to finde by the deſcription 40 of *Prusia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lieth far within the Countreys of *Bithynia*: and then from *Prusia* to *Nicca* are accounted 25. miles, in which vway this Lake lyeth, euen betweene *Prusia* and *Nicca*. And so *Iunius* (as I conceiue him) takes them of *Ascanes*, to be the Inhabitants of *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, and thoſe North parts of *Asia*. *Stephanus de Urbibus* makes it a City of *Troas*, built by *Ascanius* the ſon of *Aeneas*: ſaying, that there vvas another of that name in *Myſia*. Of *Ascania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolemy* witnesseth: and *Strabo* giueth *Ascania* both a Lake, a Riuer, and a Towne in *Myſia*, neere vnto *Cio*; which also agreeth vvhith *Pliny*. For *Pliny* findeth *Prusia* (before ſpoken of) neere *Cio*, and calleth the Iſlands before *Troy* *Ascanes*.

Melanch. in car.
lib. 1.

Hom. Iliad. 2.

Virg. Georg. 4. 3.

Now, vvhether theſe places tooke name of *Ascanes* the ſon of *Gomer*, or of *Ascanius* 50 the ſonne of *Aeneas*, it might be questioned: ſure it is, that *Ascanius* which brought ſuccour to the *Troians*, could not take his name from *Aeneas* ſon, who vvas then either exceeding young, or rather vnborne: and it ſeemeth that the Countreys vvhence thoſe ſuccours came, vvere not out of any part of *Phrygia* or *Myſia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Asia* the lesse, vvhich by *Hieremy* is called *Ascanes*, by the figure *Synecdoche*, as *Iunius* thinketh. Out of thoſe testimonies therefore which deceiue not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremy* vvee ſhall learne of vvhich Nation the *Ascanes* vvere, vvhole words are theſe: *Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations against her, call up the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Ascanes*. c. 51. v. 27.

against her, &c. meaning against the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as most Interpreters consent, so called of the Mountaines of *Ararat* vvhich runne through it: *Minni* the lesser *Armenia*: *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* vvas the ancient name: (saith *Iunius* and others before him, and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, vvhich contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coasts of *Phenicia*, and *Palestina*; and therefore *Mesopotamia* being in elder times but a Prouince of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the story of *Jacob* and *Esau*, and call it *Aram-padan*. Then if these two Nations were of the *Armenians* and *Askenaz* ioined with them (who altogether vvnited vnder *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the spoyle of the *Babylonian Empire*) we shal ere much to call *Askenaz* Germany or *Almaine*: for we heare of no swart *Rutters* at that siege. But the *Askenaz* were of those Nations which were either subiect or allied to the *Medes*: of which if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the dispersion of Nations was in aftertimes without account. But for the opinion of *Eusebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Iosephus*, who calls them *Rheginis*; or of the *Jewes*, who will haue them to be *Almaines*, when they confirme it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will thinke as they doe.

Of *Riphat* the second sonne of *Gomer* there is mention in the first of *Chronicles*. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* thinke that he wandered farre off from the rest of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his plantation. But I see nothing to the contrary, but that hee might seate himselfe with the rest of his Family: for there wanted no roome or foyle in those dayes for all the sonnes and Grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well understood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphat*, vvhich the *Greeks* afterwards (according to *Iosephus*) called the *Paphlagonians*: and *Riphei* (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth Gyants. These people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the most of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*. The greatest number of the *Sarmatians* were the *Heneti*; who spake the ancient *Polac*: which being first called *Riphei* (for the Ioue of some of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became *Heneti*, (a custome exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witnesseth, and so doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when these *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) sought new Regions, they came along the shores of *Euaxinus*, and filled the North-part of *Europe*, containing *Russia*, *Lithuania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they crost thwart the Land, and peopled *Ilyria*, desirous (saith *Melanchton*) of a warmer soile of Fruit and Wine. These *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchton* taketh to be one people, filled all that Land betweene the *Baltick* and *Adriaticke* Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulf *Venedicus* is found in *Russia*. This Nation, after they were posselt of *Lithuania* and *Polonia*, disturbed the plantation of the *Boij* and *Hermondurij*. Therefore, it seemeth to me, that of *Riphat*, came the *Riphei* afterward *Heneti*; and so thinketh *Arius Montanus*, first seated in *Paphlagonia*, but in course of time Lords of *Sarmatia*, and those other parts before remembred, chiefly betweene the Riuers of *Vistula* and *Albis*. The name (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth Wandering or Wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which liued by White-meats and fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Of the third sonne of *Gomer*, *Tagorma*, I haue spoken already; now therefore of *Iauans* children, vvhich were foure:

Elisa, *Tharsis*, *Cethim*, *Dodanim*.

§. IX.

Of some sonnes of *Iauan*: and of the double signification of *Tharsis*, either for a proper name, or for the Sea.

OF *Elisa* or *Elpha*, came the *Aeoles*: and of this *Elisa*, all the *Greekes* were called *Hellenes*, saith *Montanus*. *Melanchton* makes *Elisa* the Father of the *Aeoles* in *Asia* side: others of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*; or of both. And seeing the *Greekes* were descended in generall of *Iauan*, it is probable that the *Aeoles* & the *Elei*, tooke name of *Elisa*, his eldest Soane. *Ezechiel* in the 27. speaking of *Tyre*, nameth the Isles of *Elisa*. *Hyazynthus & purpura de insulis Elise facta sunt overimientum tuum*: Blue Silke and Purple, brought from the Isles of *Elisa*, was thy covering: The *Chaldeans* for *Elisa* write *Italia*: but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneua*, and *Iunius*, keepe the vvord *Elisa*: and so I thinke they might doe vvith reason. For there was not found any such Purple Dye in *Italia*

in those dayes, nor since, that I can read of: but those Isles of *Elisa*, were by a better coniecture the Isles of *Greece*; and the best Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it selfe: & be-fore that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the coast of *Getulia*.

Tharsis, the second Sonne of *Iauan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharsis* is the *Metro- polis*. *Montanus* for *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*, vnderstands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reseruing the respect due to so learned a man) he vvas much mistaken in that coniecture. The *Chaldean Paraphrast* puts *Carthage* for *Tharsis*, but it hath no authority nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is vvritten, that the Ships of *Salomon* went euery three yeares to *Tharsis*, and brought thence Gold, Siluer, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldean Paraphrast* translates *Tharsis* (*Africa*.) But *Salomons* Ships were prepared in the Red Sea at *Ezion-Gaber*, in the Bay of *Blana*, neere vnto *Madian*, vvhere *Iethro* (*Moses* Father in Law) inhabited; a Prouince of *Arabia Petraea*, *Idumea*, or of the *Chusites*; and they sayled to the higher part of the East *India*. For it had beene a strange Nauigation to haue spent three yeares in the passage betweene *Iudea* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, vvhich might haue beene sayled in fixe or ten daies. And if so great riches might haue bin found within the bounds of the *Mediterran* Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would soon haue entertained that Trade also. But this enterprize of *Salomon* is in this sort vvritten of in the first of *Kings*: Also King *Salomon* made a Nauie of Ships in *Ezion-Gaber*, which is beside *Elath* and the brinke of the Red Sea in the Land of *Edom*: and *Hyram* sent with the Nauie his seruants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the seruants of *Salomon*: and they came to *Ophir*, and set from thence 420. Talents of Gold, &c. But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the vvorld like vnto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely: (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a vvord vsed for the Sea in generall) so, because the *Israelites* and the *Phenicians* knew no other Sea than that of the *Mediterran* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharsis* had the greatest Shippes, and were the first Navigators in those parts vvith such Vessels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the vvord *Tharsis* vsed often for the Sea. And vvhereas it is said that the Shippes of *Salomon* went euery three yeares to *Tharsis*, that phrase is not strange at all; for vve vse it ordinarily wheresoeuer vve navigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are set out euery yeare, or euery three yeare to the Sea, and therefore *Tharsis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but vsed for the Sea it selfe. But in this place *Tharsis* is truly taken for *Tharsis*, the chiefe City in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharsis* the second sonne of *Iauan*, or by his Successors in memory of their first parent. To this City arriued *Alex. Macedon*, before he gaue the first ouerthrow to *Darius*, and casting himselfe into the Riuier to bathe and vvash his body, hee fell into an extreame Feuer, and great danger of death: and in this City of *Tharsis* was *S. Paul* borne. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other sonnes inhabiting *Asia* the lesse, and that part of *Syria* adioyning) *Iauan*, who vvas to passe ouer the Sea into *Greece*, tooke the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the *Iones* on that shore: gaue the Islands betweene *Asia* the lesse and *Greece*, to *Elisa*, and left *Tharsis* vpon the Sea-side in *Cilicia*; of vvhom that City tooke name.

The third sonne of *Iauan* vvas *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romanes* and *Italians*, saith *Beroaldus*, but I allow better of *Melanchtons* opinion, vvho makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a vvord plurall (saith he) and signifieth *percussores*, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of *Esay* 23. (according to *Melanchton*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Hec calamitas ab Esai predicta est, qui capite vice simo tertio inquit, venturos esse exersores Tyri ex terra Cithim*: This calamity (saith *Melanchton*) was foreboded by *Esai* the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the Destroyers of *Tyre* were come out of *Cithim*. And although the children of *Israel* esteemed all men Islanders, vvich came to them by Sea, and separate from that Continent; (and so also *Cithim* might be taken for *Italy*, saith *Beroaldus*) yet wee must take the first performance of the former Prophecie, which tooke effect by the destruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander*, who after 7. Moneths siege, entred that proud City, and cut in pieces seuen thousand principall Citizens; strangled two thousand, & changed the freedome of 13. thousand others into bondage and slavery. Now, that *Macedon* vvas taken for *Cethim*, it doth appeare plainly in the first of the *Macchabees*, in these vvords: After that *Alexander* the *Macedonian*,

the sonne of Philip, went forth of the Land of Cethim, and slew Darius King of the Persians, and Medes. Iosephus sets Cethim in the Isle of Cyprus, in which (saith hee) there remaineth the Citie Citium, the Countrey of Zeno the Philosopher (witnesseth Laertius;) which Citie Pimus vpon Ezechiel affirmeth, that it stood in Saint Hieromes time. So it may bee that all the Islands in ancient times by the Hebrewes were called the Islands of Cethim: and in that sense might Cyprus be so called also; & yet because Tharsis was the very next Port to Cyprus, and directly ouer against it, it is also very probable, that Cethim dwelt by his brother Tharsis: and finding that Island too streight for his people after they were increased, & that the rest of the Coasts, both on Asia side and Greece, were inhabited by his Father and Brothers, he sent Colonies ouer the Aegean Sea, and inhabited Macedonia.

Dodanim the fourth sonne of Ianan, and the youngest Brother (by the most opinions) fate downe at Rhodes, as neere Cethim, Tharsis, and Elisa, as hee could. For Dodanim and Rhodanim are vsed indifferently by many Translators: the Hebrew (D) and the Hebrew (R) are so like, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all Hebricians affirm. There is also found in Epirus the City of Dodona, in the Prouince of Molossia. And as Cethim, when he wanted soyle in Cyprus: so Dodanim (seated in a far lesse Island) did of necessity send his people farther off; and keeping alongst the Coast, and finding Peloponnesus in the possession of Elisa he passed a little further on the Westward, and planted in Epirus. And though the City of Dodona, was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as Dodanim himselfe, yet his Posterity might giue it that name in the memory of their first parent, as it hapned all the World ouer. For names were giuen to Cities, Mountaines, Riuers, and Prouinces, after the names of Noahs children and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their successors many yeares after: euery of their Families being desirous to retain among them by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerors newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished, therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gaue their own names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountaines and Riuers, as to things (after their iudgements) freest from any alteration.

Thusthen did Ianan settle himselfe and his children, in the edge and frontier of Asia³⁰ the lesse, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in Greece, and the Islands and neighbour Prouinces thereof, as Iapheth their Father had done in the body of the lesser Asia, together with Ianans brethren, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Tubal, Mesech, and the rest round about him. And in like sort did Chus (the sonne of Cham) people Babylonia, Chaldeas, and the borders thereof towards the West and South-west: and the sonnes of Chus (all but Nimrod, who held Babylonia it selfe) trauelled Southward in Arabia felix, and South-westward into Arabia petraea: the rest of his children holding the Regions adioyning to Nimrod. Mizraim the brother of Chus in like manner tooke the vway of Egypt: and his brother Canaan the Region of Palestina adioyning. The sonnes of Canaan had their portions in Canaan, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies⁴⁰ both to the Hebrews, and to those of the sons of Shem, which spread themselves towards the West, and the borders of the Mediterran Sea: of which I shall speake hereafter. But first of the sons of Cham or Ham, which were foure:

Chus, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan.

§. X.

That the seat of Chus the eldest son of Ham, was in Arabia, not in Ethiopia: and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scripture, grounded on the mistaking of this point.

†. I.

Of Iosephus his Tale of an Ethiopesse wife of Moses, grounded on the mistaking of the seats of Chus.

That Ham was the Father of the Egyptians, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Psalme, verse 51. Then Israel came to Egypt, and Iacob was a stranger in the land of Ham: and in the 78. Psalme, Hee slew all the first-borne in Egypt, even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of Ham. There is also

also found a great City in Thebaida, called Cheramis: (as it were the City of Ham) of which name Herodotus also discouers an Island in the same Region: But because Chus is the elder sonne of Ham, it agreeth with order to speake first of him. Now though I haue already in the description of Paradise handled this question, and (I hope) proued that Chus could not be Ethiopia: yet seeing it commeth now to his turne to speake for himselfe, I will adde some farther prooffe to the former. For, the manifestation hereof sets many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senselesse interpretations. Surely, howsoeuer the Septuagint and Iosephus haue herein failed, that Chus could not be Ethiopia, but Arabia: (to wit) both that Arabia called Petraea, and a part of Arabia the Happy and the Desart: which Regions Chus and the Chusites presently planted, after they left Babylonia to Nimrod, wherein they first fate down altogether. And there is nothing which so well cleareth this Controuersie, as the true interpretation of the place, Num. 12. v. 1. where Moses his Wife is called a Chusite; together with some places which speake of Nabuchodonosors Conquests. For vvhether Iosephus and the Septuagint in the place, Num. 12. v. 1. as also elsewhere, vnderstand Chus for Ethiopia, we must giue credit to Moses himselfe herein; and then it will appeare that Iosephus was grossly mistaken, or vainly led by his owne inuention. For Iosephus presuming that Chus was Ethiopia, and therefore that the Wife of Moses (which in Scripture, Num. 12. ver. 1. is called a woman of Chus) was a woman of the land of Ethiopia, saith that Tharbis the Daughter of the King of Ethiopia, fell in loue with the person and fame of Moses, while he besieged Saba her Fathers City; and to the end, to obtaine Moses for her Husband, she practised to betray both her Parents, Country, and Friends, with the City it selfe, and to deliuer it into Moses hands. The Tale (if it bee worth the reciting) lyeth thus in Iosephus. After he hath described the strength of the Ethiopian City Meroe, which he saith at length Cambyfes called so from the name of his Sister, (the old name being Saba) he goeth on in these words: *Hic cum Moses desiderare exercitum otiosum agere ferret, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Aethiopum Regi filia nomine Tharbis, &c.* vvhich tale hath this sense in English: When Moses was grieved that his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieged, durst not sally and come so handy strokes, there⁴⁰ happened this accident in the meane while. The Ethiopian King had a Daughter called Tharbis, who at some assaults giuen, beheld the person of Moses, and withall admired his valour. And knowing that Moses had not only upheld and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Ethiopians to the very brink of subuersion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daily increased, shee made meanes to send vnto him by one of her trustiest seruants, to offer her selfe vnto him, and become his wife; which Moses on this condition entertained, that shee should first deliuer the City into his possession, whereunto shee condescending, and Moses hauing taken oath to performe this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

†. II.

A dispute against the tale of Iosephus.

This Tale (whereof Moses hath not a word) hath Iosephus fashioned, and therein also utterly mistaken himselfe, in naming a City of Arabia for a City of Ethiopia: as he names Ethiopia it selfe to haue beene the Country of Moses his Wife, when (indeede) it was Arabia. For Saba is not in Ethiopia, but in Arabia, as both Strabo and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne, teach vs, saying, that the Sabeans are Arabians and not Ethiopians; except Iosephus can perswade vs, that the Queene of Saba which came from the South to heare the wisdom of Salomon, were a Negro, or Blacke-Moore. And though Damianus à Goes speake of certaine Letters to the King of Portugall from Prester John, of the Abissines: wherein that Ethiopian King would perswade the Portugals that he was descended of the Queene of Saba and of Salomon; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that Salomon had any Son by that great Princeesse: which had it bene true, it is likely that when Sisbac King of Egypt inuaded Roboam, and sackt Hierusalem, his Brother (the Sonne of Saba and Salomon) who ioyned vpon Egypt, would both haue impeached that enterprize, as also giuen aide and succour to Roboam against Ieroboam, who drew from him ten of the twelue Tribes to his owne obedience. Neither is it any thing against our opinion of Moses his Wife, to haue been an Arabian, that the Scriptures teach

vs, that *Moses* married the daughter of *Iethro* Priest of *Midian* or *Madian*: which standing on the North Coast of the Red Sea, ouer against the body of *Egypt*, and neere *Ezion-Gaber*, where *Salomon* provided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Eaumea* ioyneth to the Tribe of *Juda* by the North, to *Arabia Petrea* by the East, to the *Mediterran* by the West, and to the Red Sea by the South-east. And if wee marke the way which *Moses* tooke when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Israel* thence, it will appeare that he was no stranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it selfe, hee had formerly liued fortie yeeres; where it seemeth, that besides his carefull bringing vp in *Egypt*, he was instructed by *Iethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Iosephus* confesseth, and *Saint Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. But on the other side this Text makes much against *Iosephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the second Therefore *Moses fled from Pharaoh, and dwelt in the Land of Madian* or *Midian*, and not in *Ethiopia*. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as words can expresse, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, when *Moses kept the sheepe of Iethro his Father in Law Priest of Madian, & draue the Flocke to the Desert, and came to the Mountaine of God in Horeb*. Now that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Ethiopia*, euery Infant knoweth. And if we may beleuee *Moses* himselfe, then was not the Wife of *Moses* purchased in that manner which *Iosephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrey and Friends) neither had shee the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was shee a Negro, but a *Madianitisse*. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest means: so it pleased him from a Shepheard to call *Moses*, and after him *Danid*, and by them to deliuer his people first and last. For *Moses*, sitting by a Well (as disconsolate and a stranger) defended the daughters of *Reuel* from the other shepherds, and drew them Water to water their sheepe: vpon which occasion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Iethro*, whose Daughter he married: and not for any betraying of Townes or Countries.

From hence also came *Iethro* to *Moses* at *Refhidim*, not farre from *Idumaea*, and finding the insupportable gouernment of such a multitude, hee aduised him to distribute this weightie charge, and to make *Gouernours* and *Iudges* of euery Tribe and Familie. And if *Iethro* had beene an *Ethiopian*, it had beene a farre progresse for him to haue passed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moses*, and to haue found *Moses* in the border of *Idumaea*: the *Egyptians* hating *Moses* and all that fauoured him. But the passing of *Moses* through *Arabia Petrea* (which ioyneth to *Madian*) proueth that *Moses* was well acquainted in those parts, in which the second time he wandred forty yeeres, and did by these late traualles of his, seeke to instruct the children of *Israel* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty & rest. For he found them nourished vp with the milke of Idolatry, and obstinate in the Religion of the *Heathen*, & finding that those stiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Deserts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those hee might receiue fruit, agreeable to his owne desire, and Gods Commandements.

Lastly, this opinion of *Iosephus* is condemned by *Augustinus Chrysostomus*, where also he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who auowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His owne words haue this beginning: *Mementur etiam Apollinaris dum uxores habuisse Moses, &c.* *Apollinaris* also lyeth, in affirming that *Moses* had two wiues: and who doth not perceiue these things fained by them? for it is manifest that the wife of *Moses* was *Zephora*, Daughter to the Priest or President of *Madian*: and that *Madian* cannot be taken for *Ethiopia* beyond *Egypt*; being the same that ioyneth to *Arabia*: so farre *Chrysostomus*.

†. III.

Chus ill expounded for *Ethiopia*. *Ezech.* 29. 10.

Now as *Chus* is by the Septuagint conuerted *Ethiopia*, and the wife of *Moses* therefore called *Ethiopia*: so in the conquest of *Nabuchodonosor* is *Ethiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the words of *Ezechiel*, it is manifest that *Nabuchodonosor* was neuer in *Ethiopia*, Behold (saith *Ezechiel*, speaking of the person of this great *Assyrian*) I come vpon

upon thee and upon thy Riuer, and I will make the Land of *Egypt* utterly waste and desolate, from the Towre of *Senench*, euen to the borders of the blacke Moores: which last words should haue beene thus conuerted: From the Towre of *Senench* to the borders of the *Chusites* or *Arabians*: betweene which two is situated all *Egypt*. For to say, from the borders of *Senench* to the *Ethiopians*, hath no sense at all. *Senench* it selfe being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and ioyning to *Ethiopia*, or the Land of the blacke Moores. So as if *Nabuchodonosor* conquest had beene but betweene *Senench* and the border of *Ethiopia*, it were as much to say, and did expresse no other victory than the conquest of all that Land and Countrey, lying betweene *Middlesex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countreies ioyneth together; or all the North parts of *England*, betweene *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the same sense with the former, if any man sought to expresse by these two bounds, the Conquest of *England*: *Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Senench* or *Syene* is the South bound of *Egypt*, seated in *Thebaida* which toucheth *Ethiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonosor* neuer entered into any part of *Ethiopia*, although the Septuagint, the Vulgar, the *Genena*, and all other (in effect) haue written *Ethiopia* for *Chus*.

†. IIII.

Another place of *Ezechiel*, cap. 30. vers. 9. in the like manner mistaken.

And as the former, so is this place of *Ezechiel* mistaken, by being in this sort conuerted: In die illa egredietur nuncius a facie mea in triebus ad conuerendos *Aethiopes confidentiam*: Which place is thus turned in English by the *Geneuans*: In that day shall there Messengers goe forth from me in ships to make the carelesse Moores afraid. Now the Latine for (ships) hath the Greeke word *Trieres* for *Triremes* which are Gallies of three bankes, and not ships. But that in this place the Translation should haue beene (as in the former) amended by vsing the word *Chus* or *Arabia* for *Ethiopia* or the blacke Moores, euery man may see which meanelly vnderstandeth the Geography of the World, knowing, that to passe out of *Egypt* into *Ethiopia* there neede no Gallies nor Ships, no more than to passe out of *Northampton* in *Leicestershire*: *Ethiopia* being the conterminant Region with *Egypt*, and not diuided so much as by a Riuer. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt*, *Nabuchodonosor* should send Gallies alongst the coast of the Red Sea, by which an Army might be transported into *Arabia* the *Happy* and the *Stony* (sparing the long wearisome march ouer all *Egypt*, and the Desert of *Pharan*) which Army might thereby surpriseth them vnawares in their security and confidence. For when *Nabuchodonosor* was at *Senench* within a mile of *Ethiopia*, he needed neither Gallies nor Ships to passe into it: being all one large and firme Land with *Egypt*, and no otherwise parted from it, than one In-land shire is parted from another; and if hee had a fancy to haue rowed vp the Riuer but for pleasure, hee could not haue done it: for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling ouer high and steepy Mountaines) called *Catadupa Nili*, were at hand.

Lastly, as I haue already obserued, the sonnes of euery father seated themselves as neer together as possibly they could, *Gomer* and his sonnes in *Asia* the lesse, *Ianan* and his sons in *Greece*, and the Ilands adioyning, *Shem* in *Persia* and Eastward. So the Sons & Grandchildren of *Chus* from the Riuer of *Gehon* (their Fathers first seate) inhabited vpon the same, or vpon some other contiguous vnto it, as *Nimrod* and *Hauilah* on the one side, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude in a word, the *Hebrews* had neuer any acquaintance or fellowship, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Ethiopian* black Moores, as is already remembred in the Chapter of *Paradise*.

†. V.

A place, *Esay* 18. v. 1. in like manner corrupted, by taking *Chus* for *Ethiopia*.

And as in these places before remembred, so in diuers other is the vword *Ethiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chus*, which puts the story (vvhether it is so vnderstood) quite out of square; one Kingdome thereby being taken for another. For what sense hath this part of

of Scripture, *Esay* 18. *Va terra Cymbalorum alarum que est trans flumina Aethiopia*, or according to the *Septuagint* in these words: *Va terra nauium alarum que est trans flumina Aethiopia*? was to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of Aethiopia, sending Embassadors by sea, even the vessels of reeds upon the waters. *Va terre umbræ ore*, was to the Land of the shadowed coast, saith *Iunius*. The former Translatours vnderstand it in this sense; That the waters are shadowed with the sails, which are significatiuely called the wings of the ships, the other, that the coast of the Sea was shadowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpose: That this Land here spoken of by the Prophet *Esay*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that sent this message to the *Israelites* which *Esay* repeareth, & by the former translation euery man may see the transposition of Kingdomes: for hereby *Egypt* is transported vnto the other side of Aethiopia, and Aethiopia set next vnto *Iudea*, when it is the Land of *Chus* and *Arabia* indeed that lyeth betwene *Iudea* and *Egypt*, and not Aethiopia, which is seated vnder the Equinoctiall Line. And of this *Beroaldus* asketh a materiall question, (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of Aethiopia. *Nam de ignota agere regione dici nequit; For it cannot be said that he treateth of an unknowne Region.* Now if Aethiopia it selfe be vnder the Equinoctiall line, with whom the *Iewes* had neuer any acquaintance, why should any man dream that they had knowledge of Nations far beyond it againe, and beyond the Rivers of Aethiopia? except we shall impiously thinke that the Prophet spake hee knew not what, or vsed an impertinent discourse of those Nations, which were not discovered in 2000. yeares after, inhabiting as far South as the Cape of good Hope, commonly knowne by the name of *Bona esperanza*.

†. VI.

That upon the like mistaking, both Terrhaca in the story of Senacherib, and Zera in the story of Asa are vniuersally made Aethiopians.

16 Sep 2. 10. c. 1.

2. Kings 19.

Antiq. l. 10.

2. Kings 19.

Lib. 10. cap. 1.

And by this translation is the story of *Senacherib* vtterly mistaken in the cause of his retreat. For *Senacherib* was first repulsed at *Pelusium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Iudea*: when hauing certaine knowledge that *Thirrhakeh*, (which all the Interpreters call King of Aethiopia) was on the way to set on him, hee began to with-draw himselfe: and fearing to leaue his Army in two parts, hee sent threatening Messengers to *Ezechia* King of *Iuda*, perswading him to submit himselfe: the Tenor whereof is set down in the second of *Kings* in these words: *Haue any of the gods of the Nations deliuered his Land out of the hands of the King of Assur? where is the god of Hamah, &c.* By which proud Embassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Ierusalem*, he then meant to haue vnted that great Army before *Ierusalem*, commanded by *Rabsakeh*, with the other which lay before *Pelusium*, a great City vpon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already mastered the most part of all those Cities in *Iudea* and *Beniamin* with a third Army, (which himselfe commanded) being then at the siege of *Lebna*. But vpon the rumor of that Arabian Army led by their King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Iosephus* calls *Tharsites*) *Rabsakeh* hasted from the siege of *Ierusalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis*, and set downe before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthropolis*, as some haue supposed. But while he had ill successe at *Pelusium* and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himselfe whom he least feared, strook his Army before *Ierusalem* by the Angel of his power, so as 158000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Tirrahakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Iosephus* himselfe makes it plaine. For he confesseth in the tenth Book, the first Chapter of the *Iewes* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacherib*'s knowledge, that the Army which was a foote (both to relieue the *Egyptians* and the *Iewes*) marched towards him by the way of the Desert: Now the Desert which lay indifferent betwene *Ierusalem* and *Pelusium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sar*, which also toucheth on the three *Arabias*, to wit, the *Stony*, of which it is a part: the Desert, and the *Happi*; and by no other way indeed could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Ierusalem*. But that there is any Desert betwene *Pelusium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath neuer yet beene heard of, or described by any Cosmographer or Historian. So then this description of the second of *Kings*, vers. the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (*Chus*) is also translated Aethiopia; and in this sense haue all the Interpreters, (but *Iunius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse:

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He heard also men say of Thirrhakeh King of Aethiopia, &c. whereas it should haue beene thus conuerted with *Iunius*: *Andiens autem de Thirrhakeh Rege Chusbi; Hee heard also of Thirrhakeh King of the Chusites*. For they were the *Chusites* and *Arabians*, whose Houses and Cities were next the fire, and vpon whom the very smoke of *Iuda* flaming was blowne, being their neereft Neighbours: and so were not the Aethiopian black-Moors vnder the Equinoctiall, whom neither war nor peace (which discovereth all Regions) euer found out, saith *Pliny*. For this King was no more King of Aethiopia than *Zerah* was, who invaded *Asa* King of *Iuda*, with an Army of a Million, and three thousand Chariots. Indeed, how such an Army & those Chariots should passe through all *Egypt*, (the Kings of *Egypt* being mighty Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how farre distant, iudge. For Princes doe not easily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there euer such strength of Black-Moors heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these Aethiopians such trauailers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* also called King of Aethiopia. But the word *Chus* being first so conuerted for Aethiopia, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the seates of Kingdomes, or the possibilities of attempts, or inuasions) followed one another in the former mistaking.

Plin. l. 5. c. 92.

2. Chron. c. 14.

†. VII.

A farther exposition of the place, *Esay* 18. 1.

Concerning these words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Esay*, *Nauium alarum*, winged ships, (so the *Septuagint* turne it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latine*) sayles whistling in the windes, or *terre umbræ ore* (after *Iunius*) the Land of a shadowed coast, or the Land shadowing with wings, as our English *Geneua* hath it. The two first interpretations of the *Septuagint* and *S. Hierome*, haue one sense in effect. For the sailes are commonly called the wings of a ship; & we vse to say ordinarily when our ships saile slowly, that the waiteth wings: (that is) when her sailes are either worne or too narrow: and we also vse the same phrase of the winde whistling in the sailes. And it may be that the *Egyptians* employed so many of those smal ships, as their sailes were said to giue a shadow ouer the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (vpon *Esay*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth signifie both to shadow and to gingle (vvhich is) to make a kinde of Cymbaline sound: so as the meaning of this place (saith *Pintus*) is this: *Woe to thee, O Egypt, which dost promise to others safeguard, vnder the shadow of thy wings; vvhich (indeede) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of Esay: and this phrase is often elsewhere vsed, as in the sixteenth Psalme: Sub umbra alarum tuarum protego me; Defend me vnder the shadow of thy wings.* The Boates of reede spoken of are of two kinds; either of basket-willow couered with hides (as anciently in *Brittain*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built vpon both sides with Canes. Of the one fort I haue seene in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

§. XI.

Of the plantation and antiquities of Egypt.

†. I.

That Mizraim the chiefe planter of Egypt: and the rest of the sonnes of Ham, were seated in order, one by another.

The second sonne of Ham was *Mizraim*, (who according to the place of a second brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabite. For *Chus* first posselt *Chaldea* on the West side of *Egeon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in people, so he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, & to the South-east-side of *Iudea*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) past ouer into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*: and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* tooke the Sea-coast, and held the side of *Palesina*: and these foure brothers posselt all that Tract of Land, from *Egeon* in *Chaldea*, as farre to the West as the *Mediterrane* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petra*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and

and *Iudea*, with the two *Egypt*s, wherof the neather is bounded by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterrane* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the vpper *Egypt*) stretcheth it self toward the South as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Æthiopians* or black-*Moor*s. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* Westward, *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their sons againe, and all the sons of the rest of *Noah*s children, sort themselves.

†. II.

Of the time about which the name of *Egypt* began to be knowne: and of the *Egyptians* *Lunary* yeeres, which made their antiquities seeme more fabulous.

THis flourishing Kingdome posselt by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and became *Egypt*, as such time as *Egyptus* (otherwise *Rameses*, as some thinke) the sonne of *Belus*, chased thence his elder brother *Danau*, shifting him into that part of *Greece* now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argines* were made *Dana*, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. yeeres after the Flood, in the time of *Iosua*, as *St. Augustine* coniectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homers Odysses* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* were so called at the time of the *Troian* Warre. And before this, *Egypt* was knowne by diuers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Osiriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Iosephus* citeth in his first booke against *Appion*) numbeth all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moses* departure, who continued 393. yeeres. By which other men coniecture, that the *Egyptians* tooke on them that name 330. yeeres after *Iosua*, and about 1000. yeeres after the Flood. But where *Iosephus* in the same booke taketh *Israel* to be those *Egyptes*, which he also calleth *Pastores* or *Shepherds*, which are said to haue reigned in *Egypt* 511. yeeres: whom also he calleth his Ancestors, (meaning the Ancestors of the *Jewes*) in this I am sure he was grossly deceiued, or that he vainly boasted: for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon* saith, nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many yeeres.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirme (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had memory and story of 13000. yeeres; and that the Stars had foure times changed their course, and the Sunne twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rise among the *Arabians* and *Arcadians*, vvho dare affirme, that they are more ancient than *Iupiter* and the *Moone*; vvhereof *Onid*:

*Ante Iouem genitum terras habuisse feruntur
Arcades: & Luna gens prior illa fuit.*

The *Arcadians* the earth inhabited
Ere yet the *Moone* did shine, or *Ioue* was bred.

But for those 13000. yeeres it may well be true; seeing it is certaine that the *Egyptians* reckon their yeeres by Moneths, which makes after that account not about 1000. or 1100. yeeres, whether we take their Moneths or *Lunary* yeeres to haue beene of the first kinde of 27. dayes and eight houres; or otherwise 29. dayes and twelue houres; or after any other of those fise diuersities of their *Lunary* yeeres.

†. III.

Of certaine vaine assertions of the Antiquity of the *Egyptians*.

Erarardus *Mercator* in his *Chronology*, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* Antiquity in this manner: That the sixteenth *Dynasty* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the generall Flood; and that therefore the first of the other fiteene reached the Creation, or soone after it. To which coniecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer; That therein *Mercator* was first deceiued, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty* was at once with the generall Flood: which *Eusebius* maketh 292. yeeres after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the shepherds *Dynasty* (being in number 17.) in the time of their first King, *Salsu*, to haue beene in the yeere of the Word 1846. which

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Eusebius findeth in the Worlds age 2140. For the 16. *Dynasty* was begun but in the 292. yeeres after the Flood, as they account, and continued 190. yeeres. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh euery *Dynasty* to endure 115. yeeres, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at lesse than 100. yeeres: for the 28. had but fixe yeeres, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. yeeres.

Now *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all these 15. *Dynasties* lasted but 162. yeeres: and that the first of the 15. began but in the 131. yeere after the flood: so as where *Mercator* makes all the 15. to precede the flood, and the 16. to haue beene then in being at the time of the flood, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of fallshood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former Opinion and Assertion, that it was in the 131. yeere that *Nimrod*, with the sons of *Noah*, came into the Valley of *Shinaar*: so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of *Babel*: & that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conueyed *Gomer* into Italy, and *Tubal* into Spaine, in the tenth yeer of *Nimrods* reigne: (which was ten yeeres after his arriual into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more vnadvised. For he makes *Egypt* posselt, & a government established in the very first yeere of the arriual of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before all partition, or any expedition farre off or neer in question: for from thence (that is, from *Babel*) did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.

†. IIII.

Against *Pererius*: that it is not unlikely, but that *Egypt* was peopled within 200. yeeres after the Creation; at lest, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Flood.

BUt whereas *Pererius* seeketh to ouerthrow this Antiquity of the *Egyptians* touching their *Dynasties*, (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength in this opinion of *Pererius*, (to wit) that it was either vnlikely or impossible that *Egypt* should bee peopled within 100. or 200. yeeres after *Adam*, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the generall Flood, I doe verily beleue the contrary: and that not onely of *Egypt*, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are these: *Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos Adami proles adeo multiplicari potuit, ut ad Egyptum usq; habitandum & complendum propagata sit, &c.* For how could the children of *Adam* be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred yeeres of the World, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill *Egypt*? for allowing this (saith *Pererius*) wee must also confesse, that there were then both the *Assyrians* and other Nations.

Now seeing that the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our sauing beleefe, it is lawfull for euery man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I doe not gainsay any mans opinion out of any crossing or cauilling humour: for I thinke it the part of euery Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibility of vni-on, than out of froward subtlety, and preiudicate resoluednesse, to maintaine factions needlesse, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore, to this opinion, that *Egypt* was not planted so soone after *Adam*; no, not at all before the Flood, I say, that there is no reason why wee should giue a lesse increase to the sonnes of *Adam*, than to the sonnes of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the Flood double; & (after a few yeeres) treble, is an infallible prooffe of their strength and ability, to beget many Children: & at that time they obserued no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinity. And that there was a speedy increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appeare by this, that *Cain*, vvho (being fearefull that the death of *Abel* would haue bene reuenged on him) withdrew himselfe from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there, by the helpe of his owne issues built a City, (called *Enoch*) after the name of his first-borne. Now if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinaar* with so many multitudes, as sufficed to build the City and Towre of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was giuen but 130. yeeres by *Berosus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly vnderstood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*,

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Selah,

Selah, Heber, and Phalegh) but one hundred and one yeere: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancy of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, euen within 130. yeeres, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. yeeres after (that is, by such time as the World had stood 200. yeeres) aswell *Affyria, Syria, and Egypt* might bee posselt before the Flood, as they were within the same or lesse time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance or true Story of the *Babylonian and Affyrian Empire*, that all those people, which were increased in the first hundred or 130. yeeres after the Flood, came into *Shinaar and Babylonia*. For that euer *Noah* himselfe came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authority to proue it, so all probable coniecture and reason it selfe denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerfull numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her owne Army of three Millions, (and she left not all her Kingdomes empty) doe well proue, that if the World had such plenty of people in so few yeeres after the Flood, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account *Ninus* gouerned *Babylonia and Affyria* but 292. yeeres after the Flood of *Noah*. And these Troupes of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Easterne Kingdomes, from *Media* to the *Mediterran Sea*; when there had now past from the Flood to the time of this her inuasion, somewhat lesse or more than 360. yeeres: for much more time the true *Chronology* cannot allow; though I confesse, that in respect of the strange greatnesse of *Semiramis* Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short, a time as can well be giuen. And if but one halfe bee true of that which is said, That her Army consisted of 1300000. Footmen, and 500000. Horsemen, it must needs bee, that long before *Semiramis* Reigne, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Armie was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it selfe (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time of *Semiramis* haue bene plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* hauing a determination to make himselfe Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in League with the King thereof: whom therefore hee either feared, or sought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Egypt* might also bee peopled. Now if wee may beleue *Trogus Pompeius* (*Epitomis* dby *Iustine*) *Egypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was borne. For these bee his owne words, speaking of *Ninus*. *Euere quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vexoris Rex Egypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient Vexoris King of Egypt, and Tanais King of the Scythians*: of which the one inuaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conquests of *Ninus* witnesse, who subdued with no small force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterwards the *Bactrians*; yea, all that whole body of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias* numbred the Armies wherewith *Ninus* inuaded *Zoroaster*, at 1700000. Footmen, and 200000. Horsemen: and the Stories generally shew, that though *Zoroasters* Armie was farre short of this, yet it was greater than any that those parts of the World euer since beheld. But to what end should I seeke for foreigne authority: for no man doubteth but that *Egypt* was posselt by *Miceram*, the sonne of *Haw*; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell vs. And sure, to prepare and cultiue a desolate and ouergrown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Lawes, and Policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few dayes: and therefore it must be inhabited in a lesse time than 200. yeeres after the Flood; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Flood. For if so many Millions of men were found within 300. yeeres after the generall Flood; so as not onely *Babylon*, and *Affyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Palestina*, yea, the farre-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those Nations be comprest, which 1656. yeeres brought forth before the Flood: euen necessity, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne World; especially, where Death forbore the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till hee had beheld liuing Nations of his owne body.

t. V.

Of some other reasons against the opinion of Pererius.

FOR what a strange increase did the long liues of the first Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. yeeres? Surely, we haue reason to doubt, that the World could not containe them, rather than that they were not spred ouer the World. For let vs now reckon the date of our liues in this Age of the World: wherein if one exceede 50. yeeres, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet wee finde no want of people; nay we know the multitude such, as if by warres or pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the earth with all the industry of man could not giue them food. What strange heapes then of soules had the first Ages, who enioyed 800. or 900. yeeres, as aforesaid? These numbers, I say, cannot bee counted nor conceiued. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which haue bene borne in *Brittaine* since 3. or 4. hundred yeeres before the *Norman Conquest* (sauing such as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now aliue; and if to these there were added as many as by *Polygamy* might haue bene increased. For (to omit, that the Gyants and mighty ones of the first Age obserued no law of Matrimony) it is to bee thought that those Louers of the world and of pleasure, when they knew the long and liberall time which Nature had giuen them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could flye from or eschew. For what humane argument hath better perswasion to make men carelesse of life, and fearelesse of death, than the little time which keepest them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many paines and diseases, which this enuious old Age of the World mingleth together, and soweth with the seedes of Mankinde?

Now if that *Berosus* or *Annins* may be alleadged for sufficient Authours, whom *Pererius* himselfe in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Iosephus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was seated neere *Lybanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time; I see no cause why *Palestina* (which is also a Prouince of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left desolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all those times betwene his death and the Flood, which were by estimation 700. or 800. yeeres. And sure though this Fragment of *Berosus* (with *Annins* his Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in *Berosus* are not to bee reiected. Therefore Saint *Hierome* for such Authours giues a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria; Let vs choose what is good in them, and reiect the rest.* And certainly in the very beginning of the first Booke, *Berosus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moses*, touching the generall Flood: and in that first part *Berosus* affirmeth, that those mighty men and Gyants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded ouer all Nations, and subiected the vniuersall World: and though that phrase (of all the World) be often vsed in the Scriptures for a part thereof, as in the second of the *Acts*, That there were dwelling at *Hierusalem Iewes: men that feared God of euery Nation vnder Heauen*: yet by words which follow in *Berosus*, it is plaine, that his words and sense were the same: for he addeth, from the Sunnes rising to the Sunnes setting, which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may safely coniecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his sonnes at aduenture, or left them as Discoverers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the earth was more passable and easie to trauaile ouer before the Flood, than after it. For *Pererius* himselfe confesseth, that *Attica* (by reason of mud and slime which the water left vpon the Earth) was uninhabited 200. yeeres after *Ogyges* Flood; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleasure in passing into farre Countries, after the generall Deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) inclosed for 100. or 130. yeeres together. And therefore was the face thereof in all coniecture more beautifull, and lesse cumbersome to walke ouer, in the first Age, than after the generall ouerflowing.

§. VI.

Of the words of Moses, Gen. 10. v. ultimo, whereupon Pererius grounded his opinion.

Lastly, whereas *Pererius* draws this Argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of *Genesis*, And out of these were the Nations divided after the flood: *Quo significatur salem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium*; By which it appeareth (saith *Pererius*) that there was no such division before the Flood; which hee also seeketh to confirme out of the eleventh of *Genesis*, because the diuision of tongues was the cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, *quo significatur*, &c. seemeth to me very weake: The Text it selfe rather teacheth the contrary: For out of these (saith Moses) were the Nations divided in the earth after the Flood; inferring, that before the Flood the Nations were diuided out of others, though after the Flood out of these onely. But whatsoeuer sense may bee gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawne to the times before the Flood, or to any Plantation or diuision in that age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could be diuided after the Flood, but *Noahs* Sonnes, wherein doth that necessary diuision controule the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alleaged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion; it is true, that it was so for that present; but if *Babel* had neuer bene built, nor any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would haue enforced a farther-off and generall Plantation: as *Berosus* sayes well, that when Mankind were exceedingly multiplied, *Ad comparandas nouas sedes necessitas compellebat*, They were driuen by necessitie to seeke new Habitations. For we finde (as it is before said) that within 300. yeeres after the Flood, there were gathered together into two Armies, such multitudes as the Valley about *Babylon* could not haue sustained those numbers, with their increase, for any long time; all *Asia* the greater and the lesser; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Palastina*, and *Egypt*, with *Greece*, and the Islands thereof; *Mauritania* and *Lybia*, being also at that time fully peopled. And if wee beleue *Berosus*, then not onely those parts of the World, but (within 140. yeeres after the Flood) *Spain*, *Italie* and *France* were also planted: much more then may we thinke, that within 1656. yeeres before the Flood, in the time of the chiefe strength of Mankind, they were replenished with people. And certainly seeing all the World was ouerflowne, there were people in all the World which offended.

†. VII.

A conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyptian Antiquities: with somewhat of *Phut* (another Sonne of *Ham*) which peopled *Lybia*.

Therefore, for the Antiquitie of the Egyptians, as I doe not agree with *Mercator*, nor iudge with the *Vulgar*, which giue too much credit to the Egyptians Antiquities: so I doe not thinke the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceiue it. But I rather incline to this, that *Egypt* being peopled before the Flood, and 200. or 300. yeeres, more or lesse after *Adam*, there might remaine vnto the Sonnes of *Mizraim* some Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of stone or mettall) of their former Kings or Gouvernours: which the Egyptians hauing added to the List and Roll of their Kings after the Flood, in succeeding time out of the vanitie of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests (something beyong the truth might be inserted. And that the memory of Antiquitie was in such sort preserved, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the Chaldeans, and so doth *Epigenes*. For they both write, that the vse of Letters and the Art of Astro-nomie was knowne to the Babylonians 3634. yeeres before *Alexanders* Conquest: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was borne 1034. yeeres before the Flood, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of *Christ* his comming in iudgement, as Saint *Iude* hath witnessed. But leauing these Antiquities to other mens iudgements, and euery man to his owne reason, I will conclude this Plantation of *Egypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it tooke the name of *Egypt* from *Egyptus* the sonne of *Belus*, as afore said. Being diuided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis* or *Nicopolis* to the Medi-terranean Sea, was called the inferiour *Egypt*; surnamed also *Delta*: because the seuerall branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the Riuer, gaue it the forme

of the Greeke letter *Delta*, which is the forme of a Triangle. That branch, which ran toward the North-east and embraced the Sea, next vnto the Desarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the City of *Pelufium*, where *Senasenberg* was repulsed: The other branch, which yeelded it selfe to the Salt-water towards the North-east, is beautified by that famous City of *Alexandria*: The vpper part of *Egypt* is bounded betwene *Memphis* and *Syene* neere *Aethiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of that ancient City of *Thebes*; which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*, and by the Greeks *Diopolis*; in the Scriptures *No-bamon*, which signifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. *Iosephus* calls *Egypt* *Mersin* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirmes that it had once the name of *Thebaï*.

Phut the third sonne of *Ham* tooke the next portion of Land to his brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whose people were anciently called *Phusei*, (saith *Iosephus*) and *Pliny* mentioneth the Riuer *Phut* in *Mauritania*: which Riuer from the Mountain *Atlas* (known to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyrus*) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chus* & *Lud* were contermini and Associates with the Egyptians.

§. XII.

Of the eleuen sonnes of Canaan, the fourth sonne of *Ham*.

†. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: with the names of his eleuen sonnes.

Canaan (the fourth sonne of *Ham*) posselt all that Region called by the Romans *Palestina*; in the Scriptures *Galilee*, *Samarina*, and *Iudea*; in the latter times known by the name of the Holy Land and *Iurie*: the limits whereof are precisely set downe by *Moses*, *Genesis* the tenth, Then the border of the Canaanites was from *Zidon* as thou goest to *Gerar* vntill *Azzah*, and as thou goest vnto *Sodome* and *Gomorrha*, and *Admah*, and *Zeboim*, euen vnto *Lasba*. Now howsoeuer these words of the Hebrew Text (as thou goest) be conuerted, *Moses* meaning was that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the North; *Sodome* & *Gomorrha* the East, and the other Cities named stood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* standeth in a right Line from *Gaza* in the way of *Egypt*, the vttermost Territory of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now the sons of *Canaan* which posselt this Country, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleuen:

1. *Zidon*.
2. *Heth* or *Chethus*.
3. *Iebusi* or *Iebusans*.
4. *Emori* or *Emorens*, or *Amorens*.
5. *Girgesbi* or *Girgesens*.
6. *Heni* or *Chinens*.
7. *Arki* or *Harkens*.
8. *Seni* or *Sinaus*.
9. *Araadi* or *Arnaeus*.
10. *Zemari* or *Samarens*, or *Tzemarens*.
11. *Hamathi* or *Hamathens*, or *Chamathaus*.

Of which the most renowned were the *Hethites*, *Girgesites*, *Amorites*, *Henites*, *Iebusites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were descended of *Zemari* or *Samarens*, or from some of his.

†. II.

Of the portions of *Zidon* and *Heth*.

Zidon the first borne of *Canaan*, built the famous City of *Zidon* in *Phanicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Asher*: for *Asher*, *Zabulon*, and *Nephthali* had a great part of the ancient *Phanicia* distributed among them; but the *Asherites* could neuer obtaine *Zidon* it selfe.

Gen. 10. 19.

Gen. 23.

Gen. 27. 46.

4. Kin. 7. 6.

The second sonne of Canaan was Heth or Cethus: of whom came the Hethites, or Hittites, one of those seven principall Nations (Commanders of Canaan) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the Gergesites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hittites, and the Jebusites. The Hittites inhabited about Bersabe, and towards Hebron, there the Torrent Besor, and about Gerar, which Moses maketh the uttermost limit of Canaan, having the Desert of Pharan to the South: for about Bersabe (otherwise Puteus in armentis) foure miles from Gaza dwelt Heth and his Posterity, as far to the Northeast as Hebron, & Mamre, and of Ephraim the Hittite did Abraham buy the field of Sarabs buriall. Of which Nation Rebecca bewailed her selfe to Isaac, saying, *That she was weary of her life for the Daughters of Heth.* The Giants Anakim were of these Hittites, a strong & fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the kings of Israel against them the Syrians greatly feared: as in the fourth of the Kings; *Israel hath hired against us the Kings of the Hittites.*

†. III.

Of the Jebusites and Amorites.

Jebusus, the third sonne of Canaan, of whom came the Jebusites, and whose principall seat was Jebus, (afterward Hierusalem) were also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held their City and the Country neere it, till such time as David by Gods assistance recovered both: yet were not the Jebusites extinguished, but were Tributaries to Salomon.

Amoreus was the fourth sonne of Canaan, of whom the Amorites tooke name, who inhabited that Land to the East of Jordan below the Sea of Galilee, having Arnon and the Mountaines of Galaad on the East, and Jordan on the West: of whom Og (King of Basan) and Sihon (ouerthrowne by Moses) were Princes.

The Amorites had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of Canaan: as behinde Libanus in the edge of Calesyria, or Syria Libanica. They had also their being in the Mountaines of Iuda, and in Idumaea neere the Metropolis thereof, called Dumma. And hereof it came that all the Canaanites were sometime called Amorites: as in Genesis the fifteenth: *For the wickednesse of the Amorites is not yet full.* And that this was also a powerfull Nation, wee finde in the Prophet Amos: *Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Oake.*

Deut. 1.
Num. 13.

Amot 2.

†. IIII.

Of the Gergesites, Hewites, and Harkites.

The fifth sonne of Canaan was Gergesem or Gergesion, (otherwise Girgasi) who inhabited on the East side of the Lake of Tiberias, or the Sea of Galilee, where Ptolomy sets the City Gerasa, which Iosephus calls Gesera, in the Territory of Decapolis. Here it was that Christ dispossessed the possessed with Devils; and the Gergesites desired him to depart their Coasts: because their Swine, filled with the euill spirits, drowned themselves in the Sea of Galilee. Gergesem also built Beritus (sometime Geris) afterward Felix Iulia, three miles from the Riuer Adonis in Phoenicia: in which the Romans held a Garrison: and to which Augustus gaue many large priuiledges.

Heueus the sixth sonne, and Father of the Hewites, inhabited vnder Libanus neer Emath. These Hewites, howsoeuer the Captharim expelled a good part of them (as in Deuteronomy the second is remembred) yet many of them remained all the warre of Iosua, and afterward to the time of Salomon. For God was not pleased vterly to root out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the Israelites, and at other times serued (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, Iudges the third: *They remained to prone Israel by them, whether they would obey the Commandements of God.*

The seventh sonne was Aracens or Harki, who between the foote of Libanus and the Mediterran Sea, (ouer against Tripolis) built the City of Archai, Arce, or Arca, afterwards Arachis.

†. V.

†. V.

Of Sini and Aruadi.

Sineus the eight son, Hierosolymitanus sets at Caparorsa, which Ptolomy findes in Iudea, not farre from Iebus; to the South thereof, saith Iunius. But it is more probable, that Sineus founded Sin, which S. Hierome calls Sim: Ptolomy, Simyra: Mela and Pliny, Simyrus: Brochard, Sycon, (called Synochus) neere Arca. Pererius thinks that Sineus inhabited the Desarts of Sinai, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of Brochard, who tooke view of all these places, affirming, that Sineus built Synochus, as Zidon built Zidon. There is also another Nation of Cini (written with the letter C. otherwise Kenai) who descended of Hobab the son of Raguel the Madianite, who assisted the Israelites in their conduction through the Wildernes of Pharan. But these Cinai were admitted among the Israelites, and had a portion of Land with the Nephthalims, beside their habitations with the Amalekites: against these Cinai, Balaam prophecied, that they should be destroyed by the Assyrians.

Iudg. 4.
10. Iudg. 19. 33.

The ninth sonne was Aradens or Aruadens, who in the Ile of Aradus built the City Arados: opposite against which Iland on the Maine of Phoenicia, they founded another City of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called Antaradus. To this City came S. Peter (saith Clement) & in this Ile preached the Gospell, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but wee finde no such worke of his in the Acts of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom Ezechiel remembreth in his prophecies against the Tyrians: *The inhabitants of Zidon and Aruad were skilfull Mariners.*

Gul. Tyr. 5. 17.

Cap. 27. 8.

†. VI.

Of Zemari.

Of Samareus, or Zemari, the tenth sonne, there are diuers opinions. Some think that he inhabited in Calesyria at Edeffa, and founded Samaraim, which in Iosua is placed in the Tribe of Beniamin. There is also Samaraim (of the same Orthography) vpon the Mountaines of Ephraim (saith Beroaldus) mentioned in the second of Chronicles, c. 13. v. 4. which the Latine conuerteth amisse (saith he) by Sennem. The Hierosolymitan Paraphrast makes Samareus (of whom were the Perizzites) the parent of the Emissani, which Pliny calls the Hemisseni, in Calesyria; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembred. But that they founded Samaria, both the Hebrew Orthographie, and this place in the first of Kings (speaking of Omri) disproueth: *And he bought the Mountaine Samaria or Shemerion of one Shemer, for two talents of silver, and built in the Mountaine; and called the name of the City which hee built, after the name of Shemer, Lord of the Mountaine, Samaria.* But of all these places I shall speake more at large in the conquest of the holy Land, by the children of Israel. Of whomsoeuer the Samaritanes were descended, sure I am, that they were euer a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the Iewes stood vp, they alwaies called themselves Iewes: when it suffered or sank, they then vterly denied to be of that Nation or Family; for at such time as they were returned from their first captiuitie, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the Assyrians, and partly of the Naturalls.

Beroald. in Chro. lib. 4.

1. Kin. 16. 24.

†. VII.

Of Hamathi.

The last of Canaans sonnes was Hamatheus, or (according to the Hebrew) Hamathi, of Hamath, (saith Beroaldus) of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced Emath, whereof Hamatheus was present. Iosephus & Saint Hierome confound Emath with Antioch: not that Antioch which standeth on the Riuer Orontes, on the frontier of Comagena, betwene the Mountaine Cassius and the Prouince of Pieria, and Selencis, of which Saint Peter was Bishop, and in which Saint Luke and Ignatius were borne; but Antioch, surnamed Epiphania, as Beroaldus supposeth, which standeth betwene

Apamea

Apamea and *Emesa* in *Cassius*. Yet, indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* vpon *Orentes*, and that which neighboureth *Emesa*, are farther off seated from *Canaan*, than euer any of those Nations straggled. And whereas *S. Hierome* setteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephthali*; it is manifest, that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the North of *Emesa*, hath all the Prouince of *Laodicea* betweene it and any part of the Land diuided. And if *Libanon* it selfe were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong vnto them: for both the Prouinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica*, are betweene *Epiphania* and any part of the holy Land: & therefore *Emath* so taken could not be a part of *Nephthali*, as in the thirteenth of *Iosua* is directly proued. For *Iosua* counting the lands that remained ynposselt, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sunne-rising, from *Baalgad* vnder Mount *Hermon*, vntil we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is vsed, that *Emath* was not in *Nephtholim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: because *Dauid* accepted the presents of *Tobu* King of *Emath*, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which hee would not haue done, if that Territory had euer belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would haue recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight. For if the promise which God made, be considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* bee comprehended, though seated altogether without the bounds of the Land promised, according to the description of *Moses* and *Iosua*: for *Emath* is indeede situate on the other side of the Mountaine of *Hermon*, which ioyneth to *Libanus*: and is otherwise called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Iosua* the 19. v. 35. and written in the *Latine* conuersion *Emath*, therein (saith *Beroaldus*) was *S. Hierome* mistaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that ouer the Mountaines, and the City in *Nephtholim* should be written *Hamath*: and so the *Septuagint* (vnderstanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the same which indeede belonged to the *Nephthalims*, seated on the South side of *Libanus*, to the East of *Affedim*: which City *S. Hierome* writes *Emath*; *Iosephus* *Hamath*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amathicos*, and the people *Amathem*; of which (as I take it) *Rabsakeb* vaunteth in the second of *Kings*: Where is the god of *Hamath*?

§. XIII.

Of the sonnes of Chusli (excepting Nimrod,) of whom hercafter.

The sonnes of Chusli were,	}	<i>Seba,</i> <i>Hauila,</i> <i>Sabta,</i> <i>Raama,</i> <i>Sabteca,</i> <i>Nimrod,</i>	And the sonnes of Raama were,	}	<i>Sheba,</i> <i>and</i> <i>Dedan.</i>
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†. I.

That most of the sonnes of Chusli were seated in *Arabia the Happy*: and of the *Sabaans* that robbed *Iob*: and of the *Queene* that came to *Salomon*.

Seba or *Saba* was the eldest sonne of *Chusli*, the eldest sonne of *Ham*; to make a difference betweene Him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the sonne of his brother *Raama*, or *Regma* (or *Ragma* after *Montanus*:) his name is written with a single (S) *Samuech*, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Regma* with an (S) asperate, which is the *Hebrew* *Schin*. *Seba* the eldest sonne of *Chusli*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Regma*, posselt both the shores of *Arabia Felix*. *Saba* tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as neereſt to his Father *Chusli*, and the Land of the *Chusites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the East coast of the same *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulfe of *Persia*; of which *Pliny*: *Sabai Arabum populi, propter thura clarissimi ad vstrag, maria porrectu gentibus habitant*; The *Sabaans* people of *Arabia*, famous for their Frankincense, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas, (to wit) the *Persian*, and the *Arabian*, or Red Sea. This Countrey was afterwards called *Arabia*, a populi mixtione, saith *Posellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolomy*, who setteth the City of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or Red Sea, and the City *Rhegama* towards the *Persian*, with whom also we may leaue *Sabta*: for so much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolomy*, because

because he remembreth a (Nation called *Stabei*) neere the *Persian* Sea; and *Maſſabathæ* which descended of them. But *Montanus* hath sent *Regma*, or (as he calls him) *Rhania* into *Carmathia*, for which I see no reason. *Iosephus*, who onely attended his owne fancies, hath banished *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinkes it strange, that the *Sabai*, which stole away *Iob's* Cattle, should runne through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petraea*, and finde out *Iob* in *Tracometus*, betweene *Palastina* and *Cæſſyria* 1200. miles off. Now, as this coniecture was more than ridiculous, so do I thinke, that neither the *Sabai* on the Red Sea, nor those toward the *Persian* Sea, could by any meanes execute the stealth vpon *Iob*, which fouer *Beroaldus* shall take for neereſt. But these were the *Sabai* of *Arabia the Desert*, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the Citie *Saba* is seated: the same which *Ptolomie* calls *Sauæ*, now *Semiscasac*; and from this *Saba* in *Arabia the Desert*, came those *Magi*, or *wise men* which worshipped *Chriſt*, saith *Melchior*, whose words are these: *The Magi came neither out of Mesopotamia* (as *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierome*, and *Ambrose* supposed) *nor out of Arabia the Happie*, as many wise men doe beleene, but out of *Saba* in *Arabia the Desert*: which Citie when my selfe was there, was (as I indged it) called *Semiscasac*. And to approue this opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that these *Sabai* were neighbours to *Iob*, and lay fit to inuade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well those on the *Persian* Sea, as those on the Red Sea) are so dis-ioyned with large Deserts, as there is no possibilitie for strangers to passe them, especially with any numbers of Cattell, both in respect of the Mountaines, of the sands, and of the extreame want of water in those parts: *Vbi nec humines, nec bestia videntur, nec aues, imò nec arbores, nec gramen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosi, altissimi, asperissimi*; where there are found neither men, nor beasts, no not so much as birds, or trees, nor any pasture or grasse, but onely sharpe, and high stonie, and cragie mountaines: *Beroaldus* and *Peterrus* conceiue, that the *Queene* of *Saba* which came to visit *Salomon*, was of the *Sabai* on the East side of *Arabia Felix*; but the contrarie seemeth more probable, and that she was *Queene* of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Salomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, twixt *Idumæa* and the Red Sea, as farre downe as *Midian* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this *Queene* of *Saba* which inhabited the West part of *Arabia Felix*, being his neighbour, might without any farre trauaile enter his Territories, free from all danger of surprize by any other Prince or Nation.

But to auoid tediousnesse, it is manifest that *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, with his Sonnes *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the possessors of *Arabia the Happy*, & the Desert: onely *Hauilah* & *Nimrod* dwelt together on the East side of *Chusli*, who held *Arabia Petraea*. Now for *Sabta*, there is found of his name the Citie of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the same *Arabia*: of which both *Plinie* and *Ptolomie*, who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there were sometimes found sixtie Temples. *Ezekiel* ioyneth the Father and the Sonne together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were they Merchants*. And that they were the *Easterne Arabians*, their merchandise witnesseth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradise*. For *Iosephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the parent of the *Ethiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopians* *Aflabari*, they be not worthe any farther answer than hath already beene giuen: especially seeing these Cities, preserving the memorie of the names of *Saba*, & of *Sabta* in *Arabia*, were yet remaining in *Ptolomies* time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adioyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of *Cush*, with little alterations are preserved. In *Arabia the Desert* is found the Citie *Saba* or *Sauæ*, (now *Semiscasac*) with the Citie of *Rhegama* for *Rhegma*; & the Nation by *Ptolomie* himselfe called *Raaheni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia the Happie* is found the Citie of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*; which also keepeth the sound of *Rhegma*, the Citie of *Saptha* or *Saptah*, not farre from the East-coast of *Arabia*: as also the Metropolis and chiefe Citie in the bodie of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*; and to the West of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea the great Citie of *Saba*; and the Nation adioyning, *Sabai*: and to the South thereof againe toward the streight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Saba*. To all these his Brothers and Nephewes which were seated on the East side of *Arabia*, *Hauilah* by the passage of *Tiers* was a neighbour, to whom hee might passe by Boate euen vnto *Rhegma* the Citie of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, set neere the Riuer of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Persian* Sea, which stood in *Ptolomies* time.

†. II.

f. II.

Iosephus his opinion of Dedan, one of the issue of Chussh, to have been seated in the West Aethiopia, disproued out of Ezechiel and Hieremie.

And whereas Iosephus (whom in this S. Hierome followeth, as not curious herein) sent Dedan the son of Raamah into West Aethiopia, it is strange that Ezechiel should couple Sheba, Raamah, and Dedan together; Dedan in the 15. Verse, and Sheba, and Raamah in the 22. Verse, to be the Merchants of Tyre, if Dedan had dwelt in West Aethiopia, which is distant from Raamah and Sheba (the habitation of his father and brother) about four thousand miles. Besides which, the merchandise that the Dedanites brought to Tyre doth not make them naked Blacke-moores. For they of Dedan (saith Ezechiel) were thy Merchants in precious clothes for thy Chariots; and these Westerne Aethiopians neuer saw cloth, till the Portugals, seeking those Coasts, traded with them: the merchandise of the Countrey being Hides, Elephants teeth, some Gold and Amber, Ciuets, Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufecture: and all these they exchanged for linnen, or yron chiefly.

But in those dayes the West part of Africa within the body of the land was knowne onely by imagination: and, being vnder the burnt Zone, was held vninhabitable. And therefore that the Negros of the West Aethiopia, which inhabite about Serra Liona, or Niger, could either passe by Sea or Land to Tyre, in the bottome of the Mediterran Sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancy. Now to put it out of dispute that Dedan also dwelt by the rest of the children of Chussh, which seates they held by that name in the time of Hieremie the Prophet, let vs heare Hieremie his owne words: Fly, ye Inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the destruction of Esau upon him. Hereby it appeareth, that Dedan was a Neighbour to the Idumeans: and Idumea is a Prouince of Arabia Petraea: and Dedan which dwelt on the North part of Arabia felix, ioyned in that part to Petraea, the seat of his Grand-father Chussh; which neighbourhood and fellowship of Dedan and the Idumeans, is also confirmed by Ezechiel: I will stretch out my hand upon Edom, and destroy Man and Beast out of it, and I will make it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword.

S. XIII.

Of the issue of Mizraim: and of the place of Hieremie, Chap. 9. Vers. 7.

After Chussh it followeth to speake of Mizraims sonnes, whose names (saith Saint Augustine) were plurall, to signifie the Nations, which came of them. Ludim, the elder sonne of Mizraim, was the Father of the Lybians in Africa: and the rest of his Brothers dispersed themselves into all the Regions adioyning. Among the sons of Shem there is also Lud; but hee is differenced from Lud the sonne of Mizraim by the singular number: the sonne of Shem being written Lud, the sonne of Mizraim, Ludim: and yet these Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparant difference both of Names and Nations. For, that Ludim the sonne of Mizraim was the parent of the Lybians in Africa, and that he was seated not farre from Mizraim his father, appeareth by the Prophet Hieremie, who ioyneth them in this sort together: Come up ye Horses, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-moores, and the Lybians which beare the shield: for those Nations assisted the Egyptians, being of one parent descended. And in Ezechiel, Phut & Lud are ioyned together: Aethiopia (or Chussh) saith Ezechiel, c. 30. v. 3. and Phut and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, shall fall with them by the sword: which is as much to say, as the sons of Chussh, (which were the Chusites) the sonnes of Mizraim, (which were the Egyptians) and the Lybians (descended of his sonne Lud) with other the inhabitants of Egypt and Africa, shall fall together. Hierosolymitanus finds also in Africa a Nation of the Lydians. And I beleue it: because Hieremie ioyneth the Lybians, and Lydians together in the place before remembered. But Lybia in Africa is by the Hebrewes called Ludim (saith Arius Montanus) though 2. Chron. 12. 3. they seeme to be called Lubim or Lubei, a name somewhat neerer the word Lybies, and by which it may seeme that the truer

writing

writing is, not Lybies, but Lybies. Neither is it here to be omitted, that Pintus (vpon the thirtieth of Ezechiel) vnderstandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of Lud, not to be meant of the Lybians at all: for he will haue this threatening to be meant against the people of Lyda, a City (saith he) between Egypt and Palestina, which opinion I could not mislike if the City of Lyda were so seated. But Lyda (which should be written Lydda with a double D, and is the same City which was afterward Doisspolis, in which S. Peter cured Aeneas of the palsey) standeth neere the Torrent Gaas, not farre from Ioppe the Port of Hierusalem. Yet it is not impossible but that this City might haue Lud for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the Regions of the World, and farre asunder; as after the names of Alexander, Seleucus, and Antiochus, many Cities called Alexandria, Selencia, and Antiochia, so of diuers others. St. Hierome maketh Lehabim to be the Father of Libya, who was the third sonne of Mizraim: and so doth Pustellus; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of Mizraims sonnes haue no proper Countries giuen them in the Scriptures, sauing Caslubim and Caphtorim, of whom came the Philistims, whom the Scriptures call Peleste.

These Caslubim inhabited Casiotia, a Region lying in the entrance of Egypt from Palestina, in which the Lake Sirbonis, and the Mountaine Casius are found: not farre from whence Pompey was buried.

Caphtorim seated neere Caslubim in that Tract of Egypt called Sethrotis, not farre from Pelusium. Strabo calls it Sethrotis, Stephanus and Pliny, Sethroitis, of the City Sethren: which Ortelius takes to be the same which Ptolemy calls Hercules parua. Of the Caslubim and Caphtorim came the Philistims, which are called by the Septuagint Allophyls (which is) Alienigenae, Strangers, or of a strange kindred. These Philistims inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards Egypt, of whom Palestina tooke name. For the Hebrewes (saith Isidore) doe not vse the letter (P) but in stead of it (ph.) Their principall Cities were Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Geth, and Accaron: and the people of them called Gasei, Ascalonites, Azotites, Gethites, and Accaronites: Isidore affirmes, that Ascalon was first called Philistim: and of that City the Countrey adioyning. But where Isidore had it, I know not.

The first knowne King of the Philistims was that Abimelech, who had a liking to Sarahs wife; with whom Abraham made a couenant and league. This Abimelech dwelt indeed at this time in Gerar; but it is written that hee was also King of the Philistims, in these words: Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech King of the Philistims vnto Gerar. Now in regard that this or some ancients Abimelech gouerned the commonwealth greatly to his glory, the rest of his successors called themselves by the same name. The Philistims commanded that Tract of land vpon the Mediterran Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of Pilgrims (otherwise Casarea Palestina, or Stratonis Towre) which was the South border of Phenicia, to Gasa, or to the Riuer of Egypt. The Anakims or strong Gyants were of these Philistims: & Goliath was of Geth, one of the fiue Cities aboue named. They had sometimes fiue Kings, saith Lyrannus. They mastered the Israelites at seuerall times about 150. yeeres, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by Sampson and Samuel; but in the end this yoke was taken off by David, and laid on themselves.

It is objected, that because these Cities & the Countreies adioyning, were held by the sonnes of Mizraim, therefore did the Israelites dispossesse the sonnes of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, by forcing those places.

To this saith Pererius, that although the Palestines or Philistims held it in the time of Joshua; yet at the time of the promise it was posselt by the Canaanites; as in the second of Deuteronomy. The Heuites dwelt in the Villages vnto Gaza. And what maruaile, if the Canaanites being the greater part, the denomination were from them? For that the Philistims were of Caphtor, and so of Mizraim and not of Canaan, besides Moses, the Prophet Hieremie witnesseth: The Lord will destroy the Philistims: the remnant of the issue of Caphtor: and in like manner in the ninth of Amos, the Philistims are said to be the reliques of Caphtorim: Hane not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistims from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir? so I read this place with diuers of the learned. For where as the Vulgar hath, & Palestinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene, this conuersion Beroachdus condemneth, where Caphtor is taken for Cappadocia, and Cyrene for Kir. For Cyrene is a City directly West from Egypt, betweene Ptolemais on Barce and Apollonia: but Kir in Asia vnder the Assyrians; Iunius hath it Kir, and not Cyrene: and so hath the Geneva.

But

The termination in the Hebrew, is commonly a signe of the plurall number, as in our the dual.

cap. 16. v. 9.

saith vpon the 33. Psalme. Hierome vpon the 29. of Ezechiel.

Amos. 9. v. 7.

Of which see
la the second
Book, Chap 7.
§. 3. †. 5.

cap. 16. v. 9.

But *Peregrinus* calls *Caphthorim* *Cappadocia*, according to the Vulgar translation, to which he is bound: & yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean *Cappadocia* in *Palæstina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Pontus* in the North of *Asia* the lesse. For whether they inhabited *Serhreites*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palæstina*, it is not certainly knowne. And sure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa*, but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Teglatphalasser* king of the *Assyrians* carried away the Inhabitants of *Damascus* into *Kir*: and so *Iosephus* seemes to vnderstand this *Kir* for *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene*, *Media superior*: for it was the manner and policy of the *Assyrians* to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-Media*: because the *Syrians* by the *Assyrians* were therein captiued.

§. X V.
Of the issue of SEM.

†. I.

Of *Elim*, *Assur*, *Arphaxad*, and *Lud*.

It remaineth lastly to speake of the Sons of *Sem*, who are these:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Assur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

THe posterity of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Story of the *Hebrewes*: (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.)

Of these five sonnes, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him & *Aram*, the rest are barely spoken of by rehearfall of their names, sauing that it may bee gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Nineue*) was also said to be the Father of the *Assyrians*, whose issues, and the issues of *Cham*, instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the *Assyrians*, sometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth vs, that all the East parts of the World were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (sauing *India*) which I belecue *Noah* himselfe first inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Hanilah* the sons of *Ioëlan* afterward repaired. His filij *Sem* ab *Euphrate* flumio partem *Asie* vsq; ad *Oceanum Indicum* tenuerunt; The sons of *Sem* (saith *S. Hierome*) held all those Regions from *Euphrates* to the *Indian Ocean*.

Ios. Ant. l. 6. c. 7.

cap. 8. vers. 2.

Prot. Asia tab.
1. Dan. 2. 4.

Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembred, *Acts* 2. vers. 9. and the Princes of *Persia*; which name then began to be out of vse and lost, when the *Persians* became Masters of *Babylonia*: the East Monarchy being established in them. Some prophane Writers distinguish *Elam* from *Persia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Susa* (which the Scriptures call *Sufan*) in *Elam* was the kings seat of *Persia* (witnesseth *Daniel*.) And I saw (saith he) in a vision, and when I saw it, I was in the Palace of *Susan*, which is in the Prouince of *Elam*: This City is embraced by the River *Eulæus* (according to *Ptolomy*) in *Daniel*, *Ylai*: and seated in the border of *Sufiana*.

Assur (as most Historians beleue) the second son of *Sem*, was Father of the *Assyrians*, who disdaining the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Nineue*, of equall beauty and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion: Euery mans hand hath bene in this Story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speake much: for the *Assyrians* so often invaded and spoiled the *Israelites*, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captiues, as both in Diuine & Humane letters there is large and often mention of this Nation.

But howbeit *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with

with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the *Assyrians* of any such power, after such time as *Sardanapalus* lost the Empire. For *Senacherib* who was one of the powerfullest Princes among them, had yet the Mountaine *Taurus* for the vtmost of his Dominion toward the North-east, and *Syria* bounded him toward the West, notwithstanding these vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Esay* the 37. *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them vpon whom my Fathers haue destroyed? as Gozan, and Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden which were at Tellaasar? Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, and the King of the City Sepharuaim, Hena and Inab? All these were indeede but petty Kings of Cities, and small Countries, as Haran in Mesopotamia: Reseph in Palmyrena: Hamathor Emath in Iturea, vnder Libanus: the Isle of Eden: Sepher, and others of this sort. Yea, Nabuchodonosor, who was most powerfull, before the conquest of Egypt, had but Chaldaea, Mesopotamia, and Syria, with Palæstina and Phœnicia parts thereof. But in this question of *Assur*, I will speake my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose plantation I haue omitted among the rest of the *Chusites*, because hee established the first Empire: from whom the most memorable story of the World taketh beginning.*

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, saith Saint *Hierome*, and *Iosephus*; but it must be those *Chaldeans* about *Vr*: for the sonnes of *Cham* possesse the rest. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebrewes*: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela*, *Heber*; of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth son of *Sem*, gaue name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the lesse, is the common opinion, taken from *Iosephus* and *S. Hierome*; but I see not by what reason he was moued to straggle thither from his friends.

†. II.

Of *Aram*, and his Sonnes.

Aram the fifth and last Son of *Sem* was the parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damascus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Iosephus*) which *Syrus* liued before *Moses* was borne; the same which others call the sonne of *Apollo*. *Mesopotamia* also being but a Prouince of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Naharajm*, which is as much to say; as *Syria duorum fluminum*; *Syria compassed with two Rivers*, (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the *Greekes* *Mesopotamia* simply.

Arise and get thee to Padan Aram (saith *Isaac* to *Jacob*) *to the house of Bethuel thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wife*. *Strabo* also remembreth it by the ancient name of *Aram* or *Aramea*, as these his owne words conuerted witness: *Quos nos Syros vocamus, ipsi Syri Aramæni & Arameos vocant; Those which we call Syrians* (saith hee) *themselves call Aramæni and Arameans*.

Against this opinion, that *Aram* the sonne of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in generall, (and not onely of those in *Syria Inter-amnis*, which is *Mesopotamia*) some read, *Genes. 22. 21. Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where other out of the originall read *Kemuel*, the sonne of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconuenience for vs to vnderstand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of some one of note; the rather, because in the History of *Abraham* and *Isaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuel*'s Posterity could be famous) we finde *Mesopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: sometimes with *Naharajm*, and sometimes of *Padan*, to distinguish it from another *Aram*; which (as it seemes) then also was called *Padan*. For whereas *Iunius* thinks in his notes vpon *Gen. 25. 20.* that *Padan Aram* ought to be restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia*, (to wit) to that part which *Ptolomy* calls *Ancobaritū* (so called from the River *Chaboras*, which diuiding it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous vse of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Naharajm* (which latter appellation questionlesse comprehends the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seem to refute this opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agrees with this Region: because the two Riuer, (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appeare in the name of two Cities in *Ptolomy*, called *Aphadana*: (as *Iunius* hath well noted) the one vpon *Chaboras*, the other vpon *Euphrates*.

The Sonnes of Aram were,

Vz or Hus,
Hul,
Gesber, and
Mesch or Mes.

Hieron. in trad. Hebraic. Vz or Hus inhabited about *Damascus*, and built that City; saith *Iosephus* and *St. Hierome*. But *Tosiasus* mistaking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who also followeth *Iosephus*, affirmeth that *Abrahams* Steward *Eliezer* was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus* the eldest son of *Aram* dwelt neare vnto his father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the same, adioyning to *Arabia* the Desart, & to *Batanea* or *Tracônitis*: whereof the Prophet *Hieremy*: Reioyce and be glad O Daughter of *Edom* that dwellest in the Land of *Hus*. *Hus* therefore is seated beyond *Jordan*, in the East Region of *Tracônitis*, adioyning to *Basan*, hauing *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountaine *Seir* to the East, *Edrai* to the South, *Damascus* North, and *Jordan* West: hauing in it many Cities and people, as may also be gathered out of *Hieremy*: And all sorts of people: and all the kings of the Land of *Hus*. In this Region dwelt *Ieb*, descended of *Hus*, the son of *Nahor*, the brother of *Abraham* (saith *S. Hierome*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Jacob*, saith *Philo*.

Hieron. Lam. cap. 4. ver. 21.

cap. 25. ver. 20.

Hul the second son of *Aram*, *S. Hierome* makes the Father of the *Armenians*: and *Gesher* the third son, parent to the *Acanianians* or *Carians*: which opinion, (because I finde not where to set him) I do not disproue, though I see no reason why *Gesher* should leaue the fellowship of his owne brethren, and dwell among Strangers in *Asia* the lesse. *Iunius* giues *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Desart of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Emphrates*, where *Ptolomy* setteth the City of *Cholle*.

Gesher (saith *Iosephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Iosephus* gaue all *Noahs* children fea-thers, to carry them far away in all haste. For mine own opinion, I alwaies keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and thinke with *Iunius* (to wit) That *Gesher* seated himselfe neare his brothers, in the body of *Syria*, and in the Prouince of *Cassiotis*, and *Seleucia*, where *Ptolomy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

Iunius also giueth to *Mes* or *Mesch* the North part of *Syria*, betweene *Cilicia* and *Me-
sopotamia*, neare the Mountaine *Mafius*. The certainty of those Plantations can no other-
wise be knowne than by this probability, that *Aram* the father (of whom that great Re-
gion took name) planted his sons in the same Land about him: for he wanted no scope
of Territory for himselfe and them; neither then when the World was newly planted,
nor in many hundred yeares after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them in the
Desart parts of the World, so far asunder. And as necessity and policy held them toge-
ther for a while: so Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting
the hearts of their children, set them asunder. For although these sons of *Aram*, and the
sons of the rest of *Noahs* children, kept themselves within the bounds of some one large
Kingdome; yet therein euery one also sought a Prouince apart, & to themselves; giuing
to the Cities therein built their own names, thereby to leaue their memory to their Po-
sterity: the vse of Letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Prouin-ces: euery one emulating and disdainig the greatnesse of other, as they are thereby to
this day subiect to inuasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Noua Hispania* and *Peru* ex-
cepted, because those Countries are vnaccessible to Strangers) an easie force will cast
them out of all the rest.

Chap. 8. S. 7.

Mes the fourth son is made the parent of the *Maonians*: of whom something hath bin
spoken already. *Arphaxad* the third son of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two
sons, *Phaleg* and *Ischan*: and in *Phalegs* time was the Earth diuided.

†. III.

Of the diuision of the Earth in the time of *Phaleg*, one of the sonnes of *Heber*, of the issue
of *Sem*.

THE many people which at the diuision (at *Phalegs* birth) were then liuing, and the
through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a
doubt, whether the Earth were diuided at cyther. The *Hebrewes* (saith *Pererius* out
of

of *Sedar Holam*, one of their *Chronicles*) affirm that this partition happened at the death
of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was borne in the yeare after the Flood 101. and liued in all 239.
yeares, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it so many yeares after
the Flood, ere the children of *Noah* seuered themselves. But to this opinion of the *He-
brewes*, and the doubt they make how in so few yeares as 101. (the time of *Phalegs* birth)
so many people could be increased, *Pererius* giues this answer, That if 70. persons of the
Family of *Jacob* increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. yeares, (besides women, chil-
dren, and impotent persons) how much more is it likely, that so soone after the Flood
the children of *Noah* might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, hauing re-
ceiued the blessing of God, Increase and multiply, and fill the earth? What strength this
answer hath, let others iudge: for the children of *Israel* were 70. and had 215. yeares
time: and the sons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. yeares of time, to the birth of
Phaleg.

Others conceiue that *Phaleg* tooke that name after the diuision, in memory thereof:
as *Iosephus* and *Saint Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the diuision were at *Pha-
legs* death (which hapned in the yeare, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abra-
ham*, but was by more likely computation 12 yeares before his birth) then was the di-
uision 38. yeares after *Ninus*, who gouerned 52. yeares: in the 43. yeare of whose reigne
Abraham was borne. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Assyrians*, 80. yeares before this
diuision (as this diuision is placed by the *Hebrewes*, *Hierome* and *Chrysostome*) then was
the earth so peopled in all the East and Northerne parts, as greater numbers haue not
beene found at any time since. For *Ninus* associating to himselfe *Arius* King of *Arabia*,
a people who at that time (saith *Diod. Siculus*) plurimum opibus atq. armis prestant, Ex-
ceeded both in riches and bodies of men, subdued many Cities in *Armenia*; receiued *Barza-
nis* into grace; then inuaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his
Wife and seuen Children; vanquished all those Regions between *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the
Egyptians, *Phenicians*, the Kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Persia*, to the *Hyrcan-
sian* Sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembred out of *Ctesias*)
against *Zoroaster* and others: and *Zoroaster* on the other side, who made resistance with
400000. proue it sufficiently, that if the diuision had not happened before the death of
Phaleg, there had needed no diuision at that time at all. For some of them were so ill sa-
tisfied with their partitions, as they sought to be masters of all, and greater Armies were
there neuer gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramus*: wherefore in this opinion there is
little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit that if the diuision had beene made at the birth of *Phaleg*,
there were not then sufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was neuer meant
that the earth could be filled euery where at the very instant, but by times and degrees.
And surely whatsoeuer mens opinions haue beene heerein, yet it is certaine, that
the diuision of tongues and of men must goe neere together with the ceasing of the
worke at *Babel*: and that the enterprize of *Babel* was left off instantly vpon the confu-
sion of Languages, where followed the execution of the diuision; and so neyther at
the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was borne in the yeare 101. after the Flood,
which was the yeare that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or ten yeares after he arriued, saith
Berosas.

Now if it be objected that *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whose name signifieth diuision)
must haue liued without a name, except the name had beene giuen him at the time of
this confusion and partition: to this objection it may be answered, That the change of
names vpon diuers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Jacob* was called *Israel* after
he had wrestled with the Angel; *Abraham* was first *Abram*; and *Edom* *Esau*; and that
Phaleg being a principall man in this diuision had his first name vpon this accident chan-
ged, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the *Hebrewes*, *Saint Hierome* and *Chrysostome* account *Heber*
for a great Prophet, if that by giuing his sonne the name of *Phaleg*, hee fore-told the
diuision which followed: to this I say, I doe not finde that *Heber* deserued any such
honour, if hee had thereupon so called his sonne: for diuision and dispersion follow-
eth increase of people of necessity; and this Prophecie (if any such had beene) might
also haue reference to the diuision, which afterwards fell amongst the *Hebrewes* them-
selves.

But if we giue a reasonable time to the building of the Towre and City of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstratiue prooffe) might be increased: and that vpon the fall thereof the confusion and diuision followed (whereupon *Phelag* tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

†. IV.

Of the sonnes of *Ioctan*, the other sonne of *Heber*.

The sons of *Ioctan* were

1. *Elmodad*.
2. *Salaph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph*.
3. *Asmath*, or *Chatzar*.
4. *Iare*, or *Iaraab*, or *Ierath*.
5. *Hadoram*.
6. *Vzal*, or *Vxal*.
7. *Dicklach*, or *Diela*.
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal*.
9. *Abinuel*.
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba*.
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir*.
12. *Hauilah*, or *Chauila*, and
13. *Iobab*.

ALL those sons of *Ioctan* (according to Saint *Hierome*) dwelled in the East parts of the world, or *India*, euen from the Riuer *Cophe* or *Chos*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certaine places of those thirteene Sons cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moses* being generall: *And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest vnto Separ a Mount in the East*. Of all these thirteene Sons, there were onely three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Hauilah*. Concerning whose names, to auoid confusion, it is to be obserued, that among the sons of *Chus*, two of them had also the names of *Sheba* and *Hauilah*. *Abraham* had also a third *Saba* or *Sheba*, his grand-childe by his wife *Ketura*. But *Seba* the sonne of *Chus*, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Rhegma* his Nephew, we haue left in *Arabia Felix*: and *Hauilah* the son of *Chus* vpon *Tigris*. *Saba* the grand-childe of *Abraham* was (as some haue thought) the Father of the *Sabeans* in *Persia*: of which Nations *Dionysius de Orbis situ*, maketh mention. *Primum Sabes; post hos sunt Passagarde; prope vero hos sunt Tasci: The first are Sabeans; after these be Passagarde; and neere these the Tasci*. And whereas it is written: *But vnto the Sonnes of the Concubines which Abraham had, Abraham gaue gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his sonne (while he yet liued) Eastward to the East-Country*: hereupon it is supposed, that this *Saba* the sonne of *Abraham*, wandered into *Persia*: for *Persia* was accounted the furthestmost East-Country in respect of *Iudea*; which also *Ouid* setteth vnder the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of *Abraham*'s sons seated themselves on the borders of *Iudea*, I rather choose to leaue *Saba* the son of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the Defart, where *Ptolomy* setteth a City of that name.

But *Saba* the sonne of *Ioctan*, the son of *Heber*, (as I conceiue) inhabited *India* it selfe. For *Dionysius Afer* in his *Periegesis*, (or description of the World) which hee wrote in Greeke Verse, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabei*. *Taxilis hos inter medios habitat; Sabaei; In the midst of these dwell the Sabes, and the Taxili*, saith this *Dionysius*.

†. V.

Of *Ophir* one of *Ioctan*'s sonnes, and of *Peru*, and of that voyage of *Salomon*.

Ophir also was an Inhabitant of the East *India*, and (as *S. Hierome* vnderstands it) in one of the Ilands plentifull with gold, which are now known by the name of *Molucca*. *Iosephus* vnderstands *Ophir* to be one of those great head-lands in *India*, which by a generall name are called *Chersonesi*, or *Peninsula*: of which there are two very notorious; *Calicut* and *Malacon*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Iland, as Saint *Hierome* doth,

but

but he sets it at the head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther East.

Aries Montanus out of the second of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and sixth Verse, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others *Mare pacificum*. The words in the second of the *Chronicles* are these: *And hee ener-layed the house with precious stones for beautie; and the gold was gold of Paruaim*. *Iunius* takes this gold to bee the gold of *Hauilah*, remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*: *And the gold of that Land is good: finding a Towne in Characene a Prouince of Susiana called Barbatia; so called (as he thinks) by corruption for Paruaim: from whence those Kings subiected by David, brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which David preferred for the enriching of the Temple*.

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceived many men, before *Montanus*, and *Plesii*, who also tooke *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this question may be a subiect of no further dispute, it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: sure I am, that at least *America* hath none, no not any City, Village, or Mountaine so called. But when *Francis Pizarro* first discovered those Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriuing in that Region which *Atabaliba* commanded a Prince of magnificence, Riches and Dominion inferior to none) some of the *Spaniards* vtterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signes (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a Riuer, or Torrent, or Brooke that ranne by, the *Indians* answered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brooke, or of water in generall. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiuing that the people had rightly vnderstood them, set it downe in the *Diurnall* of their enterprife, and so in the first description made, and sent ouer to *Charles* the Emperor, all that West part of *America* to the South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued euer since, as diuers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* assured me; which also *Acosta* the *Iesuite* in his naturall and morall History of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* also findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Iucatan*) tooke that name of *Ioctan*, who as hee supposed navigated from the vtmost East of *India* to *America*: it is most true, that *Iucatan* is nothing else in the language of that Countrey, but [*what is that*] or [*what say you?*] For when the *Spaniards* ask'd the name of that place (no man conceiuing their meaning) one of the *Saluages* answered *Iucatan* (which is) *What aske you, or what say you?* The like hapned touching *Paria*, a mountainous Countrey on the South side of *Trinidad* & *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men doe) the names of those new Regions which they discovered, pointed to the Hills a fari off, one of the people answered, *Paria*, which is as much to say, as, *high Hills* or *Mountaines*. For at *Paria* begins that maruailous ledge of *Mountaines*, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*, from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South: and so hath that Countrey euer since retained the name of *Paria*.

The same hapned among the *English*, which I sent vnder Sir *Richard Greeneville* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when some of my people asked the name of that Countrey, one of the *Saluages* answered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to say, as, *You wear good clothes*, or gay clothes. The same hapned to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the Iland *Trinidad* for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that selfe place which the Sea incompassed, they answered, *Caeri*, which signifieth an Iland. And in this manner haue many places newly discovered bene intitled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore wee must leaue *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabout such an Iland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found gold in *Arabia* it selfe (towards *Persia*) in *Hauilah*, now *Susana*, and all alongst that East *Indian* shore; yet the greatest plenty is taken vp at the *Philippines*, certaine Ilands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the East *India*. And by the length of the passage which *Salomons* ships made from the red Sea, (which was three yeares in going and comming) it seemeth they went to the vttermost East, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indee the thetar now goe from *Portugal*, or from hence, finish that nauigation in two yeares, and sometimes lesse: and *Salomons* ships went not aboue a tenth part of this our course from hence. But wee must consider, that they euermore kept the coast, and crept by the stores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the vse of the *Compass* was knowne, it was impossible to navigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Salomons* ships could not finde *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull

for the *Spaniards* themselves (had it not beene for the plenty of gold in the East *India* Ilands, farre about the mines of any one place of *America*) to faile euery yeare from the West part of *America* thither, and there to haue strongly planted, & inhabited the richest of those Ilands: wherein they haue built a City called *Manilia*. *Salomon* therefore needed not to haue gone farther off than *Ophir* in the East, to haue sped worke: neither could he nauigate from the East to the West in those dayes, whereas he had no coast to haue guided him.

Tostatus also gathereth a fantastick opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Country, whose Mountaines of gold are kept by *Griffins*: which Mountaines *Solinus* affirmeth to bee in *Scythia Asiatica*, in these words: *Nam cum auro & gemmis affluant, Griffes tenent uniuersa, alites ferocissima, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c.* For whereas these Countries abound in gold, and rich stones, the *Griffins* defend the one and the other: a kinde of Fowle the fiercest of all other, with which *Griffins* a Nation of people called *Arimaspi* make warre. These *Arimaspi* are said to haue beene men with one eye onely, like vnto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclopes*, *Herodotus* and *Aristemus* make mention: and so doth *Lucan* in his third Booke: and *Valerius Flaccus*: & *D. Siculus* in the story of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine owne opinion) I beleeue none of them. And for these *Arimaspi*, I take it that this name signifying *One-eyed*, was first giuen them by reason that they vsed to wear a vizzard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serue both eies; & not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Solinus* borroweth these things out of *Pliny*, who speaks of such a Nation in the extreame North, at a place called *Gisoluron*, or the Caue of the Northeast winde. For the rest, as all fables were commonly grounded vpon some true stories or other things done: so might these tales of the *Griffins* receiue this Morall: That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of halfe their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason & vnderstanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subiect themselves to famine, corrupt aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be faired in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wilde Beasts or Serpents defend Mountaines of gold, it might bee auowed. For there are in many places of the world, especially in *America*, many high and impassable Mountains which are very rich & full of gold, inhabited onely with Tygres, Lyons, and other rauinous and cruell beasts: vnto which if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to finde the same warre, which the *Arimaspi* make against the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any sense of the gold, or seek to defend that metall, but being disquieted, or made affraid of themselves or their young-ones, they grow enraged and aduenturous. In like sort it may be said that the *Alegartos*, (which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend those Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore *Indians* are eaten vp by them, when they dige for the pearle. And though the *Alegartos* know not the pearle, yet they finde fauour in the flesh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they deuoure.

†. VI.

Of *Hauilah* the sonne of *Ioctan*, who also passed into the East Indies: and of *Mesha* and *Sepher* named in the bordering of the Families of *Ioctan*: with a Conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the world.

OF *Hauilah* the sonne of *Ioctan*, there is nothing els to be said, but that the generall opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East *India* in the Continent, from which *Ophir* past into the Ilands adioyning. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Hauilah*, it is meant by *Hauilah* in the East *India*, which tooke name of *Hauilah* the son of *Ioctan*: but *Hauilah*, which *Pison* compasseth, was so called of *Hauilah*, the sonne of *Chus*, as is formerly proued by this place of Scripture: *Saul smote the Amalekites from Hauilah, as thou comest to Shur, which is before Egypt*. But that *Saul* euer made Warre in the East *India*, no man hath suspected. For an end wee may conclude, that of the thirteene sonnes of *Ioctan*, these three, *Saba*, *Hauilah*, & *Ophir*; though at the first seated by their brethren about the hill *Masius* or *Mesb*, *Gen. 10. 30.* (to wit) betwene *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*; yet at length either themselves or their issues remoued into the East *India*, leaving the other

other Families of *Ioctan*, to fill the Countreies of their first plantation, which the Scripture defines to haue beene from *Mesb* vnto *Sephar*. And although *S. Hierome* take *Mesb* to be a Region of the East *India*, and *Sephar* a Mountaine of the same (which Mountaine, *Montanus* would haue to be the *Andes* in *America*) those fancies are farre beyond my vnderstanding. For the word (*East*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Iudea*, is neuer farther extended than into *Persia*. But *Mesb* is that part of the Mountaine of *Masius* in the North of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the Riuer *Chaboras* springeth which runneth by *Charran*; and in the same Region we also finde for *Sephar* (remembered by *Moses*, *Sipphara* by *Ptolomy*, standing to the East of the Mountaine *Masius*; from whence *Ioctan* hauing many sonnes, some of them might passe into *India*, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in proceesse of time.

The other fashion of planting I vnderstand not, being grounded but vpon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this Mountaine in the East was no farther off than in those Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is vsed: as in *Numbers 23*. *Balaam the King of Moab bath brought me from Aram, out of the Mountaine of the East*; which was from the East part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Balaam* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia*, (witnesseth this place of Deuteronomie: *) Because they hyred Balaam the sonne of Beor, of Pethor in Aram Nabaraïm, to curse thee: for Aram Nabaraïm was Syria flumiorum, which is Mesopotamia, as* 20 aforesaid.

This plantation of the World after the flood dorth best agree (as to me it seems) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these be the reports of Reason and probable coniecture, the Guides which I haue followed herein, and which I haue chosen to goe after; making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies, be they ancient or moderne. Neither haue I any end herein, priuate, or publike, other than the discouery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himselfe hath disguised all things: so the factious and hirling Historians of all Ages (especially of these latter times) haue by their many Volumes of vnture reports left Honor without a Monument, and Vertue without Memory: and (in stead thereof) haue erected Statues and Trophies to those, whom the darkest forgetfulness ought to haue buried, and covered ouer for euermore. And although the length and dissolving Nature of Time, hath worne out or changed the Names and Memory of the Worlds first planters after the flood (I mean the greatest number and most part of them) yet all the foot-steps of Antiquity (as appeares by that which hath beene spoken) are not quite worne out nor ouer-growne: for *Babylon* hath to this day the sound of *Babel*; *Rhamicia* hath *Zidon*, to which City the eldest Son of *Canaan* gaue name; so hath *Cilicia*, *Tharsus*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hibernians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumians*, *Libyans*, *Moors*, and other Nations, haue preferred from the death of forgetfulness some signes of their first Founders and true Parents.

CHAP. IX.

Of the beginning and establishing of Government.

§. I.

Of the proceeding from the first Government under the eldest of Families to Regall, and from Regall absolute, to Regall tempered with Lawes.

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It followeth now to entreate how the World began to receiue Rule and Government, which (while it had scarcity of People) vnder-went no other Dominion than Paternity and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldest of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*Elder*) was alwayes vsed both for the Magistrate, and for those of Age and Grauity: the same bearing one signification almost in all languages. For in the eleventh of *Numbers* God commanded *Moses* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and Gouer-

Gouvernour ouer them: the *Hebrew* bearing the same sense, which the *Latine* word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Susanna*, *Then the Assembly belueued them as those that were the Elders and Iudges of the People.* And so in the words of those false Iudges and witnessers to *Daniel*, *Show it vnto vs, seeing God hath giuen thee the office of an Elder.* *Demosthenes* vseth the same word for the Magistrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giueth two other reasons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedamonios qui amplissimum Magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam appellantur Senes; Among the Lacedamonians the chiefe Magistrates, as they were so are they called Eldermen:* and againe: *Ratio & prudentia nisi essent in senibus, non summum Concilium Maiores nostri appellassent Senatum; If reason and aduise-ment were not in old men, our Ancestors had neuer called the highest Councell by the name of a Senate.*

But though these reasons may well be giuen, yet wee doubt not but in this name of (Elders) for Gouvernours or Counsaillers of State, there is a signe that the first Gouvernours were the Fathers of Families, and vnder them the eldest Sons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniard* take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to *Loyseau*) puissance in propriety, or proper power. The kindes of this *Seignourie*, *Seueca* makes two: the one, *Potestas aut imperium; Power or command*; the other, *Proprietas aut dominium; Propriety or Mastership*: the correlative of the one is the subiect, of the other the slaue. *Ad Caesarem* (saith he) *potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietas; Caesar hath power ouer all, and euery man propriety in his owne:* and againe, *Caesar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dominio; Caesar holdeth all in his power, and euery man possesseth his owne.* But as men and vice began abundantly to increase: so obedience, (the fruit of naturall reuerence, which but from excellent seed seldome ripeneth) being exceedingly ouer-shadowed with pride, and ill examples, vtterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of paternall perswasions (after mankind began to neglect and forget the originall and first giuer of life) became in all ouer-weak, either to resist the first inclination of euill, or after (when it became habitual) to constrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided & steered by their owne fancies, & toft to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the world, while wisedome was feuered from power, and strength from charity: Necessity (which bin-
deth euery nature but the immortal) made both the Wise & Foolish vnderstand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would become far more miserable than that of beasts, and that a generall flood of confusion would a second time ouer-flow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order and dominion preuent it. For the mighty, who trusted in their owne strengths, found others again (by interchange of times) more mighty than themselves: the feeble fell vnder the forcible; and the equall from equall receiued equall harmes. Infomuch that licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a liberty vpon the first acquaintance) proued vpon a better triall, no lesse perillous than an vnindurable bondage.

These Arguments by Necessity propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, perswaded all Nations which the Heauens couer, to subiect themselves to a Master, and to Magistracy in some degree. Vnder which Gouvernement, as the change (which brought with it lesse euill, than the former mischiefes) was generally pleasing: so time (making all men wise that obserue it) found some imperfection & corrosiue in this cure. And therefore the same Necessity which inuented, and the same Reason which approued souereign power, bethought it selfe of certaine equall rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundlesse) might also discern her own limits. For before the inuention of Lawes, priuate affections in supreme Rulers made their own fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: measuring by this yard, and waighing in this ballance, both good and euill.

For as wisedome in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings, so the will of Kings forewent the inuentions of Lawes. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: archetypa principum pro legibus erant; The people were not governed by any other lawes than the wills of Princes.* Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did those mens vertues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor those mens vices deforme them that were. *Amar interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt; Loue sees one while too much, another while starke nothing.* Hence it came to passe, that after a few years (for direction and restraint of Royall power) Lawes were established: and that gouernment which

Necessitas est
fronem iudicium,
et immu-
tabilis prou-
dentia potestas.

had this mixture of equality (holding in an even ballance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall : the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tyrannicall : the one God established in fauour of his people : the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regall authority, Princes as they were chosen for their vertues onely, so did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (saith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia iusti erant, & religionibus dediti, iure habiti Dei & dicti, Princes, because they were iust and religious, were rightly accounted and called gods.* De iure seculo Part. 1.

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to Reason and Necessity ; yet it was God himselfe that first kindled this light in the mindes of men, whereby they saw that they could not liue and bee preserued without a Ruler and Condueter : God himselfe by his eternall prouidence hauing ordained Kings ; and the law of Nature Leaders, and Rulers ouer others. For the very Bees haue their Prince, the Deere their Leaders ; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their owne safety. *The most High beareth rule ouer the Kingdomes of Men ; and appointeth ouer it whomsoever he pleaseth.* 1 Pet. 5. 2. 1. By mee (saith wisdom) spoken by the Son of God) *Kings reigne ; by me Princes rule ; and it is God (saith Daniel) that setteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings.* 1 Pet. 8. 15. D. 12. 1. 1. And that this power is given from God, *Christ* himselfe winneth, speaking to *Pilate* ; *Thou couldest haue no power at all against me, except it were giuen thee from above.* 10. 19. 21.

It was therefore by a threefold Iustice that the World hath bene gouerned from the beginning, (to wit) by a Iustice naturall : by which the Parents and Elders of Families gouerned their Children, and Nephewes, and Families ; in which gouernment the Obedience was called naturall Piety : Againe, by a Iustice diuine, drawne from the Lawes and Ordinances of God ; and the Obedience hereunto was called Conscience : And lastly, by a Iustice ciuill, begotten by both the former ; & the Obedience to this we call Duty : That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded, and that the rule in generall was Paternall, it is most euident : for *Adam* being Lord ouer his owne Children, instructed them in the seruice of God his Creatour ; as wee reade, *Cain* and *Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had bene taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankinde.

S. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Government with their opposites : and of the degrees of humane society.

What other Policy was exercised, or State founded after such time as mankinde was greatly multiplied before the Flood, it cannot bee certainly knowne, though it seeme by probable coniecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first Age : it being possible that many Princes of the *Egyptians* (remembered among their antiquities) were before the generall Flood ; and very likely, that the cruell Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some tyranny in Government, or from some rougher forme of Rule, than the Paternall.

Berosus ascribeth the rule of the World in those dayes to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who mastered (saith he) all Nations from the Sun-rising to the Sun-set. But in the second Age of the World, and after such time as the rule of Eldership failed, three feuerall sorts of Government were in severall times established among men, according to the diuers natures of Places and People.

The first, the most ancient, most generall, and most approued, was the Government of one, ruling by iust Lawes, called *Monarchy* : to which *Tyranny* is opposed, being also a sole and absolute Rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or obseruation of the Lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the Keeper of Right & Equity : and of this condition ought euery Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word : *Judges and Officers shalt thou make thee in thy Cities : And these shall iudge the people with righteous iudgement.* Deut. 16. 18.

The second Government is of diuers principall Persons established by order, and ruling by Lawes, called *Aristocracy*, or *Optimum potestatis* ; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and vsurpation of a few great-ones) is opposed : as the *Decem viri*, or *Trium viri*, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Gouernment of the people) called *Democrasia*, to which is opposed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent vniust ruling of the confused multitude, feditiously fwaying the State, contrary to their own Lawes & Ordinances. These three kinds of Gouernment are briefly exprest by *Tholofanus; vnius, paucorum, & multorum*, Of one, of few, of many.

Now as touching the beginning and order of policy since the second increase of Mankind, the same grew in this sort: First of all, euery Father, or eldest of the Family, gaue Lawes to his owne issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These as they were multiplied into many Households (man by nature louing society) ioyned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latins call *Vicius*, of the Greeke *οἶκος*, which signifieth a House, or of the word *(Vici)* because it hath diuers waies & paths leading to it. And as the first House grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a society of diuers Villages) so called of the Greeke *παῖς*, which signifieth a Fountain: because many people (hauing their habitations not far afunder) drank of one Spring or Streame of water. To this word the *English* Hundreds, or (as some think) Shires answereth not vnsitly.

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation & pride between the Races of the one and the other daily increased: so both to defend themselves from out-rage, and to preferue such goods as they had gathered, they began to ioyne and set together diuers of their Villages, inuironing them first with bankes and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being so compassed were then called *Oppida*, either *ab opposito* *de hostibus*, Because wals were opposed against Enemies, or *ab opibus*, because thither they gathered their riches for safety and defence: as also they were called *Vrbes*, *ab orbe*, because when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (saith *Varro*) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although *Vrbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Vrbs* signified no other than the very wals and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: so called of *Civis*, and that, *ab eo quod multitudo coeunt, of comming together*. But all inhabitants within these wals are not properly Citizens, but onely such as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the City, may by turnes become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest goe vnder the name of Subiects, though Citizens by the same generall name of Subiects are also knowne. For euery Citizen is also a Subiect, but not euery Subiect a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen, as the chiefe Magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the Citizens is no Subiect, but of this we neede not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken of *Magistro*, from a Master, and the word (Master) from the Aduerbe *Magis* (as also *Magisteria*, Precepts of Art) or else from the Greeke word (*Μεγιστος*): and so the Greekes call them *Μεγιστανες*, whom the Latines call *Magnates*, or *Magistratus*.

The office and duty of euery Magistrate *Aristotle* hath written in few words. A Magistrate or Prince (saith hee) is the keeper of right and equity; but the same is best taught by Saint *Paul*, who expresth both the cause efficient, and finally, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together with their duties and offices. A Magistrate is the Minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou doe euill, feare: for he beareth not the sword for nought. For he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth euill. Hee also teacheth in the same place; That euery soule ought to be subiect to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained; and that whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God, the giuer and fountaine thereof: and shall not onely be therefore subiect to the iudgement and condemnation of Man, but of God: For ye must be subiect (saith he) not because of wrath onely, but also for conscience sake.

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments vpon those that haue resisted Authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any Subiect therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with iniustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandement of obedience is without distinction. The Prophets and *Christ* himselfe subiected themselves to the power of Magistracy. *Christ* commanded that all due to *Cesar* should be giuen vnto him: and he payed Tribute for himselfe and *Peter*. *Hieremy* commanded the *Israelites* (euery those that were Captiues vnder Heathen Kings) to pray for them, and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*, and *Iacob* blessed the King of

of Egypt: And it is acceptable in the sight of our Saviour (saith *Paul*) that yee make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority: and if for such Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did Saint *Chrysostome* in his Homily to the people preferre Monarchicall Gouernment, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they should be wanting: *Præstat Regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum; Better a tyrannous King, than no King*: to which also *Tacitus* subscribeth: *Præstat* (saith *Tacitus* in the first of his History) *sub malo principe esse quam nullo; it is better to haue a bad Prince than none at all*. And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no liberty more safe, than to serue them: *Neque enim liberius tutior vlla est (saith *Claudian*) quam Domino seruire bono: No liberty (saith he) more safe for vs than to be seruants to the vertuous*. And certainly howsoever it may be disputed, yet is it safer to liue vnder one Tyrant, than vnder 100000. Tyrants: vnder a wise man that is cruell, than vnder the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as *Agessilas* answered a Citizen of *Sparta* that desired an alteration of the Gouernment, That kinde of rule which a man would disdain in his owne house, were very vnfit to gouerne great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many Households ioyned themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: so when these Cities and Citizens ioyned together, and established Lawes by consent, associating themselves vnder one Gouernour, and Gouernment; they so ioyned, were called a Commonwealth: the same being sometimes gouerned by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the people themselves.

§. III.

Of the good Gouernment of the first Kings.

Now this first Age after the Flood, and after such time as the people were increased, and the Families became strong and dispersed into seuerall parts of the World, was by ancient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Couetousnesse being as then but greene, and newly growne vp, the seeds and effects wherof were as yet but potentiall, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then sought for no larger Territory than themselves could compassse and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, than sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curiosity of dyet, than to maintaine life: nor for any other apparrell, than to couer them from the cold, the Raine and the Sun.

And sure if wee vnderstand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be cast vpon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any one time than to another, (I meane to one limited time and none else) it may bee doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times haue brought forth of both sorts. And as the infancy of Empirie, (when Princes plaied their Prizes, & did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the Golden Age: so may the beginning of all Princes times be truly called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good desertings haue commonly the least impediments: and if euer Liberality ouerflow her banks & bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policy and example. But Age and Time doe not onely harden and shrinke the openest and most iouiall hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torne estates before their eyes, and (withall) perwadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there be no Kings vnder the Sun whose meanes are answerable vnto other mens desires; yet such as value all things by their owne respects, doe no sooner finde their appetites vnanswered, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times iniurious and yron. And as this falleth out in the Reigne of euery King, so doth it in the life of euery man, if his dayes be many: for our younger yeares are our Golden Age; which being eaten vp by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeed) the grieuous alterations in our selues, and the paines and diseases which neuer part from vs but at the graue, make

Ethic. 5.

Rom. 13. 4.

1. Pet. 1.

2.

Will. 5.

Hierem. 27. 7.
Gen. 10. 17. &
27. 10.

Tacit. in Dial.
de Grat.

Eccles. 7.

Arnob. lib. 2.

Wisd. 6. 7.

make the times seem so differing and displeasing : especially the quality of mans nature being also such, as it adareth and extollet the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how iust soeuer : *Fit humana malignitatis vitio, ut semper vetera in laude, presentia in fastidio sint*; It comes to passe (saith Tacitus) by the vice of our malignity, that we alwaies extoll the time past, and hold the present fastidious : For it is one of the errors of wayward Age : *Quod sint laudatores temporis alii*; That they are praisers of fore-past times, forgetting this aduice of Salomon : Say not then, why is it that the former dayes were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely of this thing : to which purpose Seneca ; *Maiores nostri quæsti sunt, et nos querimus, postea querentur, euersos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum et in omne mesas labi* : Our Ancesters haue complained, we doe complaine, our children will complaine, that good manners are gone, that wickednesse doth reigne, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all cull. There are the vsuall discourses of Age and misfortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of Arnobius? *Nova res quandoq; vetus fiet, et vetus temporibus quibus cepit noua fiet et repentina* : What soeuer is new, in time shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they tooke beginning were also new and iudaine. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times haue made Golden, this we may set down for certain, That as it was the vertue of the first Kings, which (after God) gaue them Crowns: so the loue of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crownes on their heads. And as God gaue the obedience of Subiects to Princes: so (relatiuely) he gaue the care and iustice of Kings to the Subiects, hauing respect, not onely to the Kings themselves, but euen to the meaneft of his Creatures : *Nunquam particulari bono seruit omne bonum* : The infinite goodnesse of God doth not attend any one onely : for he that made the small and great, careth for all alike : and it is the care which Kings haue of all theirs, which makes them beloued of all theirs; and by a generall loue it is, that Princes hold a generall obedience : For, *Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum* : All humane power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men.

§. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vaine want thereof without vertue.

Vetus nobilis
nomen nascitur
sed fit.

And with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authority began also other degrees and differences among Subiects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, by which themselves were chosen; vnto whom they gaue place, trust, and power. From which employments and Offices sprung those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which haue continued from Age to Age to these dayes. But this Nobility, or difference from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning giuen to the Succession of Bloud, but to Succession of Vertue, as hereafter may be proued. Though at length it was sufficient for those whose Parents were aduanced, to be knowne for the Sonnes of such Fathers : and so there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, vpon whom glory or worldly Nobility necessarily descended. Yet hereof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in vertue, were so called : *Hinc dictus Nobilis, quasi virtute præ alijs notabilis*. But after such time as the deserued Honour of the Father was giuen in reward to his Posterity, Saint Hierome iudged of the Succession in this manner : *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent; I see no other thing to be affected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kinde of necessity bound, not to degenerate from the vertue of their Ancesters*. For if Nobility be *Virtus et antiqua diuitie*; Vertue and ancient riches, then to exceede in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like, doe no otherwise define Nobility, than the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Vines*) bee a witness of vertue and well-doing : and Nobility (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of vertue in a Race or Linage : then are those in whom Vertue is extinguished, but like vnto painted and printed Papers, which ignorant men worship in stead of *Christ*, our *Lady*, and other *Saints* : men, in whom there remaine but the dregs and vices of ancient Vertue: Flowers, and Herbes, which by change of soile and want of manuring are turned to Weedes. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains, if

if in all the rest of their course they run foule, filthy, and defiled : *Ex terra fertilis produritur aliquando Cicuta venenosa, et ex terra sterili pretiosum aurum, Out of fruitfull ground ariseth sometimes poisoning Henbane, and out of barren soile precious Gold*. For as all things consist of matter and forme, so doth Charron (in his Chapter of Nobilitie) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobilitie : the forme (which giues life and perfect being) he maketh to be Vertue, and Qualitie, profitable to the Common-weale. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of publike Vertue, seruing his Prince and Countrey; and being defended of Parents and Ancesters that haue done the like. And although that Nobilitie, which the same Authour calleth personall, (the same which our selues acquire by our Vertue and well deseruings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both naturall, by Descent, and also personall; yet if Vertue bee wanting to the naturall, then is the personall and acquired Nobilitie by many degrees to be preferred : For (saith Charron) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light vpon such a one, as in his owne nature is a true Villaine. There is also a third Nobilitie which hee calleth Nobilitie in Parchment, bought with Siluer or Fauour: and these be indeede but Honours of affection, which Kings with the change of their fancies with they knew well how to wipe off againe. But surely, if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthinesse, as we haue of vanitie in deriuing our selues of such and such Parents, we should rather know such Nobilitie (without Vertue) to be shame and dishonour than Noblesse; and glory to vaunt thereof, what calamitie is wanting (saith Bernard) to him that is borne in sinne, of a Postbare body and barren minde? for (according to the same Father) *Dele suum fugacis honoris huius, et male coronata nitorem gloria, etc. wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou maiest consider thy selfe nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with thy Myrrer, or glistering with Jewels, or garnished with Silkes, or adorned with Feathers, or stuffed with Gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certaine morning cloudes, which doe or will soone passe ouer, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poore, and wretched and miserable man, and blaspheming, because he is naked, and weeping because he is borne, and repining, because he is borne to labour, and not to honour*.

Bernard. l. 2. de
consider. ad
Eugen. Pap.

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference betwene it and dust: which if thou dost not beleue (saith S. Chrysostome) looke into the Sepulchres & Monuments of thy Ancesters, and they shall easily persuade thee by their owne example, that thou art dust, and dust to incompesit and dire: so that if man seeme more Noble and beautifull than dust, this proceedeth not from the diuersitie of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.

Phaet.

For true Nobilitie standeth in the Trade
Of vertuous life; not in the fleshy Line:
For bloud is brute, but Gentry is Diuine.

And howsoeuer the custome of the World haue made it good, that Honors be cast by birth vpon vnworthy Issues: yet Salomon (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the same in his Fellow-Princes: *There is an euill* (saith he) *that I haue scene vnder the Sun, as an euill* : your that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth: Folly is set in great excellencie.

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus: and of memorable things about those times.

§. I.

That Nimrod was the first after the Flood that reigned like a Soueraigne Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to haue bene of iust authoritie.



The first of all that reigned as Soueraigne Lord after the Flood was Nimrod, the Sonne of Chus, distinguished by Moses from the rest (according to Saint Augustine) in one of these two respects: either for his eminencie, and because hee was the first of fame, and that tooke on him to command others: or else in that hee was begotten by

by *Chus*, after his other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time than some of his Grand-children & Nephews. Howsoever, seeing *Moses* in expresse words calleth *Nimrod* the Sonne of *Chus*, other mens coniectures to the contrary ought to haue no respect.

This Empire of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannicall: the same beginning in *Babel*, (which is) confusion. But it seemeth to mee that *Me- lanchton* conceived not amisse hercof: the same exposition being also made by the Author of that worke called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirms that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, *Abister* or *seueri Governour*, because his forme of rule seemed at first farre more terrible than Paternall authority. And therefore is hee in this respect also called a *mightie Hunter*: because he tooke and destroyed both Beasts & Theeues. But Saint *Augustine* vnderstands it otherwise, and conuertes the word (ante) by (contra) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mightie Hunter against God: *Sic ergo intelligendus est Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum; So is that Giant to be vnderstood, a Hunter against the Lord.*

But howsoever this word (a mightie Hunter) be vnderstood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all those, which went with him from the East into *Shinaar*: so, this charge was rather giuen him, than by him vsurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himselfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne body came with this troupe into *Babylon*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the yeeres of his life excepted) in the succeeding Story of the *Hebrews*; nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient troupe or among the builders of *Babel*.

The same is also confirmed by diuers ancient Historians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Idan* were the Captaines and Leaders of all those which came from the East. And though *Sem* came not himselfe so farre West as *Shinaar* (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his Sonnes Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebrewes* (according to the general opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of *Chaldea* about the Citie of *Ur*, from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charan*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldea*, were no partners in the vnbelceuing worke of the Towre: therefore (as many of the Fathers coniecture) did they retaine the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Issues: *In familia Heber remansit haec lingua; In the Family of Heber this Language remained* (saith Saint *Augustine* out of *Epiphanius*;) and this Language *Abraham* vsed; yea, it was anciently and before the Flood the generall speech: and therefore first called (saith *Celestinus*) *lingua humana: the humane tongue.*

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Aegyptius*, *Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolue, that none of the godly seed of *Sem* were the chiefe Leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by iust authoritie, than violence of vsurpation.

§. II.

That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were three distinct persons.

BEnzo, and out of him *Nauclernus* with others, make many *Nimrods*, Enscibins confounds him with *Belus*, and so doth Saint *Hierome* vpon *Ose*; and these words of S. *Augustine* seeme to make him of the same opinion: *Ibi autem Ninus regnabat post mortem patris sui Beli, qui primus illic regnauerat 65. annos; There did Ninus reigne after the death of his Father Belus, who first governed in Babylon sixtie five yeeres.* But it could not be vnknowne to Saint *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the establisher of that Empire; *Moses* being plaine and direct therein. For the beginning of *Nimrods* Kingdome (saith he)

was *Babel*, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*, in the Land of *Shinaar*; wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed; for in *Ninus* time the World was maruailously replenished. And if S. *Augustine* had vndoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would haue giuen him the name which the Scriptures giue him, rather than haue borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those words of S. *Augustine* (*qui primus illic regnauerat; who was the first that reigned there*) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words do not disproue that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Iulius Caesar* ouerthrew the liberty of the *Roman* Commonwealth, making himselfe perpetuall Dictator, yet *Augustus* was the first established Emperour: and the first that reigned absolutely by soueraigne authority ouer the *Romans*, as an Emperour.

The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternitie, laying the foundation of soueraigne Rule, as *Caesar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exercised such a power. *Pererius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeeres after the flood (as they account) that *Belus* reigned; but such agreement of times proues it not. For so *Edward* the third, and his grand-child *Richard* the second, were kings both in one yeere: the one dyed; the other in the same yeere was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is far more probable than that of *Mercator*, who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plaine that the beginning of *Nimrods* Kingdome was *Babel*, and the Townes adioyning: but the first and most famous worke of *Ninus* was the Citie of *Nineue*.

Now whereas D. *Siculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* ouercame and suppress the *Babylonians*, the same rather proueth the contrarie, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the seat of his Empire at *Nineue* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered againe by strong hand; which was easie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* committune.

—Dicitur altam

Coelilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis Pyram.

Semiramis with wals of Bricke the Citie did inclose.

Further, where it is alleaged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mightie: so *Iustin* call the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercators* arguments, It may be answered, that such an addition might haue beene giuen to many other Kings as well. For if wee may beleue *Iustine*, then were *Vexoris* King of *Egypt*, and *Tamus* of *Sythia* mighty Kings before *Ninus* was borne. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the vndertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference betwene them.

For whereas *Mercator* conceiueth, that it was too early for any that liued about the time of the confusion of languages, to haue intraded and mastered those Cities so farre removed from *Babel*, namely, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*, which worke be therefore ascribed to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest vndertaking; &c. consequently would haue *Nimrod* to haue bene long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I doe not finde that supposition true. That euer *Nimrod* intraded any of these Cities; but that he founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the flood, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these Cities in many mens opinions are found to stand far away from *Babylon*, I finde no reason to bring me to that beleefe. The Citie of *Accad* which the *Sep- tuaginta* calls *Anchard*, and *Epiphanius*, *Arphala*, *Innus* takes to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for the Region therabouts the *Cosmographers* (saith he) call *Acabene* for *Accadene*. Others vnder-

vnderstand *Nisibu* and *Nimene* to bee one City: so do *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*, but all mistaken. For *Nisibu*, *Accad*, & *Charran* are distinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accadene* to bee a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arius Montanus* out of *S. Hierome* calls *Achad*: and so doe the *Hebrewes* also call *Nisibu*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the City of *Erech*, which the *Sep' uagins* call *Orech*, *S. Augustine*, *Oreg*, and *Pagninus*, *Erech*, this place *Iunius* vnderstands for *Aracca* in *Sustana*: but there is also a City in *Comagena* called *Arace*: and indeede likelihood of name is no certaine prooffe, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Lib. 23.

Concerning the third City (called *Chalne*) some take it for *Calinifis*: of which *Am. Marcellinus*. *Saint Hierome* takes it for *Selencia*; *Hierosolymitanus* for *Ctesiphon*: others doe thinke it to be the *Agrani* vpon *Euphrates*, destroyed and razed by the *Persians*. But let *Moses* be the Moderator and Iudge of this dispute, who teacheth vs directly, that these Cities are not seated in so diuers and distant Regions; for these be his words: *And the beginning of his Kingdome (speaking of Nimrod) was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalneh, in the Land of Shinaar*: so as in this Valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldea* (being all one) we must finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with *Viterbiensis*, that these foure made but one *Babylon*, than that they were Cities farre remoued; and in severall Prouinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chalne* from *Babylon*. Goe you (saith *Amos*) to *Chalne*, and from thence goe you to *Hamath*, and then to *Gath* of the *Philistims*. The *Genua* translation fauouring the former opinion, to set these Cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginall note expressing that *Shinaar* was here named: not that all these Cities were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldea*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*: but I finde little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod's* Empire there was no such *Babylon*, nor any City at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great City of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not farre from the place where stood *Mempbis* the ancient City, but not so ancient as *Babylon* vpon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalne* is situate in the Valley of *Shinaar*, it hath beene formerly proued in the Chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Cities from *Babylon*, vvee may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, vvere distinct and successiue 30 Kings.

§. III.

That *Nimrod*, not *Assur*, built *Nimene*: and that it is probable out of *Esay* 23. 13. that *Assur* built *Tyr* for the *Chaldees*.

Now as of *Nimrod*: so are the opinions of Writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great state of *Babylon* and *Affria*: a controuersie vvarisomely disputed without any direct prooffe, conclusion, or certainty. But to me (of whom; where the Scriptures are silent; the voyce of Reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of *Iunius* is most agreeable; vvhich besides all necessary consequence doth not dis-ioyne the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the vnderstanding thereof. For in this sort hee conuerteth the *Hebrew* Text: *Erat enim principium regni eius Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaar*: & terra hac processit in *Affria*, vbi edificauit *Nimene*; (vvhich is) For the beginning of his Kingdome was *Babel*, and *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, in the land of *Shinaar*: and hee went forth of this land into *Affria*, and built *Nimene*. So as *Iunius* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any person, but for the Region of *Affria* the land being so called in *Moses* time, & before it. For certainly, the other construction; (where the vvvord *Assur* is taken for *Assur* the sonne of *Sem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* obserueth through all the Bookes of *Genesis*, but is quite contrary vnto it. For in the beginning of the tenth Chapter hee setteth downe the sonnes of *Noah*, in these vvvords: *Non estis autem* 40 *Generations of the Sonnes of Noah*: *Sem*, *Ham*, and *Japheth*, unto whose sonnes were borne after the flood: then it followeth immediately: *Et filii* the sonnes of *Japheth* were *Gomer*, &c. so as *Japheth* is last named among *Noah's* sonnes, be hee eldest or youngest: because hee was first to be spoken of: vvvith whom (having last named him) hee proceedes and sets downe his issue, and then the issue of his sonnes: first, the issue of *Gomer*, *Japheth's* eldest sonne; and then speaks of *Ianan* and his sonnes: for of the

rest.

rest of that Familie he is silent. Anon after he numbrell the sonnes of *Ham*, of which *Chush* was the eldest: and then the sons of *Chush* and *Mizraim*, and afterward of *Canaan*, leauing *Shem* for the last, because he would not dis-ioyne the storie of *Hebrewes*. But after hee beginneth with *Sem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphexad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, vnto *Abraham*, and so to *Iacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to haue brought in one of the sonnes of *Shem* in the middle of the generations of *Ham*, had beene against order; neither would *Moses* haue past ouer so lightly the erection of the *Affrian* Empire, in one of the sonnes of *Shem*, if he had had any such meaning: it being the storie of *Shem's* sonnes which he most attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the sonnes of *Chush*, because hee founded the *Babylonian* and *Affrian* Empires; and in the eleventh Chapter hee returnes to speake of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter with those other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as hee did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleventh hee maketh no report of *Shem*, till such time as he had finished so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then hee beginneth with the issue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Israel*. And of *Iunius* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Caluinus* to which I conceiue that *P. Commellor*, in his *Historia Scholastica*, gaue an entrance, who after hee had deliuered this place in some other sense, he maketh these words: *Vetus est legendum non est de Assur filio Sem, et non Assur (id est, Regnum Affrianum) inde egressum est, quod tempore Sarugi proani Abrahami misit in vestigia* (which is) Or else it is not to be vnderstood of *Assur* the sonne of *Sem*, but *Assur* (that is, the Kingdome of the *Affrians*) came from thence (videlicet, from *Babylon*) 20 *et* was made out of it, which happened in the time of *Sarug*, the great grand-father of *Abraham*. After which he reconcileth the difference in this sort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first Erector of the *Affrian* Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true; *Quantum ad initium*, Respecting the beginning; but others conceiue that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true, *Quantum ad regni ampliationem*; Regarding the enlargement of the Empire. To this I may adde the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Assur* to bee the sonne of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbiensis*, *Saint Hierome*, and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly *Tornicius*: 30 *Tornicius* Annal. who (saith he) tooke vpon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Affrians*, as saith in *Gen. 10. Scipio* did of *Africanus*, after his conquest in *Africa*: and that *Assur* was a common name to the Kings of *Affria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Psalm* 81. *Esay* 10. *Ose* 5. &c. but to helpe the matter, hee makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the sonne of *Irati*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Arch-bishop of *Metz* in the yeere of *Christ* 854, an ancient and learned Writer, vnderstands this place with *Commellor*, or *Commellor* with him, agreeing in substance with that translation of *Iunius*: to which words of *Moses* he giueth this sense: *De hac terra Affrianorum pullulauit imperium, qui ex nomine Nini, Bel filij, Ninum condiderunt, urbem magnam, &c.* Out of this land grew the Empire of the *Affrians*, who built *Ninus* the great Citie, so named of *Ninus* the 40 sonne of *Belus*. On the contrary *Caluinus* obiecteth this place of *Esay*: Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, this was no people, *Assur* founded it by the inhabitants of the wilderness; than which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diuersitie in the translation and vnderstanding; in so much as *Michael de Palatio* vpon *Esay* (though in all else very diligent) passeth it ouer. But *Caluinus* seemeth hereby to inferre, that because *Assur* founded the state of the *Chaldeans*, therefore also *Assur* rather than *Nimrod* established the *Affrian* Empire, and built *Nimene*: contrary to the former translation of *Iunius*, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hieromes* translation) it may be gathered that *Assur* both founded & ruined this Estate or Citie of the *Chaldeans*, by *Esay* remem- 50 bred: vnto which Citie, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians* that they cannot trust, or hope for reliefe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Citie of *Chaldea*, and that Estate, an example vnto those *Phenicians*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which Citie of *Chaldea* being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the *Affrians* vtterly wasted, and destroyed: whereby he giueth them knowledge, and fore-telleth them, that their owne Citie of *Tyre* (in- uincible, as themselves thought) should also soone after be ouer-turnd by the same *Affrians*: as (indeed) it was by *Nabuchodonosor*. And these be the words after *Hierome*: *Ecce terra Chaldeorum, talis populus non fuit, Assur fundauit eam, in captiuitatem trauxerunt robustos eius, suffoderunt domos eius, posuerunt eam in ruinam*, (which is) Behold

Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, such a people there were not (or, this was no people, after the Geneva) Assur (or the Assyrians) founded it; they carried away their strong men captiue, they vndermined their houses, and ruined their Citie. The Septuagint expresse it but in a part of another Verse, in these words: *Et in terra Chaldeorum, & hac desolata est ab Assyris, quoniam murus eius corruit*, making the sense perfect by the preceding Verse, which all together may be thus vnderstood: *If thou goe ouer to Chittim (which is Macedon or Greece) yet thou shalt not rest* (speaking to the Tyrians) *neither in the Land of the Chaldeans, for this is made desolate by the Assyrians, because their walls fell together to the ground*: Pagninus and Vatablus conuert it thus: *Ecce terra Chaldæim, & populus non erat illic olim; nam Assur fundauit dam nauibus, erexerunt arces illius; contriuerunt ades eius, posuit eam in ruinam*: which may be thus Englished: *Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for Assur built it a harbour for ships, they erected the Towers thereof, and againe brake downe the houses thereof, and ruinated it*. Iunius in the place of ships sets the word (*pro Barbaris*) that is, for the Barbarians: and the Geneva, by the Barbarians. But this is vndoubted that the Prophet *Esay* (as may be gathered by all the sense of the Chapter) did therein assure the Tyrians of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choice to note the calamities of those Places, Cities, and Regions, by whose Trade the state and greatnesse of the Tyrians was maintained; as by the Cilicians from *Tharsis*; from the Macedonians, and other Græcians vnder the name of *Cittim*; also by the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the rest. For Tyre was then the Mart Town of the World most renowned. And (as it appears in our discourse of *Paradise*) not the least part of her chiefe merchandize came in by the Citie *Vr* or *Vrchoa* in *Chaldea*, where the body or chiefe streame of *Euphrates* (euen that streame which runneth through *Babylon* & *Otrû*, which now falleth into *Tygris*) had his passage into the *Persian Gulfe*: though now it be stopped vp. For (as we haue heretofore noted) the Arabians (that descended from *Sheba* and *Kaamah*) dwelling on the east bankes of the *Persian Gulfe*, trading with the Tyrians (as those of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) transported their merchandize by the mouth of *Tygris*, that is, from *Teredon*, & of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Vr* or *Vrchoa*: and then by *Babylon*, and thence by Riuer and ouer Land they conueyed it into *Syria*, and so to *Tyre*: as they doe this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Vr* of the Chaldees was a Port Towne, and one of those Cities which had Intelligence, Trade, and Exchange with the Tyrians: for it stood by the great Lakes of *Chaldea*, through which that part of *Euphrates* ran, which passage is now stopt vp. *Eius cursum vetustis aboleuit* (saith *Niger*.) And *Plinie*: *Locus ubi Euphratis ostium fuit, flumen salsum*; Time hath worne away the channell of *Euphrates*: the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of salt water. These things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound the Citie of the Chaldees, whose calamities *Esay* here noteth for terror of the Tyrians, to be the Citie anciently called *Vr*; and (by *Hecateus*) *Camerina*; by *Ptolomie*, *Vrchoa*; and by the *Greekes*, *Chaldeopolis*, The Citie of *Chaldea*: which the sonnes of *Shem*, vntill *Abraham*'s time inhabited. And whereas in all the Translations it is said, that *Assur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be vnderstood, that *Assur* the Founder was the sonne of *Shem*; and *Assur* the destroyers were the *Assyrians*, by whom those that inhabited *Vr* of *Chaldea*, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God foreseeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Carran*, and so into *Canaan*. And if the Hebrew word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* conuerted (*by ships*) doe beare that sense, the same may be the better approued; because it was a Port Towne: and the Riuer so farre vp as this Citie of *Vr* was in ancient time nauigable, as both by *Plinie* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (for the Barbarians) or (by the Barbarians) be also in the Hebrew Text, it is no lesse manifest, that the most barbarous Arabians of the Desert were and are the confronting, and next people of all other vnto it. For *Chaldea* is now called *Arachaldar*, which signifieth desert Lands, because it ioyneth to that part of *Arabia* so called: and *Cicero* (calling those Arabians by the name of *Itureans*) addeth, that they are of all other people the most saluage; calling them, *Homines omnium maxime barbaros*.

So as this place of *Esay*, which breedeth some doubt in *Caluin*, proueth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of *Iunius*, nor the interpretation of *Comeller* and *Rabanus*. For though other men haue not conceiued (for any thing that I haue read) that *Assur* is in this place diuersly taken (as for the sonne

of *Shem*, when he is spoken of as a Builder of *Vr*; and when as a Destroyer thereof, then for the *Assyrian* Nation) yet certainly the euidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seeme to enforce it. And so this Founding of the Citie of the Chaldees by *Assur* (into which the most of the posteritie of *Shem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were separate for the Idolatrie of the *Chusites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themselves) hath nothing in it to proue that the same *Assur* built *Nineue*, or that the same *Assur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Assur*, who was the sonne of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the sonne of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the first notorious Sacrificer to Idols; and the first that set vp a Statue of Image to be honoured as god. Now if *Assur* must be of that Race, and not of the Familie of *Shem*, as he must be if he founded *Nineue*, then all those which seeke to giue him the honor thereof, doe him by a thousand parts more iniurie, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Belides, if this supposed *Assur* whom they make the Founder of *Nineue* (and so the sonne of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly he was very vnworthy and obscure, & not like to be the Founder of such an Empire and such a Citie, if no man haue vouchsafed to leaue to posteritie his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire againe or quitted it to *Ninus*: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farre differing from truth: It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the storie of that age written by prophane Authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the first workes and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moses*; and that these workes being finished within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the worke of *Ninus*, lying neere vnto the same streame that *Babel* & *Chalne* did: which work his grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to passe, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundresse of the Citie which she onely finished: so also *Ninus* of *Nineue*: *Quam quidem Babylonem posuit instaurare*; She might repaire or renew *Babylon*, saith *S. Augustine*. For so did *Nabuchodonosor* vaunt himselfe to bee the Founder of *Babylon* also, because he built vp againe some part of the wall, ouer-borne by the furie of the Riuer: which worke of his stood till *Alexanders* time, whereupon hee

vaunted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I haue built?* DAN. 4. 37.

S. IIII.

Of the Acts of *Nimrod* and *Belus*, as farre as now they are knowne.

BVtto returne to the Storie, it is plaine in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugium*; and *Iulius Africanus* surnamed *Saturne*) was the establisher of the *Babylonian Monarchie*, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those 4. Cities before remembred; *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Assyria*, & in *Assyria* built foure more Cities (to wit) *Nineue*, *Rehoboth*, *Celab*, and *Resen*. And seeing that hee spent much time in building *Babel* it selfe and those adioyning, and that his traualles were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that worke of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Nineue*, and the other Cities of *Assyria* which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficultie than any thing performed by his Successors in many yeeres after: to whose vndertakings time had giuen so great an increase of people, and the examples and patterns of his beginning so great an aduancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycas*) all these Nations were called *Meropes*, à *sermonis linguarum terrarum diuisione*; By reason that the earth and the speech were then diuided.

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Iupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 14. yeeres; of whose acts and vndertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low Lands of *Babylon* and drying and making firme ground of all those great Fennes & ouer-flowne Marishes which adioyned vnto it. For any of his Warres or conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprise against *Sabatus* King of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia* which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Saca*, whose sonne and successor *Barzanes* became subiect and Tributarie to *Ninus*, that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begunne.

§. V.

That we are not to marvaile how so many Kingdomes should be erected about these times: and of Vexoris of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia.

That so many Kingdomes were erected in all those Easterne parts of the World so soone after *Nimrod*, (as by the storie of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For Opportunitie being a Princesse liberal and powerfull, he gave to her first Enterprisers many times more benefits than either Fortune can, or Wisedom ought, by whose presence alone the vnderstanding mindes of men receiue all those helps and supplies, which they either want or wish for: so as every Leader of a troupe (after the diuision of tongues and dispersion of People) finding these faire offers made vnto them, held the power which they posselt, and gouerned by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destined places. For it cannot be conceiued, that when the Earth was first diuided, mankind straggled abroad like beasts in a Desert; but that by agreement they disposed themselves, & vnder-tooke to inhabite all the known parts of the world, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shingar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Ninus*'s time, would not haue bene posselt in many hundreds of yeeres after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and trauielled far off (order being the true parent of prosperous successe) vnder take so difficult enterprizes without a Conduiter or Gouernander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod* with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humor that aspired. Thirdly, Necessitie resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, & of honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their owne Trauailes: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence: nor those which fought after any proportion of greatnesse, either possesse the same in quiet, or rule and order their owne Ministers and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the vndertakings & Conquests of *Ninus* (the son of *Belus*) made it apparant: for hee found every where Kings and Monarchies, what way soeuer his Ambition led him in the Warres.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to vs known, when he first tooke on him Soueraigntie and sole commandement of all those the children of *Noah*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*: though in his life time others also raised themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter, *Belus* (his sonne and Successor) found *Sabatus* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerfull to resist his attempts: which *Sabatus* I take to be the same, which *Iustine* calls *Tanais*; and should coniecture, that *Mizraim* had bene his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error, (as *Iustine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seemes to me, rightly accounted by the Iudicious and Learned *Reipcci*, all one with the great *Sesostris*, that liued certaine Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65 yeeres, according to the common account.

§. VI.

Of the name of *Belus*, and other names affixe vnto it.

Hence this second King and Successour of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus* question hath bene made: for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by *Ninus*, than assumed by *Belus* himselfe.

Cyrrillus against *Julian* calls the Father of *Ninus* *Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a god: which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence deriued. But *Bel*, as many Learned Writers haue obserued, signifieth the Sunne in the *Chaldean* Tongue, and therefore did *Ninus*, and *Semiramis* giue that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a god. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by diuers others of the *Chaldean* Princes, and *Babylonian* Satraps: so was it vied (in imitation) by the chiefe of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians haue conceiued.

To

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertaine (as in affinitie) those voyces of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Belphagor*, *Belschub*, and *Belshephon*. Those that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldean* conuert the word *Baal* by the *Latine*, *Principis militie*, *Chieftain the warre*; though *Daniel* was so called (saith *Saides*) *Ob honorem explanationis arcana rerum*, in honour of his expounding secrets. *Saint Hierome* makes *Belschub*, and *Baal*, to haue the same signification: and saith, that the Idoll of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memorie of his father set vp to be worshipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reuerence, he made it a Sanctuarie and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith *Lycanus*) came Idolatrie, and the first vie of Images into the World. *Isidore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient; adding, that as among the *Affrians* it is taken for *Saturne* and the *Sunne*: so in the *Punike* or *Carthaginian* Language it signifieth God, *Glycal* makes it an *Affrian* name properly; and *Iosephus* a *Tyrian*. He also affirmeth that the Idoll which the *Mobites* worshipped (by them erected on the Mountaine *Phogor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the same which the *Latines* call *Priapus*, the god of Gardens, which also was the opinion of *S. Hierom*. But that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idoll of *Ascaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* soundeth (God) and *Sebub* (Flies or Hornets: by which name notwithstanding) the *Iemes* expresse the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet *Ose* teacheth vs the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himselfe, And at that day saith the Lord thou shalt call me *Isih*, and shalt call me no more *Baalim*: for I will take away the name of *Baalim* out of their mouths. For although the name of *Baal*, or *Babal*, be iustly to be vsed towards God, yet in respect that the same was giuen to Idols, God both hated it & forbad it. And the vsing of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldeans* for the *Sunne*, was not because it properly signifieth the Sun, but because the *Sunne* there was worshipped as a God: as also the *Fire* was, *quoniam Salus particula*. As for the words coinpounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belshephon*, *Balshephon* is expounded out of *Faciens*, *Dominus speculie such custodia*: The Lord of the Watch-Tower, or of the Guard: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place where in it was worshipped. It is also written *Belpheor*, or *Baalpheor*: and *Peor* (they say) it as much as *Dennudatus*; and therefore the word ioyned expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus* the sonne of *Saturne*: for it was used among the Ancients to name the Father *Saturne*, the sonne *Iupiter*, and the Grand-child *Hercules*. *Saturni descensus familiarum Nobilium, Regumque, qui urbes condiderunt sensissimam primogeniti corum*. *Ioues & Iunones, Hercules vero nepotes eorum fortissimi*; The ancientest of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called *Saturnes*; their first borne, *Iupiters* and *Iunoes*; their valiant, *Nepewes Hercules*. But this *Belus* (saith *L. Fines*) was famous by reason of his warlike sonne *Ninus*, who caused his father to be worshipped as a God by the name of *Iupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (transported by the Dreames of their Antiquitie) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (say they) vpon *Libya* the Daughter of *Epaphus* begat this *Iupiter Belus*, who was father to *Aegyptus*. They adde, that this *Belus* carrying a Colonie to the River of *Euphrates*, there built a Citie, in which he ordained Priests after the *Egyptian* manner. But were there any *Belus*, the sonne of *Epaphus* and *Isis*, or of *Neptune* and *Libya*, or (with *Eusebius*) of *Telephus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Isis*, (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athenes*) the same was not this *Babylonian* *Belus* of whom wee speake, but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* so much vaunted.

§. VII.

Of the worshipping of Images begun from *Belus* in *Babel*.

As for the *Babylonian* *Belus*, hee was the most ancient *Belus*, and the Inuentor of *Astronomie*, if *Plinie* say true: from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and the Doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his Statue or Image was honoured as a God, the same Author affirmeth that it did remaine in his time.

Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus. Over the River, (saith he) there are Gardens, where they say the ashes of *Belus* his Tomb, which *Xerxes* brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramid made of Bricke, a furlong high, and on euery side it had a furlong in breadth. It appears by *Cyrrillus* against *Julian*, that hee obtained diuine worship yet living.

living: for so he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus*.) *Arbelus, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitatis nomen accepisse: Perseueravit igitur Assyrii, & finitima illis gentes sacrificantes ei: Arbelus, a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was ever honoured by their subjects with title of Deities, for with the name of God.* The Assyrians therefore, and the bordering nations have perseuered, sacrificing to him. Euen Arius also, whom *Suidas* calls *Thuras*, who succeeded next after *Ninus*, was made an Idoll-god among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninyas*) *Thuras* reigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*, a man of sharpe and fierce disposition, who bidding battaile to *Caucasus* of the stocke of *Iapheth*, slue him. The Assyrians worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus saith *Suidas*. Neither is it unlikely but that many among Idolatrous nations were Deified in their life-times, or soon after: though I denie not but that the most of their Images and Statues were first erected without diuine worship, onely in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiueth, and so afterward the Deuill crept into those wooden and brazen carcases, when Posteritie had lost the memorie of their first inuention. Hereof *Isidore* speaketh in this manner: *Quos autem Pagani Deos asserunt homines fuerunt, & pro vniuersisq; visa meritis vel magnificentia, soli apud suos post mortem caperunt: sed Demoniis persuadentibus* quos illi pro sua memoria honorauerunt, minores Deos existimauerunt: ad ista verò magis excolenda acceperunt Poetarum figmenta; They were men (saith he) whom the Pagans affirmed to be gods: and euery one for his merites or magnificence began after his death to be honoured of his owne. But at length (the Demils perswading) they accounted them lesser gods, whose memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honour of the dead) much more superstitious.

And that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the Pagans, and Heathen Nations, it is not *Isidore* alone that witnesseth; but *Gregorie*: *Gentilium (saith he) inuentrix & caput est imaginum, Gentilisme is the inuentresse and ground of Images: and Ambrose, Gentiles lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei; The Gentiles adore wood, as it were the Image of God.* *Eusebius* also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping of Images a custome borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath Saint *Augustine* against *Adimantus*. *Es verentur* (saith *Lactantius*) *ne religio vana sit, si nihil videant quod adorant; They feare their Religion would be vaine, should they not see that which they worship.*

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen shifft this fearefull custome very strangely. For seeing the very workmanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wise Christian satisfie it selfe with the distinction of *Doula* and *Hyperdoula*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those Images after they are made: And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should straine their wits to defend the vse of those things, which the Scriptures haue not onely no where warranted, but expressly in many places forbidden, and cursed the Practisers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Deuill was so strongly & subtilly rooted, as neither the expresse Commandement of God himselfe, *Thou shalt not make any grauen image*, nor all the threatnings of *Moses* and the Prophets after him could remoue, weed nor by feare, or by any perswasions leade the hearts of men from it. For where shall we find words of greater weight, or of plainer instruction than these? *Take therefore good heed to your selues (for ye saw no Image in the day that the Lord spake vnto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire) that ye corrupt not your selues, & make you a grauen Image or representation of any Figure, whether it be the likenesse of Male or Female.*

And besides the expresse Commandement, *Thou shalt make thee no grauen Image*, and the prohibition in many Scriptures, so it is written in the Booke of wisdom, That the inuention of Idols was the beginning of whoredome: and the finding of them the corruption of so life: for they were not from the beginning, neyther shall they continue for euer.

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets spake against the Worshipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that *Moses* spake of Images of the liuing God, and not of *Baal* and the rest of that nature, *For you saw no Image (saith Moses) that day that the Lord spake vnto you in Horeb.* Surely it was excellently said of *Basil*, *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscriptis circumuehiat: Doe not imagine any forme to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy minde too.* Now, if the great *Basil* thought it a presumption vnlawfull to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our own

thoughts

thoughts, and minde, how farre doe those men presume that put him vnder the greazie Penzell of a Painter, or the rustie Axe or other Instrument of a Carpenter or Caruer?

For as this dishonor to the infinite and incomprehensible God beganne in *Babel*: so did the Deuill transport and spread this inuention into all the Regions adioyning, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romans* for a while resisted the credtion of these Idols and Images, refusing to set them in their Temples for 70. yeeres, observing the Law of *Numa*, who thought it impietie to resemble things most beautifull, by things most base. But *Tarquinius Priscus* afterwards preuailing, and following the vanitie of the *Gracians* (a Nation of all others vnder the Sunne most deluded by Satan) set vp the Images of their gods; which (as S. *Augustine* witnesseth) that Learned *Varro* both bewailed, and vtterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth, *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicanti, genua posito illa adorant, & cum his suspicant, fabras qui illa fecere contemnunt; The Images of the gods are worshipped, those they pray vnto, with bended knees those they adore; and while they so greatly admire them, they contemne the Handicraftsmen that made them: which also *Sedulius* the Poet in this sort scoffed at:*

*Hec miseri qui vana colunt, qui torde sinistro
Religiosa sibi sculpunt simulachra, sumunt,
Factorem frosunt, & que fecere verentur.
Quis furor est? que tanta animos dementia ludis?
Vt volucrem, surpemq; bouem, torumq; Draconem;
Semi-hominemq; canem supplex homo pronus adoret.*

Al wretched they that worship vanities,
And consecrate dumbe Idols in their heart,
Who their owne Maker (God on high) dispise,
And feare the worke of their own hands and art.
What furie what great madnesse doth beguile
Men's mindes: that man should vgly shapes adore,
Of Bitds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile
Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore.

And though this deuice was barbarous, and first, and many yeeres practised by Heathen Nations only, till the *Iewes* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to scorne the ignorant stupiditie of his Nation: but *Iustin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sybs* inueighed against Images: and *Hospinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the soules of men to erect and adore those Babels. *Strabo* and *Hecdotus* witnesseth, that the *Persians* did not erect or set vp any Statue of their Gods. *Ayrgus* neuer taught it the *Lacedaemonians*, but thought it impietie to represent immortal natures by mortall Figures. *Eusebius* also witnesseth in his sixt Booke of preparatione Evangelica, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that Images should be worshipped. The same doe *Tacitus* and *Crimus* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other Authoris might bee remembered that witnesseth the disdaine which the Heathen themselves had of this childish Idolatrie; of which *Hospinian* hath written at large in his Tract de origine imaginum. And it was truly sayd, *Omnia mala exempla bonis inijs ora sunt. All ill examples haue spring from good beginnings.* The Heathen at first made these Statues and Images, but in memorie of such remarkable men, as had deserved best of their Countries & Common wealthis: *Effigies hominum (saith Pliny) non solabant exprimi, nisi aliquam illis causam perpetuam mereretur: Men were not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to bee perpetually remembered.* And though of the more ancient *Rapiss*, some haue borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appears in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images; That *Simulachra quæ pro alumnis, literarum, & per ca discunt homines Deum inuisibilem cognoscere: Images (say they, and so before them the Heathen said) are in stead of Letters, whereby men might learne to know the inuisible God: in which vnderstanding perhaps they no otherwise esteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal* or *Bel*, set vp in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian* became afterward the most reuerenced Idoll of the World, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himselfe) were misled and cast away to those very stocks & stones,*

and

Greg. Neocaes.
Ambros. in Psal.
108.

Euseb. l. 7. c. 18.
Aug. c. 13.
Lactant. l. 1. c. 3.

and painted Canuaſes (called the pictures of *Chriſt*, our *Ladie*, and others) were by thouſands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but eſteemed to haue life, motion, and vnderſtanding. On theſe ſtocks we call (ſaith the Booke of Wiſedome) which we paſſe through the raging waues, on theſe ſtocks were roſten than the ſhip that carrieth vs.

This Heathen inuention of Images became ſo fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to diſtinguiſh them into degrees and orders; as *Dij conſentes*, ſeu *maiorum gentium*; ſeleſti, *Patrij*, *inferiorib;*, *dij medi;* Counſelling gods, or gods of the mightieſt Nobilitie, ſeleſti gods; *Patrian*, gods of marke, and common gods (which the *Romans* called *Medioximi*) *dij vniuerſi*, and terreſtriall *Heri;*, and multitudes of other gods: of which *Saint Auguſtine* hath made large mention in his Booke de *Ciuitate Dei*. But (ſaith *Lactantius*) among all thoſe miſerable ſoules and rotten bodies, worſhipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Eptemides Cretenſis* (by what good Angell moued I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altar to the ynknowne God, which ſtood with the ſame title and dedication euen to the times of *S. Paul*: who made them firſt know to whom theſe Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might diſcerne the difference berwixt that light which lighteneth euery man, and the obſcure and ſtinking miſt wherein the Deuill had ſo manie yeeres led and miſ-led them. And it ſufficed not that the multitude of theſe gods was ſo great in generall, or that euery Nation had ſome one which tooke particular and ſingular care of them, as *Iupiter* in *Crete*, *Iſis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens* *Minerua*, in *Samos* *Iuno*, in *Paphos* *Venus*, and ſo of all other parts; but euery Citie, and almoſt euery Family had a god a-part. For, as it is written in the ſecond of *Kings*, the men of *Babel*, made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Aſhima*, and the *Amies* made *Nibbaz* and *Tartak*, and the *Sepheruims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which how plainly hath the Prophet *Eſay* derided: Men cut downe Trees, ynde them, burne a part of them, make readie their meate, and warme themſelues by the fire thereof, and of the reſidue he maketh a god; an Idol, and prayeth vnto it: but God hath ſhut their eyes from ſight, and their heart from vnderſtanding. It is therefore ſafeſt for a Chriſtian to belecue the Commandements of God ſo direct againſt Idolatrie, to belecue the Prophets, and to belecue *S. Paul*: who ſpeaketh thus plainly and feelingly, My beloned, flye from Idolatrie; I ſpeake as vnto them which haue vnderſtanding, iudge ye what I ſay.

Lib. 14.

Cap. 17. v. 18. 31.

Cap. 44.

§. VIII.

Of the Warres of *Ninus*: and laſtly of his warre againſt *Zoroaſter*.

Vnto this *Belus* ſucceeded *Ninus*, the firſt that commanded the exerciſe of Idolatrie, the firſt that inuiouſly inuaded his Neighbour Princes, and the firſt that without ſhame or feare committed adulterie in publique. But as of *Belus* there is no certaine memorie (as touching particulars:) ſo of this *Ninus* (whoſe ſtorie is gathered out of Prophane Authors) I find nothing ſo warrantable, but that the ſame may be diſputed, and in the greateſt part doubted. For although that piece of *Beroſus* ſet out and commented vpon by *Annias*, hath many good things in it, and giueth great light (as *Chryſoſtome* noteth) to the vnderſtanding of *Diadorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Helicarnanſſus*, and others: yet *Lodonicus Vices*, *B. Rhenanus*; and others after them, haue layed open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; prouing directly that it cannot be the ſame *Beroſus* which lived in *Alexanders* time, cited by *Athenens* and *Iosephus*: and whoſe Statue the *Athenians* erected, ſaith *Plinie*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many haue gathered the ſucceſſion of the *Babylonian* & *Aſſyrian* Princes, euen from *Nimrod* to the eighteenth King *Aſatades*, and to the times of *Ieſua*. For of *Metaſthenes* an Hiſtorian, of the Race of the *Persian* Priests, there are found but certaine Papers, or ſome few lines of the *Chaldean* and *Aſſyrian* *Memorabiles*; but he afterwards in the collection of the *Persian* Kings is not without his errors.

Athen l. 14. Ioseph. cont. Ap. ian. l. 1. c. 7.

Ctesias of *Cnidus* (a Citie adioyning to *Helicarnanſſus*) who liued together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his Hiſtorie out of the *Persian* Records, & reacheth as farre vpwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*; and though in the ſtorie of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approoueth him in ſome things, and *Athenens*, *Paſſianus* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet ſo baſe and apparant are his flatteries of the times and Prin-

ces

ces with whom he liued; & ſo incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and eſpecially of *Semiramis*; as whatſoeuer his reports were, times haue conſumed his workes, ſauing ſome very few excerptions lately publiſhed.

And therefore in things vncertaine, ſeeing a long diſcourſe cannot be pleaſing to men of iudgement, I wil paſſe ouer the acts of this third *Aſſyrian*, in as few words as I can expreſſe them. *S. Auguſtine* affirms that *Ninus* mastered all *Aſia*, *India* excepted. Others ſay that he wanne it all, ſaue *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia* the companion of his Conqueſts, with whom he entred into a ſtraight leagne of amitie, becauſe he commanded many people, and was his kinfman, and a *Chuſite*, and the neereſt Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His firſt enterprize was vpon *Syria*, which he might eaſily ſubdue, both becauſe he inuaded it on the ſodaine, and becauſe it lay next him: and alſo becauſe the *Arabians* and their king *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) aſſiſted him in the Conqueſt thereof.

The king of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his Warre againſt *Zoroaſter*: for from *Armenia* he bent himſelfe that way toward the Eaſt; but that euer he commanded the leſſer *Aſia*, I doe not belecue, for none of his Succeſſors had any poſſeſſion therein.

His third Warre was againſt *Pharnus*, king of the *Medes*, whom it is ſayd that he ouerthrew, and cruelly murdered with his ſeuē Children, though others affirme, that they all died in one battaile againſt him. Whether he inuaded *Zoroaſter* before the building or amplifying of *Nineue*, or after, it is vncertaine. It is ſaid that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*: and that finding little or ill ſucceſſe in the firſt, he returned, and ſet the worke of *Nineue* forward: and then a ſecond time entred *Bactria* with 1700000. Foot, and 200000. Horſe, and 10000. fixe hundred Chariots: being encountered by *Zoroaſter* with foure hundred thouſand. But *Ninus* preuayling, and *Zoroaſter* being ſlaine, he entred farther into the Countrey, and beſieged the chiefe Citie thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrian* (ſaith *Stephanus*:) which by a paſſage found, and an aſſault giuen by *Semiramis* (the wife of *Menon*) he entred and poſſeſt. Vpon this occaſion *Ninus* both admiring her iudgement and valour, together with her perſon and externall beautie, fancied her ſo ſtrongly, as (neglecting all Princely reſpects) he tooke her from her husband, whoſe eyes he threatned to thruſt out if he reſuſed to conſent. He therefore yeelding to the paſſion of loue in *Ninus*, and to the paſſion of ſorrow in himſelfe, by the ſtrong perſwaſions of ſhamie and diſhonour, caſt himſelfe head-long into the water, and died.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. Steph. de Urb.

CHAP. XI.

Of *ZOROASTER*, ſuppoſed to haue bene the chiefe Author of Magick Arts: and of the diuers kinds of Magicke.

§. I.

That *Zoroaſter* was not Cham, nor the firſt inuener of *Aſtologie*, or of *Magicke*: and that there were diuers great Magicians of this name.



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Zoroaſter King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincentius* ſuppoſeth to be Cham the ſonne of *Noah*: A fancie of little probabilitie. For Cham was the Paternall Anceſter of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whoſe ſonne was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that booke vvhich vvas called *Scriptura Cham*, deuſed by ſome wicked Knaue, and ſo intituled: of which *Sextus Senenſis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serephus Abbas* gaue the inuention of *Magicke* to Cham the ſonne of *Noah*: ſo did *Comestor* in his Scholaſticall Hiſtorie: which Art (ſaith he) vvith the 7. liberall Sciences he writ in 14. Pillers: ſeuē of which were made of braſſe, to reſiſt the deſacing by the waters of the Flood; and 7. of bricke againſt the iniurie of fire. There was alſo another deuſed diſcourſe, which went vnder the

Cassianus Oſſa. Coleap. 21.

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the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Severus* hath somewhat like to this of *Comellor*. These be *Cassianus* words: *Cham* (filius *Noah*) qui *superstitionibus istis & sacrilegiis fuit artibus infectus, sciens, nullum se posse super his memorialium librum in Arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat cum patre isto, &c.* *Cham* (the sonne of *Noah*) who was infected with these superstitions, and sacrilegious Arts, knowing, that he could not bring any booke or memoriall of that nature into the Arke, wherein he was to remaine with his godly Father, causeth the Precepts and Rules thereof to be grauen in metall and hard stone.

S. Augustine noteth that *Zoroaster* was said to haue laught at his birth, when all other children weepe; which presaged the great knowledge which afterward he attayned vnto: being taken for the Inuenter of naturall *Magick* and other Arts; for the Corrupter, ¹⁰ faith *Plinie* and *Iustine*. But I doe not thinke that *Zoroaster* invented the doctrine of the *Horoscopes* or *Natiuities*: or first found out the nature of herbs, stones, and mineralls, or their Sympatheticall or Antipatheticall workings; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldea* is also made the Inuenter. I rather thinke that these knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his sons. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster*, (as *Iosephus* reporteth) was no lesse learned heerein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then liuing: differing from the wisdom of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giuer of life and vertue to Nature and all Naturall things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed, and vniuersall power) admired the instruments, and did attribute proper strength to the things themselues, (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisdom, which being one, and remaining in it selfe, can doe all things, and reneweth all.

Now whether this *Zoroaster* (ouer-throwne by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the *Magician*, *Ctesias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Plinie* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then *Zoroaster*, slaine by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is also the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Again, *Iosephus* and *Cedrenus* affirme, that *Seth* first found out the Planets, or wandering Starres, and other Motions of the Heauens: for if this Art had beene inuented by ³⁰ *Zoroaster*, he could not haue attained to any such excellencie therein, in his owne lifetime; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular iudgement, he might adde somewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leaue it by writing to posteritie.

But of this *Zoroaster* there is much dispute: and no lesse iangling about the word & art of *Magick*. *Arnobius* remembreth foure, to whom the name of *Zoroaster*, or *Zoroastres* was giuen: which by *Hermodorus* & *Dion* seemeth to be but a cognomen, or name of art, and was as much to say, as *astorum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the same that *Ninus* ouerthrew: the second, a *Chaldean*, and the *Astronomer* of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaster Pampylus*, who liued in the time of *Cyrus* and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaster Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hosianes*, which followed ⁴⁰ *Xerxes* into *Greece*: between whom and *Cyrus* there past threescore & eightene yeares. *Suidas* remembreth a fift, called *Perfomedus sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of *Zoroaster* the son of *Oromasdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the first and chiefe *Zoroaster* was, it is doubted. *Plinie* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemisthius* or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Steuchius*, make him a *Chaldean*. But by those bookes of one *Zoroaster*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a *Chaldean* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldean*) was as often giuen to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishingment of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldei* and *Magi* diuers; *Picus* the same. But that this *Zoroaster* was a *Chaldean* both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Bookes, ¹⁰ which (saith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldean* tongue; and the Comment in the same language. Now that the *Magi* & they were not differing, it may be iudged by the name of those bookes of *Zoroaster*, which in an Epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intituled, *Patris Ezre Zoroastris, & Melchior magorum oracula*.

§. II.

Of the name of *Magia*: and that it was anciently farre diuers from Coniuring and Witchcraft.

Now for *Magick* it selfe; which Art (saith *Mirandula*) pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendant; Few understand, and many reprehend; Et sicut Canes ignotos semper allatrant; As Dogs barke at those they know not: so they condemne and hate the things they vnderstand not: I thinke it not amisse (leauing *Ninus* for a while) to speake somewhat thereof.

It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (*Magos*) because of *Simon Magus*, who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *Goes*, (that is) familiar with euill spirits, vsurped that title. For *Magicke*, Coniuring, and Witchery, are far differing Arts, whereof *Plinie* being ignorant scoffeth therat. For *Nero* (saith *Plinie*) who had the most excellent ¹⁰ Magicians of the East sent him by *Tyridates* King of Armenia, who held that Kingdom by his grace, found the art after long study and labour altogether ridiculous.

Magus is a Persian word primitiue, whereby is exprest such a one as is altogether conuerfant in things diuine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Art of *Magicke* is the Art of worshipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epistles expounding the Word (*μαγος*) saith, that the Persians call their gods *μαγος*: whence he addeth that *Magus* is either *ὁ κατὰ φύσιν θεός* or *δεσποτὴς θεός* (that is) that *Magus* is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the seruice of God: in which latter sense it is taken, *Math. 2. v. 1*. And this is the first and highest kind: which *Piccolominie* calleth ²⁰ diuine *Magicke*: and these did the Latines newly intitle *Sapientes* or *Wise men*: For, the feare & worship of God is the beginning of knowledge. These Wisemen the Greeks cal *Philosophers*: the Indians, *Brachmans*: which name they somewhat neerely retaine to this day, calling their Priests *Bramines*; among the Egyptians they were termed Priests; with the Hebrewes they were called *Cabalists*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*; amongst the Babylonians they were differenced by the name of *Chaldeans*: & among the Persians ³⁰ Magicians: of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hosianes*, one of the ancient Magicians) vseth these words: *Et verum Deum merita maiestate prosequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, sed veris eius venerationi nouit assistere. Idem demonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos*; *Sosthenes* (for so *M. Felix* calleth him, not *Hosianes*) ascribeth the due maiestie to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hath deliuered that there are Devils earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankind.

His Maiestie also in his first Booke of *Demonologie* c. 3. acknowledgeth, that in the Persian tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much as a contemplator of diuine and heauenlie sciences; but vniustly so called, because the *Chaldeans* were ignorant of the true diuinitie. And it is also right which His Maiestie auoweth, that vnder the name of *Magicke* ⁴⁰ all other vnlawfull Arts are comprehended, & yet doth His Maiestie distinguish it from Necromancie, Witchcraft, and the rest: of all which he hath written largely and most learnedly. For the *Magicke* which His Maiestie condemneth, is of that kinde whereof the Diuell is a partie. *Daniel* in his second chapter nameth foure kindes of those *Wise men*: *Arioli*, *Magi*, *Malefici*, and *Chaldei*. *Arioli* the old Latine translation calleth *Sophists*: *Patablus* and *Pagninus*, *Genethliacos*, or *Physicos*, or *Philosophers*, or (according to the note of *Vatablus*) *Naturalists*: *Nempe sunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philosophi apud Græcos* (scilicet) *diuinarum humanarumq; rerum scientiam proficentes*; For the *Magi* are the same with the Barbarians, as the *Philosophers* are with the Grecians (that is) men that profess the knowledge of things both diuine and humane. The Greeke & the English call them ⁵⁰ *Incanters*, *Iunius*, *Magicians*, *Castalian*, *Coniculators*: in the Syrian they are all foure by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*; The *Wise men* of *Babel*.

The second sort *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Iunius*, and our English, call *Astrologers*, *Hierome* and the *Septuagint*, *Magicians*.

The third kind are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in *Hierom*, *Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, *Witches* or *Poysoners*; in *Iunius*, *Præsignatores* or *Sorcerers*, as in English.

That *Witches* are also rightly so called *Venefici*, or *Poysoners*; and that indeed there is a kinde of *Malefici*, which without any Art of *Magicke* or *Necromancie* vse the helpe

of the Deuill to doe mischief, *His Maiesie* confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Booke: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of their practice, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Deuill prepared; and at other times to make pictures of Waxe, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things, which the Deuill by other meanes bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all Translators call *Chaldeans*: who tooke vpon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, & their euents: and this they vaunted to performe by the influences of the Starres by them obserued, and vnderstood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which haue made odious the very name of *Magick*, hauing chiefly fought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfeite the highest and most noblest part of it, yet so as they haue also crept into the inferior degrees.

A second kind of *Magick* was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, & all kinds of agriculture and husbandrie: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Starres into those lower Elements.

Philo Iudeus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magick* or *Astrologie*, together with the motions of the Starres and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he liued in *Chaldea*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognouit Creatorem*, (saith Io. Damascen) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature.* *Iosephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that hee instructed the Egyptians in *Aristhmetike* and *Astronomie*, who before *Abrahams* coming vnto them knew none of these sciences.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* against *Gaspar*: *Alexander & Eupolemon dicunt, quod Abraham sanctitate & sapientia omnium prestantissimus Chaldeos primus, deinde Phoenices, demum Aegyptios quicquid Astrologiam & diuina docuerit*; *Alexander* (saith he, meaning *Alexander Polyhistor*) and *Eupolemon* affirme, that *Abraham* the holiest and wisest of men, did first teach the *Chaldeans*, then the *Phanicians*; lastly, the *Egyptian Priests, Astrologie* and diuine knowledge.

The third kind of *Magick* containeth the whole Philosophie of nature; not the brabbings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost vertues, and draweth them out of Natures hidden bosome to humane vse, *Virutes in centro centri latentes*; *Virutes* hidden in the center of the center, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villa noua*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before these in elder times, and who better vnderstood the power of Nature, & how to apply things that worke to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyanens* remembred by *S. Hierome* to *Paulinus*; in some mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*: among the *Indians*, *Thestian*: among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes*: among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Lamolxis*: the *Hyperboreans* (as is supposed) *Abbaris*: and the *Italians*, *Petrus Aponensis*. The *Magick* which these men profest, is thus defined: *Magia est connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera prodant non sine eorum admiratione quicquid ignorat: Magicke* is the connexion of naturall agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise man to the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderful to those that know not their causes. In all these three kinds, which other men diuide into foure, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned: especially in the first and highest. For in his Oracles he confesseth God to be the creator of the Vniuersall: he beleueth of the *Trinity*, which he could not inuestigate by any naturall knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of *Paradise*: approacheth the immortallitie of the soule: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Love, discoursing of the Absinnence and Charitie of the *Magi*: Which Oracles of his, *Psellus*, *Ficinus*, *Patritius*, and others haue gathered and translated.

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Eusebius* in the *Theologie* of the *Phanicians*, vsing *Zoroasters* owne words: *Hec ad verbum scribit* (saith *Eusebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilis, sempiternus, ingenuus, expertus partium, sibi ipsi similis, bonorum omnium auctor, minnera non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater iuris, sine doctrina iustitiam perdoctus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacre nature vnicus inuentor &c.* Thus writeth *Zoroaster* word for word. God the first incorruptible, euerglasting, unbegotten, without parts, most like himselfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, hauing learned iustice without teaching, perfect wise by nature, the only inuenter thereof.

Sixtus Senensis speaking of the wisdom of the *Chaldeans*, doth distinguish those wise men

men into five orders, (to wit) *Chascedim*, or *Chaldeans*: *Asaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Chartumim*; (which he translates *Ariolici*, or *Sophists*) *Mechasphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Poysoners*; and *Gazarim*, *Augures*, or *Aruuspices*, or *Diuiners*.

Chascedim were those which had the name of *Chaldeans*, which were *Astronomers*: *Hij celorum motus diligentissime spectarunt*; These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heauens: whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

Asaphim were in the old *Latinetran* translation called *Philosophers*: of the *Septuagint* and of *Hierome*, *Magicians*: *Quide omnium tam diuinarum quam humanarum rerum causis Philosophati sunt*; who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well diuine as humane: of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the son of *Beer*) to be the first: but *Laertius* ascribeth the inuention of this art to *Zoroastres* the *Persian*.

Chartumim, or *Inchanters*, the *Disciples* (saith *Saint Augustine*, *Plinie*, and *Iustine*) of another *Zoroastres*: who corrupted the admirable wisdom of the *Magi*, which he receiued from his Ancesters.

Mechasphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those which we haue spoken already out of *His Maiesies* booke of *Demonologia*.

Gazarim, or *Aruuspices* (after *Saint Hierome*) which diuine from the entrails of beasts slaine for sacrifices: or by *Gazarim* others vnderstand *Augures*, who diuine by the flying, singing, or feeding of birds.

By this distinction we may perceiue the difference betweene those wise men which the kings of *Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profession of the *Magi* among the ancient *Persians* was most honest. For as *Peucer* truly obserueth, *Præerant religioni Persice, ut in populo Dei Lemita, studijq; vera Philosophia dediti erant: nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiamq; percepisset*; The *Magi* (saith he) were the chiefe Ministers of the *Persian* Religion, as the *Leuites* among Gods people, and they were giuen to the studies of true Philosophie: neither could any be King of the *Persians*, who had not first bene exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the *Magi*. *Sixtus Senensis* in the defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kinds of *Magick*, his owne words are these: *Et ne quem moueant præmissa Polychronij & Theophilus testimonio, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam, alteram vbiq; ab Origine damnatam, quæ per se dera cum demonibus inita aut verè aut apparenter operatur; alteram ab Origine laudatam, quæ ad practicam naturalem philosophiam pertinet, docens admirabiles res operans ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad inuicem agentium ac patientium*; That the testimonies of *Theophilus* and *Polychronius* (saith he) may not moue any man, it is to be vnderstood that *Magick* is of two sorts, the one euery where condemned by *Origen*; which worketh (whether truly or seemingly) by enchantments made with Deuills; the other commended by *Origen*; which appertaineth to the practicke part of naturall Philosophie, teaching to worke admirable things by the mutuall application of naturall vertues, agent and suffering reciprocally.

This partition *Hierome* doth embrace in the first of his Commentaries vpon *Daniel*: where considering of the difference which *Daniel* makes betweene these foure kinds of wise Men formerly remembred, he vseth this distinction: *Quos nos harios; cateris uero id est incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbum rem peragunt; Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur, malefici, qui sanguine vtuntur & uiciniis, & sepe contingunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldeis Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quod sint Philosophi Chaldeorum: & ad artis huius scientiam Reges quoq; & Principes eiusdem gentis omnia faciunt; Unde & in natiuitate Domini Saluatoris ipsi primum orsum eum intellexerunt, & venientes sanctam Bethlehem adorauerunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente; They whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, seeme to mee such as performe things by words; *Magicians*, such as handle euery thing philosophically; *Witches*, that vse blood and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: farther, among the *Chaldeans* I take them to be signified by the name of Coniecturers vpon natiuities, whom the vulgar call *Mathematicians*. But common custome takes *Magicians* for *Witches*, who are otherwise reputed in their own Nation: for they are the *Philosophers* of the *Chaldeans*; yea Kings and Princes of that Nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledge of this Art: whence at the natiuitie of the Lord our Saviour they first of all vnderstood his birth, and coming vnto holy *Bethlehem* did worship the Child: the Starre from above shewing him vnto them. By this therefore it appeareth that there is*

De vit singl.
Glyc. Annal.
fol. 180.

See vpon his
Comment. in
Aug. de Ciuit.
Dei. lib. 8. c. 2.

* Toto in mundo
docti sunt Tyarii,
cuius Monas est
principium iustitiae
namq; per se it
pater, & mentis
tradidit sciencia
de.
Ist. & Vicin.
De per. p. Euang.
lib. 2. cap. 7.

Lib. 2. fol. 25.

great difference betweene the doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuse of the word. For though some Writers affirme, that *Magnus bodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere facto utitur diaboli opera ad rem quancunq;* That he is called a *Magician* now-a-days, who having entred league with the Diuell, useth his helpe to any matter: yet (as our Sauour said of *Diuorce*) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of *Magicke* is of the wisdom of Nature; other Arts which vndergoe that title, were inuented by the fallhood, subtilty, & enuy of the Deuill. In the latter there is no other doctrine, than the vse of certaine ceremonies, *Per malis fidem, By an euill faith*: in the former no other ill, than the inuestigation of those vertues and hidden properties which God hath giuen to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that worke, to things that suffer. And though by the *Iewes* those excellent *Magicians, Philosophers, & Diuines*, which came to worship our Sauour *Christ*, were termed *Mechaschephim, or Measaphim*; yet had they no other reason than common custome therein. *Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit; Common custome* (saith *S. Hierome*) vnderstandeth *Witches* vnder the name of *Magicians*: And antiquitie (saith *Peter Martyr*) by the word (*Magi*) vnderstood good and wise men. *Quid igitur expauescis Magi nomen formidolose, nomen Euangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, sed sapientem sonat & Sacerdotem?* O thou fearefull one (saith *Ficinus*) why doubtst thou to vse the name of *Magus*, a name gracious in the Gospell, which doth not signifie a *Witch* or *Coniurer*, but a wise man and a Priest? For what brought this slander to that study and profession, but onely idle ignorance: the parent of causelesse admiration? *Causa fuit mirificientia quorundam operum, que (re vera) opera naturalia sunt: verumtamen quia procuratione demonum, naturis ipsas vel coniungentium, vel commiscuentium, vel aliter ad operandum expeditum facta sunt, opera demonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hac. De operibus huiusmodi est Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi improprè vocant: The marvel-lousnesse of some workes, which (indeed) are naturall, hath bene the cause of this slander: but because these workes haue bene done by procurement of *Diuels*, ioyning the natures together or mingling them, or howsoeuer fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the workes of the *Diuels* by the ignorant. Among these workes is naturall *Magicke*, which men call very improperly *Necromantie*.*

Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further: For by vnderstanding (saith he) the uttermost actiuitie of naturall agents we are assisted to know the *Diuinitie of Christ*: for otherwise (to vse his owne words) *ignoratis terminis potentie & virtutis rerum naturalium stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, que fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia; The termes or limits of naturall power and vertue not vnderstood, wee must needs doubt whether those very workes which Christ did, may not be done by naturall means: after which he goeth on in this sort: Ideo non hereticè, non superstitione dixi, sed verissimè & Catholice per talem Magiam adiunarios in cognoscenda diuinitate Christi: Therefore I sayd not heretically, not superstitiously, but most truly and Catholically, that by such *Magicke* wee are furthered in knowing the *Diuinitie of Christ*. And seeing the *Iewes* and others the enemies of Christian Religion, doe impudently and impiously obiect, that those Miracles which *Christ* wrought were not about Nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula* a man for his yeares fuller of knowledge than any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reason aow, that the vntermost of Natures workes being knowne, the workes which *Christ* did, and which (as himselfe witnesseth) no man could doe, doe manifestly testifie of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a *Pencill*, and by a power infinitely supreme & diuine; and therby those that were faithlesse, were either conuerted or put to silence.*

S. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient *Magicke* is not to be condemned: though the *Deuill* here, as in other kindes hath sought to abtrude euill things, vnder the name and colour of good things.

Seeing therefore it is confessed by all of vnderstanding, that a *Magician* (according to the Persian word) is no other than, *Diuinatorum cultor & interpres: A studious obseruer & expounder of diuine things*; and the Art of it selfe (I meane the Art of naturall *Magicke*) no other, *Quam naturalis Philosophia absoluta consummatio; Than the absolute perfection of naturall Philosophie*: Certainly then it proceeds from ignorance, and

no

no way forteth with wife & learned men, *promiscuè* & without difference and distinction, to confound lawfull & praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to vse *S. Pauls* words) with those *beggerly rudiments*, which the *Diuell* hath shuffled in, & by them bewitcheth and befooleth gracelesse men. For if we condemne naturall *Magicke*, or the wisdom of Nature, because the *Diuell* (who knoweth more than any man) doth also teach *Witches* and *Poysoners* the harmefull parts of Herbes, Drugges, Minerals, & Excrements: then may we by the same rule condemne the *Physician*, and the Art of healing. For the *Diuell* also in the Oracles of *Amphiaras, Amphilocheus, Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in *Dreames* what Herbes and Drugges were proper for such and such diseases. Now no man of iudgement is ignorant, that the *Diuel* from the beginning hath sought to thrust himselfe into the same imployment among the Ministers and Seruants of God, changing himselfe for that purpose into an Angell of Light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of *Astrologie*, by giuing a diuine power to the *Starres*, teaching men to esteeme them as gods, and not as instruments. And (as *Bunting* obserueth) it is true, that iudiciall *Astrologie* is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art; considering that heauenly bodies (as euen generall experience sheweth) haue and exercise their operation vpon the inferiour. For the *Sunne*, and the *Starre of Mars* doe drie the *Moone* doth moisten, and gouerne the Tides of the *Sea*. Againe, the *Planets*, as they haue seuerall and proper names, so haue they seuerall and proper vertues: the *Starres* doe also differ in beautie & in magnitude; and to all the *Starres* hath God giuen also their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: He counteth the vumber of the *Stars*, and calleth them by their names. But into the good and profitable knowledge of the celestially influences, the *Diuell* ceaseth not to shuffle in his Superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret vertues of Nature hath he fastened his doctrine of *Characters, Numbers, & Incantations*; and taught men to beleue in the strength of Words and Letters: (which without Faith in God are but Inke or common breath) thereby either to equall his own with the All-powerful Word of God, or to diminish the glory of Gods creating Word, by whom are all things.

Moreouer, he was neuer ignorant, that both the wife & the simple obserue when the *Sea-birds* forsake the shores and flye into the Land, that commonly some great storme followeth, that the high flying of the *Kite* and the *Swallow* betoken faire weather; that the crying of *Crowes* and bating of *Ducks* foreshew raine: for they feele the *Ayre* moistened in their Quils. And it is written in *Hieremie* the Prophet, *Euen the Starke in the ayre knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, & the Swallow*. Hereupon, this enemy of Mankind, working vpon these as vpon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the Heathen by teaching them to obserue the flying of *Fowles*, and thereby to iudge of good or ill successe in the War: & (withall) to look into their entrails for the same, as if God had written the secrets of vnsearchable prouidence in the liuers and bowels of birds and beasts. Againe, because it pleased God sometimes by *Dreames*, not onely to warne and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as *Abimelech* to restore *Sara* to *Abraham*; because he admonished *Ioseph*, and by *Dream* informed *Jacob, Laban, Pharaos, Salomon, Paul, Ananias*, the *Magi* of the East, and others. For as it is remembered in *Iob*: In *Dreames* and *Visions* of the night when sleepe falleth vpon men, &c. then God openeth the eares, that he might cause man to returne from his enterprize: therefore, I say, doth the *Diuell* also practise his *Diuinations* by *Dreames*, or (after *Parisenfis*) *diuinitatis imitationes, his mocke-diuitie*. This in the end grew so common, as *Aristides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his owne *Dreames*: *Atithridates* of those of his *Concubines*. Yea the *Romans* finding the inconuenience hereof, because all *dreams* (without distinction of cases) were drawn to *Diuination*, forbad the same by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (aut narrandis somnijs occultam aliquam artem diuinandi) it may appeare. Likewise by the Law of God in *Deuteronomie*, cap. 13. seducing *Dreamers* were ordered to be slaine. Yet it is to be condemned, not that *Mareus Antonius* was told a remedy in his *Dream* for two grieuous diseases that oppressed him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolomies* poisoned wound; nor that which *Saint Augustine* reporteth of a *Adillanise*, whose son (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a *Dream* where the *Aequittance lay* to discharge it: nor that

that of *Astygies* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, forasmuch as the cause is not in our felues, this place denieth dispute.

§. IIII.

That Daniels misliking Nabuchodonosors condemning of the Magicians, doth not iustifie all their practices.

But it may be objected, that if such Diuinations as the Heathens commonly vsed were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them very many & strange Revelations, how came it to passe that *Daniel* both condemned the hastie sentence of Nabuchodonosor against the Magicians of Chaldaea, and in a sort forbad it? especially considering that such kind of people God himself commanded to be slaine. To this, diuers answers may be giuen. First, it seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those Chaldeans, because they acknowledged that the Dreame of the king, which himself had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any Art either Naturall or Diabolicall: For there was none other (said the Chaldeans) that can declare it before the king, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh: and herein they confessed the power of the Euer-living God.

Secondly, it may be coniectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any euill or vnlawfull Arts, but were merely Magicians and Naturalists: & therefore when the king commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrary, & called it a hasty iudgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by Daniels instruction: for himself had bin taught by them, and was called chiefe of the Inchanters: of which some were termed Soothsayers, others Astrologians, others Chaldeans, others Magi or wise men: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbad the execution of that iudgement, because it was vniust. For howsoever those men might deserue punishment for the practice of vnlawfull Arts (though not vnlawfull according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Diuell himselfe could not know. So then in Daniels dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the Magicians, there is no absolute iustifying of their practice and profession.

§. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right use of them.

Notwithstanding this mixture euery where, of good with euil, of fals-hood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: The good, The truth, The puritie in euery kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbore to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Diuell in the Image of Baal, Ashtaroth, Chemoth, Iupiter, Apollo, and the like was so odored.

Neither did the abuse of Astrologie terrifie Abraham (if we may beleeue the most ancient and religious Historians) from obseruing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehorte wise and learned men in these dayes from attributing those virtues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of Heauen, which God hath giuen to those his glorious creatures.

The Sympatheticall and Antipatheticall working of Herbes, Plants, Stones, Minerals with their other vniuersal virtues, sometimes taught by the Diuell, and applied by his Ministers to harmefull and vncharitable ends, can neuer terrifie the honest & learned Physician or Magician from the vsing of them to the helpe & comfort of Mankind: neither can the illussions, whereby the Diuell betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reiect the obseruations of Dreames; so farre as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make vse of them.

Lastly, the prohibition to marke flying of Fowles (as signes of good or euill successe) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crows against Ruine, or to any obseruation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be giuen. For if we confound Arts with

with the abuse of them, we shall not only condemne all honest Trades and enterchange among men (for there are that deceiue in all professions) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulness all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure & couer it ouer with a most scornfull and beggarly ignorance: and (as *Plinie* teacheth) we should shew our felues ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaque, lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Vntankefull we should shew our felues towards those, who with paines and care haue discovered vnto vs light in this light.

Indeed not only these naturall knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the Mathematicks also and Professers thereof: though those that are excellently learned iudge of it in this sort: *In speculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili quaeritur, lucet; non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate; In the Glasse of the Mathematicks that Truth doth shine, which is sought in euery kinde of Knowledge; not in an obscuring image, but in a nere and manifest representation.*

§. VI.

Of the diuers kinds of vnlawfull Magicke.

It is true that there are many Arts, if we may so call them, which are couered with the name of Magicke: and esteemed abusiuely to bee as branches of that Tree, on whose root they neuer grew. The first of these hath the name of Necromancy or Goetia: and of this again there are diuers kinds. The one is an Inuocation at the graues of the dead, to whom the Diuell himselfe giues answer in stead of those that seeme to appeare. For certaine it is, that the immortall soules of men doe not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they giue motion and vnderstanding to the liuing: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soule: and therefore the soule is not to bee found in the Graues.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute or are in league with Satan, is that of coniuring or of raising vp Diuels, of whom they hope to learne what they list. These men are so distracted, as they beleeue that by terrible words they make the Diuell to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keep out a Mouſe) they therein (as they suppose) insconce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtlesse, they forget that the Diuell is not terrified from doing ill: and all that is contrary to God and goodnesse, no, not by the fearefull word of the Almighty: and that hee feared not to offer to sit in Gods seate, that he made no scruple to tempt our Sauour Christ, whom himselfe called the Sonne of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an vnworthy wretch will yet resolute himself, that he can draw the Diuell out of Hell, and terrifie him with a Phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which the Diuels seeine to vse, is but thereby to possesse themselves of the bodies and soules of those which raise them vp; as His Maiestie in his Booke aforenamed hath excellently taught: *That the Diuels obedience is only, secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; respectu, that is, upon bargain.*

I cannot tell what they can doe vpon those simple and ignorant Diuels, which inhabit *Iamblicus* imagination, but sure I am the rest are apt enough to come vncalled: and alwaies attending the cogitations of their seruants and vassals, do no way need any such enforcement.

Or it may be that these Coniurers deale altogether with *Cardans* mortall Diuels, following the opinion of *Rabbi Auornathan* and of *Porphirius*, who taught that these kinde of Diuels liued not aboue a thousand yeares: which *Plutarch* in his Treatise of Oraculorum defectu confirmeth, making example of the great god Pan. For were it true that the Diuels were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alwaies feare those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the Familiar of *Simon Magus* when hee had lifted him vp in the Ayre, cast him headlong out of his claws, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by S. Peters Prayers (of which S. Peter no where vaunteth) yet the same prancke at other times vpon his owne accord the Diuell played with *Theodotus*: who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to haue been) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like successe had *Zadus*, a principall pillar of the Manichean Heresie, as *Socrates* in his Ecclesiasticall History witnesseth: & for a manifest prooffe hercof we see it euery

Deut. 12. & 18.
Leuit. 20.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl.
lib. 5. c. 16.

Deut. 18. & 10.

Sunt in mundo
genii quoddam
potestatem habentes
de diuinis, in
discretum &
inconsiderabile
& quod neque
verum a falso
neque possibile
discernit ab
impossibili.
L. vi. in cap.
11. lib. 10.
Aug. de ciuit.
Dei. lib. 10.
Crisostomus, l. 1.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl.
lib. 5. c. 16.

Lib. 1. c. 11.

every day, that the Diuell leaues all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallowes, for whom at other times he maketh himselfe a *Pegasus*, to conueigh them in haste to places far distant, or at least makes them so thinke: For to those that receiued not the truth (saith Saint Paul) God hath sent them strong illusions. Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) His Maieslie in the second Booke & the fourth Chapter of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by vnanswerable reasons, that they are merely illusive. Another sort there are who take on them to include Spirits in Glasses & Crystals; of whom *Cusanus*: *Patni sunt incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt spiritum includere: quia spiritus non clauditur corpore: They are foolish Inchanters, which will shut up their spirits within their nailes or in Glasse: for a Spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.*

There is also another Art besides the afore-mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magick*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Inuocation they draw out of Heauen, and communicate withall. But the administering Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due vnto their Creator, so seeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man so absurd to think (except the diuell haue corrupted his vnderstanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heauen by threats. Wherefore let the professors thereof couer themselves how they please by a professed puritie of life, by the ministerie of Infants, by fasting & abstinence in generall; yet all those that tamper with immateriall substances and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, are men of euill faith, and in the power of Satan. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Diuels, which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked Diuinations: as by fire, called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Hydromantia*: by the ayre, called *Meteorotechnia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other is Fascination or Witchcraft: the Practisers whereof are no lesse enuious and cruell, reuengefull & bloody, than the Diuell himselfe. And these accursed creatures hauing sold their soules to the Diuell, worke two wayes; either by the Diuell immediately, or by the art of poysoning. The difference betweene *Necromancers* and *Witches*, His Maieslie hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) command; the other obey the Diuell.

There is another kind of pettie Witchery (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falconerie, yet was it no more to be admired then *Mahomet* Doue, vvhich he had vsed to feed with Wheate out of his care: which Doue, when it was hungrie, lighted on *Mahomet*es shoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to finde his breake-fast: *Mahomet* perfwading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gaue him aduice. And certainly if *Banks* had liued in elder times, he would haue shamed all the Inchanters of the World: for whosoener was most famous among them, could neuer master or instruct any beast as he did his Horse.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marsians* a people of *Italie* practised: *Colubros disrumpit Marsia cantu: enchanting Marsia makes the snakes to burst.*) That it hath bene vsed it appears, *Psalm* 58.6. though I doubt not, but that many Impositions may be in this kinde; and euen by naturall causes it may be done. For there are many Fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be layed in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other *Magick* or Inchantments than to draw out a Moufe with a piece of toasted Cheefe.

S. VII.

Of diuers wayes by which the Diuell seemeth to worke his wonders.

BVt to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we doe not giue to the Diuell any other dominion than he hath (not to speake of his abilitie, when he is the Minister of Gods vengeance; as when *Egypt*, according to *Danid*, was destroyed by euill Angels) he otherwise worketh but three wayes. The first is by mouing the cogitations and affections of men: The

second

second by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot vvorke what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giueth three causes: the first, a naturall impotency: the second, their owne reason disswading them from daring ouermuch, or indeed (and that which is the only certaine cause) the great mercy of the Creator, *Tenens eos ligatus* (saith the same Author) *velut immanissimus bel-* *Sicut Parisiensis de-* *monis op. p. 2.* *6. 70.*
In. S. S. Augustine vvas of opinion that the Frogs which *Pharaohs* Sorcerers produced were not naturall, but that the Diuell (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appeare to be such. For as *Vairus* obserueth, those Frogs of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, vvhich might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof saith Saint Augustine: *Nec sancti Demones naturas creant, sed que a Deo creatas sunt commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt: The Diuels create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seeme to be that which they be not:* of which in the 83. question he giueth the reason. *Demon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentie, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet, (that is) The Diuell fills with certaine clouds all passages of the vnderstanding, by which the beame of the minde is wont to open the light of reason.*

And as *Tertullian* in his Booke de anima rightly conceiueth, if the Diuell can possesse himselfe of the eyes of our mindes, and blinde them, it is not hard for him to dazell those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Diuell entreteth in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soule: for the fantasie is most apt to be abused by vaine apprehensions. *Maxima est est phantasia ad errores.*

Aquinas on the contrary held that those Frogs were not imaginarie, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *Magica artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to Thomas) *Per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients.* And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceived by that sleight of false semblance; and Saint *Augustine* in another case like vnto this (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his companions into Birds, *per alia cum passiuis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perswaded that Saint *Augustine* beleueed that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiensis* a man very learned also confirmeth. For speaking of natural *Magick* he vseth these words *De huiusmodi autem operibus est subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumque animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adiutoribus, quod ipsa serena natura consonant & accunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus natura videatur (que tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed potentia demonum, &c. to which he addeth: Qui autem in his docti sunt, talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in his glorificant: In such workes (saith he) the sodaine generation of Frogs and Lice, and wormes, and some other creatures is: in all which Nature alone worketh, but by means strengthening the Seeds of Nature, and quickning them, in such wise that they subasten the works of generation, that it seemeth to be ignorant not to be the works of Nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they think it is done by the powers of Diuels. But they who are learned in these Arts, maruaile not at such working, but glorifie the Creator. Now by these two wayes the Diuels doe must frequently worke, (to wit) by knowing the vndermost of nature; and by illusion: for their is no incomprehensible or vnsearchable power, but of God onely.*

For shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests; and can infect the ayre, as well as moue it or compresse it, who knowes not that these things are also naturall? Or may it be objected that he fore-telleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion. It is true, that he sometimes doth it; but howe
In elder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: & he foretold the death of *Saul*, at such time as he vvas in his own possession & power to dispose of. And he that hath liued from the infancie of the vvorlde to this day, and obserued the successe of euery counsaile: he that by reason of his swift motions can informe himselfe of all places, and preparations; he that is of counsaile with all those that studie & practise subuersion and destruction: he that is Prince of the ayre, and can thence better iudge, than those that inhabit the earth: if he should not sometimes, yea if he should not very oftentimes guesse rightly of things to come (where God pleaseth not to giue impediment) it were very strange. For we see that wise and learned men doe oftentimes

oftentimes by comparing like causes conceiue rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the Diuell doubteth and would willingly keepe his credit, he euer more answereth by Riddles: as

Croesus Halys penetrans magnam subuertit opum vim;

*If Croesus ouer Halys goe,
Great Kingdomes he shall ouerthrow.*

Which answer may be taken either vway: either for the ouerthrow of his own Kingdome, or of his Enemies. And thus far we grant the Diuell may proceed in predictions, vvhich (otherwise) belong to God onely; as it is in Esay: *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods; shew vs at all times and certainly what is to come. Solius enim diuina intelligentia ac sapientia est, occulta nosse & reuelare; it is only proper to Gods vnderstanding and wisdom, to know and reueale hidden things.*

Cui. Parisiensis
del. gib. 2. 4.

§. VIII.

That none was euer raised from the dead by the power of the Diuell: and that it was not the true Samuel which appeared to Saul.

TO conclude, it may be objected that the Diuell hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power haue done the like, as in the example giuen of *Samuel* raised by the Witch of *Endor*: which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that some of the Diuels acts exceeded all the powers of nature, false semblance, & other illusions. *In fine Martyr* was sometime of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeede; and so vvas *Ambrose*, *Lyra*, and *Burgensis*; from vvhich authorities those men borrow strength vvhich so beleue. But *Martyr* changed his opinion; & so did *S. Augustine*, who at first seemed to be indifferent: For in his questions vpon the Old and New Testament, he accounteth it detestable to thinke that it was *Samuel* which appeared: & these be his vvorde elsewhere to the same effect: *In requie sunt animae piorum à corpore separate, impiorum autem pœnas lunt, donec islarum ad vitam æternam, illarum verò ad æternam mortem quæ secunda dicitur corpora reuiuifcant. The soules of the godly separated from their bodies are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the iust rise to eternall life, and of the wicked to an eternall and second death.*

Iust. Martyr in
colloqu. v. 1. 2.
phone in resp. ad
Cris. 1. 2. 1. 52.
Ambros. in Luc.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
Reg. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
Simpl. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Aug. de ver. A.
post. 1. 8.
Iust. Mart. ad
Ortodoxos. q. 75.
Hilar. Dial. 1. 2.
in fine
Tert. de anima.
in fin.
Athanas. q. 13.
Chrys. hom. 1. 9.
in Euang. Mat.

26. q. 5. Epist.
copi.

And (besides *S. Augustine*) *Iustine Martyr*, *Helarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome*, and others, beleueed firmly, and taught it: that the soules of men being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (saith *Cyril*) *quum à corporibus sanctorum anime abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris Bonitati diuina commendari; we must beleue when the soules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the diuine Goodnesse, as into the hands of a most deare Father.* If then they be in Heauen, the power of the Diuell cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, *Ab inferis nulla est redemptio; From hell there is no redemption.* For there are but two habitations after death: *Primum* (saith *Augustine*) *in igne æterno; alterum in regno æterno; The one in eternall fire; the other in Gods eternall Kingdome.* And though it be written in *Iure Pontificis*, that many there are who beleue that the dead haue againe appeared to the liuing, yet the *Glosse* vpon the same Text findes it ridiculous: *Credunt & malè quia sunt Phantasmatas* (saith the *Glosse*) *They beleue, and they beleue amisse, because they be but Phantasmes, or Apparitions.* For whereas any such voice hath bene heard, saying, I am the Soule of such a one: *Hæc oratio à fraude atq; deceptione diabolica est, That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Diuell*, saith *Chrysostome*. Likewise of the same, saith *Tertullian*: *Ab sit ut animam cuiuslibet famuli, nedam Propheta, a demonio credamus extrahi; God forbid that we should thinke that the soule of any holy man, much lesse of a Prophet, should be drawn up againe by a Diuell.*

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition *Samuel*; so doe they the wooden images *Cherubims*; and false brazen gods are gods, and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build vpon that place of the 26. of *Ecclesiasticus* (a booke not numbred among the *Canonicall* Scriptures, as *S. Augustine* himselfe in his Treatise, if it be his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth) yet *Siracides* following the literall sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proueth nothing at all: For though the Diuell would willingly perswade

swade, that the soules (yea euen of iust men) were in his power; yet so farre is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods iust and mercifull nature, and so contrary to all diuine reason, as *Saint Augustine* (or whosoever wrote that booke before cited) might rightly terme it a detestable opinion so to thinke. For if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that hee refused to answer him either by *Dreams*, by *Vision*, or by his *Prophets*: it were sottish to conceiue, that he would permit the Diuell, or a wicked Witch, to raise a Prophet from the dead in *Sauls* respect: it being also contrary to his own diuine Law to aske counsaile of the dead; as in *Deuteronomie* 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it vvas the Diuell, and not the soule of a dead body, that gaue answer and aduice.

But because *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raised some from the dead by the power of God; those Diuels which *S. Augustine* calleth *Indicatores animantium sibi subiectorum; Mockers of their owne vassalls*, casting before their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, and framing sounds to their eares like the voyces of men, do also perswade their gracelesse and accursed attendants, that themselves both possesse, and haue power ouer the soules of men. *Indit Diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, saith *L. Viues*; *The Diuell beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine.* These then are the bounds of the Diuels power, whom if we will not feare, we must feare to sinne. For when hee is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himself his voluntary vassall: *Potest ad malum inuitare, non potest trahere*, saith *S. Augustine*, *he can allure, but he cannot inforce to euill.* Such as thinke otherwise, may goe into the number remembered by *Lucretius*:

*Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atq; omnia cecis
In tenebris metuant: sic nos in luce timemus.*

We feare by light, as children in the darke.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, and of his Wife Semiramis, and of other of her Acts.

§. I.

Of the magnificent building of Nineue by Ninus: and of Babylon by Semiramis.

BVt to come backe to *Ninus* the amplifier and finisher of *Nineue*: whether hee performed it before or after the ouerthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is vncertaine. As for the City it selfe, it is agreed by all prophane Writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compass 440. *stadia*, or furlongs; the valls whereof vvere an hundred foot vpright, and had such a breadth as three Charriots might passe on the Rampire in front: these valls were garnished with 1500. Towres vvhich gaue exceeding beauty to the rest, and strength, no lesse admirable for the nature of those times.

But this City (built in the Plaines of *Assyria*, and on the banks of *Tygris*, and in the Region of *Edem*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as ancient Historians report, & more lately *Naclerius*) had the name of *Campfor*, at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gaue it a wall, and called it after his owne name.

For these workes of *Babylon* and *Nineue* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldea*, and in *Assyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finished *Nineue*, *Semiramis* *Babylon*: vvherein she fought to exceede her husband by farre. Indeed in the first Age when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to inuade others, nor feared to be inuaded: labouring to build Towns and Villages for the vse of themselves and their people, without either Wals or Towres; and how they might discharge the earth of Woods, Bryars, Bushments, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* liuing in

1. Kin. 17. 22.
2. Kings 4. 34.
Nullus enim
magis aut de-
mon mortuum
ere vnglam
excitant.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Iust. in. l. 1.
Diod. l. 2.
Sabel. l. 1. 1. 1.

Herod. l. 1.
Iust. in. l. 1.
Diod. l. 2. 2.

Priests made the oblation of the flames, because, this Tower out-topped the ordi-
nary clouds, so as to shew forth to benighted men the way to heaven: b
By beholding the ruines of this Tower, haue many Trauailers bene deceiued, who
suppose that they haue seen a part of Nimrod's Tower, when it was but the foundation
of this Temple of Bel: (except this of Bel were founded on that of Nimrod.) There
were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense every yeare
(saith Herodotus.) This Temple did not only adorne with the spoiles of Ierusa-
lem, and of the Temple of Salomon, but with the vessels and ornaments Cyrus redeliuered.
This Temple Xerxes adorned with the spoils which Alexander is said to haue repaired
by the perswasions of the Chaldeans. I deny not that it might haue bene in his desire
to do so; but he enioyed but a few yeares after Babylon taken, and therefore could not
performe any such worke. The Egyptians (saith Proclus) inhabiting a low and leuell
ground, and given to the same superstition of the Stars that the Chaldeans were, erected
in imitation, and for the same seruice and vse, the Pyramides by Memphis, which were
conspicua undiq; banigantibus, saith Pliny. Of these Pyramides, Bellonius a carefull obser-
uer of rarities (who being in Egypt, mounted by steps to the top of the highest) mak-
eth this report: *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa samaine, & tirant une fleche en l'air, a
peine paroitroit l'ennemy hors de sa base, qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez; The
best Archer standing on the top of one of these Pyramides, and shooting
an Arrow from thence into the ayre as farr as hee can, with
great difficulty shall be able to force the
same, but that it will fall upon
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Finis Libri primi.

THE



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM
the birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the
Temple of Salomon.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the time of the birth of Abraham: and of the vse of this question, for the orde-
ring of the Story of the Assyrian Empire.

S. I.

Of some of the successors of Semiramis: with a briefe transiſion to the question, about the time
of the birth of Abraham.



After the death of Semiramis, Ninyas or Zameis, succeeded her in
the Empire, on whom Berosus Ammianus bestowes the conquest
of Bactria, and the ouerthrow of Zoroaster; contrary to Diodo-
rus, Iulius, Orosius, and all other approued Writers. For Ninyas
being esteemed no man of vvarre at all, but altogether feminine,
and subiect to ease and delicacy, there is no probability in that
opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this Ni-
nias of any moment, other than that out of ieaousie hee euery
yeare changed his Prouinciall Gouvernors, and built Colledges

for the Chaldean Priests, his Astronomers: nor by Arim his successor, whom Suidas cal-
leth Thuras; but that he reduced againe the Bactrians & Caspians, reuolted (as it seemeth)
in Ninyas his time: nor of Aralins, the successor of Arim; but that he added sumptuosity,
invented iewels of gold and stone, and some engines for the warre: I will for this present
passe them ouer, and a while follow Abraham, whose vvaies are vvarrantable, (till vvee
meete these Assyrians againe in this story) by whom and by whose issues vvee shall best
giue date to the Kings of Babylon: Abraham liuing at once with Nimus, Ninias, Semiramis,
Arim, Aralins, and Xerxes or Balamus. For otherwise if we seek to proue things certain
by the vncertaine, and iudge of those times, vvhich the Scriptures set vs downe without
error, by the reignes of the Assyrian Princes: we shall but patch vp the story, at adven-
ture, and leaue it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained: For where
the Scriptures doe not helpe vs, *Abraham non est in rebus antiquis Historiam non consistit, in Plut. in Thebe.*
nor male if then in things very ancient, History want assistance.

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long these Assy-
rian kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of Abrahams
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Procl. in Times
Lib. 1.

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birth, and in what yeare the same happed after the flood. Now since all agree, that the

fortieth three year of *Ninno* was the birth-year of *Abraham*; by prouing directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeare after the flood the birth of *Abraham* hapned, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much iangling betweene those *Chronologers*, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the most part making 292. or 293. yeares; others 352. yeares betweene *Abraham*'s birth and the flood: a matter often disputed, but neuer concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we finde him in *Annals*) makes but 250. yeares from the flood to *Ninno*; then seeing that *Abraham* was borne in the fortieth three yeare of *Ninno*, according to *Ensebius* and *S. Augustine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the yeare of *Abraham*'s birth was in the year after the flood 293. or as the most part of all *Chronologers* gather, the yeare 292.

Now, since I doe here enter into that neuer-resolved question, & *Labyrinth* of times, it behoueth me to giue reason for my own opinion: and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walk aside, and in a way apart from the multitude, yet not alone, & without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those darts, which Enuie casteth at nouelty, than to go on safely and sleepily in the easie waies of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diuerfity.

§. II.

A proposal of reasons or arguments, that are brought to proue Abraham was borne in the yeare 292. after the Flood, and not in the yeare 352.

Those which seeke to proue this account of 292. yeares, betweene the generall flood and *Abraham*'s birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the Scripture: So *Terah* lived 70. yeares, and begot *Abraham*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*: secondly, vpon the opinion of *Iosephus*, *S. Augustine*, *Beza*, *Isidore*, & many of the ancient Hebrewes before them: authorities (while they are slightly lookt ouer) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembred, the later *Chronologers* gather these arguments. First out of the words as they lie; That *Terah* at 70. yeares begot *Abraham*, *Nahor* and *Haran*: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worthiest, *Abraham* being the son of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and so necessarily borne in the seuentieth yeare of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect. In whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the blessing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this Chapter was to set downe the Genealogy of *Christ*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor*, and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest sonne, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then be proued, that *Abraham* was borne more assuredly in the 130. year of *Terah* his age, than in the 131. 132. &c. *Moses* hauing no where set downe precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very yeare, in which his Father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. yeares: seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. yeares.

§. III.

The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that Abraham made but one iourney out of Mesopotamia into Canaan: and it, after his Fathers death.

To answer all vvhich objections, it is very easie, the vway being prepared thereto by diuers learned Diuines long since; and to vvhich I will add somewhat of mine owne, according to the small talent which God hath giuen me. Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, vnlesse the time of *Abraham*'s iourney into *Canaan* be first considered of; before I descend vnto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so farre, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his traualles, that seruet as a ground for this opinion and a bulwarke against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is concluded that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*: the latter after his Fathers

Fathers death, the former presently vpon his calling, which hee performed without delay, not staying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a coniecture, drawn from a place in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, where it is written, *By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God, to goe out into a place which he should afterward receiue for inheritance: and hee went out, not knowing whither he went.* This supposition (if it be granted) serueth very well to vphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let vs therefore see whether we may giue credit to the supposition it selfe.

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his Father, the same is proued, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of St. Stephen: And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell, that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Against which place so direct, & plaine, what force hath any mans fancy or supposition, perswading, that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*; one before *Terah*'s death, & another after: no such thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alleadged can pick any argument, prouing, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* past into *Canaan*, and then returned vnto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I thinke it reason, that hee be beleued in the rest. But that hee performed the commandment of God after his Fathers death, leaving *Ur* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. For after his Father was dead, (saith Martyr Stephen) God brought him into this Land. And, as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double iourney into *Canaan*, then must it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and Stephen afterwards remembred the other: and whence had Stephen, saith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abraham*'s comming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For if Stephen had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the Iewes, his aduersaries, too great an occasion both of scandalizing himselfe, & the Gospell of *Christ*. Indeed we shall finde small reason to make vs think that *Abraham* passed and repassed those wayes, more often than he was enforced so to doe, if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome iourney, than the strength of his faith in Gods promise: in vvhich if any thing vould haue brought him to despaire, he had more cause than euer man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborn nations: a nation of valiant and resolute Idolaters. Hee was besieged with famine at his first arriual, and driuen to flie into *Egypt* for reliefe. His wife was old, and hee had no sonne to inherit the promise. And when God had giuen him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him vp to himself for sacrifice: all which discomforts he patiently and constantly vnderwent.

Secondly, let vs consider the wayes themselves, which *Abraham* had to passe ouer; the length whereof was 300. English miles; and through Countries of which hee had no manner of experience. He was to transport himselfe ouer the great riuer of *Euphrates*, to trauell through the dangerous and barren Defarts of *Palmyra*, and to climbe ouer the great and high mountaines of *Libanus*, *Herman* or *Gilead*: and whether these vvere easie walkes for *Abraham* to march twice ouer, containing, as aforesaid, 300. miles in length, let euery reasonable man iudge. For if he trauelled it twice; then was his iourney in all 1800. miles from *Ur* to *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But vvere there no other argument to disproue this fancy; the manner of *Abraham*'s departing from *Haran* hath more prooffe (that hee had not *animum reuertendi*, not any thought of looking backward) than any mans bare coniecture, be hee of what antiquity or authority fouer. For thus it is written of him, Then *Abraham* took *Sarah* his wife, and *Lot* his brothers son, and all their substance that they possessed, and the soules that they had gotten in *Haran*: and they departed to go to the land of *Canaan*. & to the land of *Canaan* they came. Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was deare vnto him, his wife, and kinsmen, and his, & their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if hee could haue borne thereto moued, it is more likely that he would haue then returned, when he was yet vnsettled, and prest with extreame famine at his first arriual. For had his Father beene then aliue, he might haue hoped from him to receiue more assured comfort and reliefe, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a meere stranger both in religion and Nation.

What the cause might bee of *Abraham*'s returne to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures haue sent him backe thither, about the

the time of his fathers death: so they perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plaine, if it be not ouer-troublesome. They say that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Fathers death, or some time after, being then by their account 135. yeares old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that hee left quite vndone the businesse, which, as we reade, was within foure or five yeares after that time his greatest, or (as may seeme) his onely care? Did not he binde with a very solemn oath his principall seruant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to trauaile into those parts, and seeke out a Wife for *Isaac* his sonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumstances, that neither hee nor his seruant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, that they could particularly designe any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had bene there in person so lately, as within foure or five yeares before, hee would not haue forgotten a matter of such importance; but would haue trusted his own iudgement, in choosing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other desirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his onely sonne, who was then five and thirty yeares old; before which age most of the Patriarches after the Flood had begotten children: rather than haue left all at random to the consideration of a seruant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it be supposed (if it may be beleued) that either *Abraham* forgot his businesse when he was there, or that somewhat hapned which no man can deuise; What might bee the reason, that *Abrahams* man, in doing his Masters errand, was faine to lay open the whole story of his masters prosperity, telling it as 20 newes, that *Sarah* had borne to him a sonne in her old age? If *Abraham* himselfe, a more certaine Author, had so lately bene among them, would not all this haue bene an idle tale? It were needlesse to stand long vpon a thing so euident. Whether it were lawfull for *Abraham* to haue returned backe to *Haran*, would perhaps bee a question hardly answerable: considering how auerse hee was from permitting his sonne to be carried thither, euen though a wife of his owne kinred could not haue bene obtained without his personall presence. *Jacob* indeed was sent thither by his parents, to take a Wife of his owne linage; not without Gods especiall approbation, by whose blessing he prospered in that journey; yet he liued there as a seruant; suffered many iniuries; and finally was drinen to conuey himselfe away from thence by flight. For although it bee not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may bee obserued, that God alloweth not in his seruants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and transplanted them. That briefe saying, *Remember Lots Wife*, contains much matter. Let vs consider *Mesopotamia* from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole Nation of the *Israelites* were deliuered: we shall find, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the posterity of the *Hebrewes*. When *Ezechias* was visited with an honourable Embassie from *Babel*, it seemes that he conceiued great pleasure in his minde, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the prophesie which thereupon hee heard by *Esay*, made him to know, that the counsaile of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when 40 by the waters of *Babylon* they fate downe and vvept. Concerning *Egypt* we reade, that *Sesac* and *Neco* Kings of *Egypt* brought calamity vpon *Israel*: also that their confidence in the *Egyptian* succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to returne into *Egypt* I doe not remember, nor can readily finde; but it is found in *Deuteronomy*, that God had said, *They should no more returne that way*; which is giuen, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to returne to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laied any such iniquiunction vpon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: That he neuer returned, all circumstances do (to my vnderstanding) both strongly and necessa- 50 rily conclude.

But because this double passage of *Abraham* is but an imagination; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perswade those of iudgement or vnderstanding: I take it sufficient, that *S. Stephen* hath directly taught vs, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to proue it, I will beleue as they doe. For all the trauailes of *Abraham* are precisely set downe in the Scriptures: as first from *Ur* or *Calerna* in *Chaldea* to *Haran* or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his Fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he

Gen. 24.

Gen. 24. 35.
36. &c.Gen. 24. 5.
6. &c.

Gen. 28.

2. Kin. 20.

Psal. 137.
1. Kin. 14. 25.
2. Kin. 13.
2. 29.

Deut. 17. 16.

heremoued to a mountaine betwene *Bethel* and *Hais*: thence into *Egypt*; from *Egypt* he returned thither againe, where he and he parted, because their flockes and herds of Cattle were more than could be fed in that part: from thence the second time hee removed to *Mamre*; neere *Hebron*: and thence hauing pursued *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, hee after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumea*, vnder *Abimelec*: and after receiued vnto him at *Bersabe*, at which time hee was ready to offer vp his sonne *Isaac* on the mountaine *Moriah*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one story, either diuine or humane. Now, if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Leuisa* his *Cabala* hath faigned, it should in reason be therewithall beleued, that hee would in those his first trauailes haue provided himselfe 10 of some certaine seat, or place of abiding: and not haue come a second time, with his wife, kinsmen, family, goods and cattle, not knowing vvhetheron to rest himselfe. But *Abraham* when hee came from *Charran*, past through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the *Plaine of Moriah*: where finding no place to inhabit, hee departed thence to *Bethel* and *Hais*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discouer and find out some fit habitation: from vvhence againe, as it is written in *Genesis* the eleventh, *He went forth, going and iourneying towards the South*: and alwaies visited. By occasion of vvhich wandering to and fro, some say, the *Egyptians* gaue him and his the name of *Hebrai*. Further, to proue that hee had not formerly bene in the Countrey, we may note, that ere he came vnto *Bethel* and *Hais*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God ap- 20 peared vnto him, saying, *Vnto thy seede will I giue this Land*, shewing it him as vnto a stranger therein, and as a Land to him vnkowne. For *Abraham* without any other prouident care for himselfe, beleued in the Word of the liuing God: neither sending before, nor comming first to discouer it; but being arriued, hee receiued a second promise from God, that he would giue those Countreies vnto him and his seede to inhabit and inherite.

Lastly, what should moue any man to thinke, that *Moses* would haue omitted any such double iourney of *Abrahams*, seeing hee setteth downe all his passages else-where long and short? as when hee moued from *Sichem*, and seated betwene *Hais* and *Bethel*, the distance being but 20. miles: and when hee moued thence to the valley of *Mamre*, 30 being but 24. miles: and when he left *Mamre*, and fate downe at *Gerar*, being lesse than fixe miles; No, *Moses* past ouer all the times of the first age with the greater breuity, to hasten him to the story of *Abraham*: shutting vp all betwene the Creation & the Flood in fixe chapters, which age lasted 1656. yeares: but he bestoweth on the story of *Abraham* foureteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleventh, and ending with his death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175. yeares. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abrahams* travels, or other actions: or that he would set downe those small remoues of fixe miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a iourney in going and comming would haue mis- 40 stirred some variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inserting and adding to *Abrahams* storie.

§. IV.

The answer to another of the obiections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikely, that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his hundred and thirty yeere.

NOW touching the obiection, where it is said, that it was very vnkely that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his 130. yeare, seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to haue a son at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeede mis-cast, and mistaken: *Abraham* hauing respect onely to *Sarah* his 50 wife, when he spake of their many yeares. For when the Angel said vnto *Abraham* in his Tent doore at *Mamre*; *Loe Sarah thy wife shall haue a Son*, it followeth in the next verse, *Now Abraham and Sarah were old and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women: therefore Sarah laughed*, &c.

So then in that it is said, it ceased to be with *Sarah* after the manner of women, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second wife *Keturah* had many sonnes after *Sarahs* death, as *Zimron*, *Ischban*, *Medan*, *Misham*, *Ishbak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldest of these was borne 37. yeares after *Isaac*: and the youngest

Gen. 12. 6.

Mont. in Calch.

Origen. l. 11. c. 11.
in Gen. Aug. de
Ciu. dei. 16. c.
34. Caiet. &
Peter. in Gen.

youngest 40. yeeres after. What strangenesse then, that Terah being 130. yeeres old should beget Abraham, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despair of Abraham at one hundred yeeres? For Sarah died in the year of the world 2145. and Isaac was borne in the year 2109. and Abraham did not marry Hagar till Sarah was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109 out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if Abraham begat 5. sons 36. yeeres after this, supposed wonder, & when Abraham was 137. yeeres old: it is not strange that his Father Terah should beget Abraham at 130. And if Ben, Obad, and Iesse, who lived so many yeeres and ages after Abraham, begat sonnes at 100. yeeres, or neerer it, it cannot be marvailed at, that Terah begat Abraham at 130. and Abraham others at the same age and seven yeeres after.

§. V.

The answer to two more of the objections: shewing that wee may haue certainty of Abrahams age from the Scripture, though we make not Abraham the eldest Sonne: and that there was great cause, why in the story of Abraham his two brethren should be respected.

It followeth now to speake something to the objection, which brings Abrahams age altogether in doubt, except wee allow him to be the eldest son of Terah, and borne when Terah was 70. yeeres old. For Abrahams age being made vncertaine, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That we cannot be certaine of Abrahams age, vnlesse we make him the eldest sonne, is false. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when Terah was 205. which was the year of his death, then was Abraham 75. And if you aske, how I can iudge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that Abraham departed Haran at that age: I answer, That Saint Stephen hath told vs; that Abrahams departure followed the death of his Father Terah: and Terah died at 205. so as the 75. yeeres of Abraham was the 205. yeeres of Terah: which knowne, there can bee no error in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the objection, where it is said, That Moses had no respect vnto Nahor and Haran, because they were out of the Church, but to Abraham onely, with whom God established the Couenant, and of whom Christ descended according to the flesh, &c. I answer, that Moses for many great and necessary causes had respect of Nahor and Haran. For the succession of Gods Church is not witnessed by Abraham alone, but by the issues of Nahor and Haran, where they Idolaters or otherwise. For Nahor was the Father of Bethuel, & Bethuel of Rebecca, the mother of Israel: and Haran was the parent of Lot, Sarah, and Milcah: and Sarah was mother to Isaac, and grandmother to Jacob: Milcah also the wife of Nahor, and mother of Bethuel, was Jacobs great grandmother: and the age of Sarah the daughter of Haran is especially noted, in that it pleased God to giue her a son at 90. yeeres, and when by nature she could not haue conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both Nahor and Abraham married the daughters of their brother Haran, and because Isaac married Rebecca the grand-childe of Nahor, and Jacob, Lea, and Rachel, the daughters of Laban, the grand-childe also of Nahor: it was not superfluous in Moses to giue light of these mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange gods, as it is Ios. 24. yet I see no cause to thinke, that they still continued Idolaters. For they beleued and obeyed the calling of Abraham, leaving their naturall Countrey, and City of Ur in Chaldeas, as Abraham did, and remoued thence all, except Haran, who died before his Father Terah, ere they left Chaldeas; but Lot, his sonne, followed Abraham into Canaan; and Sarah, the sister of Lot, Abraham married. Nahor also, who remained at Charran, gaue his sonnes daughters to Isaac, and Isaac, his owne kinsmen: hee himselfe hauing also married in his owne Family, not thinking it pleasing vnto God to mixe themselves with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length beleued in the God of Abraham, it can no way be doubted. For when Laban had seene the seruant of Abraham standing at the Well beside Charran, he invited him to his Fathers house in this manner: Come in, thou blessed of Iehouah, &c. And when this seruant of Abrahams demanded an answer as touching Rebecca, then answered Laban and Bethuel, and said, This thing is proceeded of Iehouah: meaning, that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged Gods providence. Likewise in the following verse it is written, Take, ye that be my betsy Masters sons wife, euen as Iehouah hath said. This their often vsing

Gen. 14. 31.
Gen. 24. 50.

of the name of Iehouah, which is the proper Name of the true God, is a signe that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of S. Chrysostome, and some later Writers, as Caietan, Oleaster, Musculus, Calvin, Mercer, and others, that Laban was an Idolater, because hee retained certaine Idols, or household gods, which Rachel stole from him; yet that he beleued in the true God it cannot be denied. For he acknowledged the God of Abraham and of Nahor, and he called Abrahams seruant, blessed of Iehouah, as aforesaid: So as for my selfe I dare not auow, that these men were out of the Church, who, sure I am, were not out of the faith.

§. VI.

That the naming of Abraham first of the three brethren, Gen. 11. v. 26. doth not proue that he was the eldest: together with diuers reasons prouing that Abraham was not the eldest son of Terah.

To the maine objection which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strue to shorten the times, endeavour to proue that Abraham was the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. yeeres of Terahs life: grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture; And Terah liued 70. yeeres, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran: To this I say, that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the same is no prooue at all that he was the eldest & first-borne sonne of Terah. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in blood and birth, neither doth it appeare, that it pleased God to make especiall choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for Seth was not the first-borne of Adam; nor Isaac of Abraham; nor Jacob of Isaac; nor Iuda and Ioseph of Jacob; nor David the eldest of Iesse; nor Salomon of David: as is formerly remembred. But it is written of Noah: Noah was 500. yeeres old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Iaphet: shewing that at the 500. yeeres of his age hee began to beget the first of those three sonnes. For according to S. Augustine, speaking generally, Nec attendendus est in his ordo natiuitatis, sed significatio futura dignitatis: in qua excelluit Abraham: The order of natiuitie is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignity: in which Abraham was preferred. And therefore, as in the order of the sonnes of Noah: so is it here; where it is said, that Terah liued 70. yeeres, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran: For it was late ere Terah began to beget Sonnes, himselfe being begotten by his Father Nahor at 29. as other his Ancestors were at 30. The like also happened to Noah: for whereas Adam begat Seth at 130. Enosh Kenan at 90. Kenan Mahalaleel at 70. Mahalaleel Iered at 60. Noah was yet 500. yeeres old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes, as aforesaid. And S. Augustine in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that Abraham was the youngest of Terahs sonnes, than otherwise: though for his excellency hee was worthily named first. His owne words are these: Fieri enim potuit ut posterior sit generatus Abraham: sed merito excellentie, quia in Scripturis valde commendatur; prior fuerit nominatus. It might be, saith he, that Abraham was begotten later: but was first named in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture hee is much commended. So as the naming first or last proueth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those issues of Noah, or in these of Terah: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spirituall blessing; for Moses nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest & first in Gods fauour. Pietas ergo vel ipsa potius electio diuina, qua comitem secum trahis pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noe, & Abrahamo in liberis Thare: Piety, saith he, or rather diuine election, which doth enermore draw with it or after it, piety and the feare of God, gaue place and precedency to Sem among the children of Noah, and to Abraham among those of Thare.

For the rest it is manifest, that Abraham entred Canaan in the 75. yeeres of his age. And it was in Canaan that Hagar bare him Isaac, when Abraham had liued 86. yeeres. It was at Gerar (the South border of Canaan) that Sarah bare Isaac, when Abraham had consumed 100. yeeres. It was from the valley of Mamre in Canaan that Abraham rose out; when he rescued Lot and ouerthrew Amraphel: and he had then but the age of 83. yeeres: and it is as manifest that hee parted from Haran after his Father Terah was dead. But if

Abraham
Terah

Gen. 14.

Terah begat *Abraham* at 70. year old, then must *Abraham* have been 135. yeares when he first set his foote in *Canaan*, seeing *Terah* must be dead ere he parted; and so 70. added to 135. make 205. the true age of *Terah*: which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembered. For he entred at 75. he rescued *Lot* at 83. hee had *Ismael* at 86. he had *Isaac* at 100. proued by the former places.

Moreouer, if *Abraham* were the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and borne in the 70. yeare of his age: then had *Terah* liued till *Isaac* had bene 35. yeares old, and *Ismael*, 49. both vvhich must then haue bene borne in *Mesopotamia*, and therein fostered to that age: vnlesse we should either deny credit to *S. Stephen*, who saith that *Abraham* departed from *Mesopotamia* after his Fathers death: or else beleue the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Chronologia antoptica*, saith it was about his Fathers death: because the Greek word, *meta* may be transported by the Latine *sub*, as well as by *post*: which though elsewhere it may be yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about *Terahs* death, which were 60. yeares before. Wherefore supposing *Abraham* to haue been borne in the seuenth yeare of *Terah*; we must giue those times and places of birth to *Abrahams* children, which no authority will warrant; For *Abraham* had no children in *Ur of Chaldees*, nor in *Haran*, nor in ten yeares after his arriual into *Canaan*. For the yeare of *Terahs* death, in vvhich *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the yeare of the World 2083. and the yeare of *Ismaels* birth was the Worlds yeare 2094. which maketh 10. yeares difference. And that *Isaac* was borne in *Canaan*, and was to be offered vpon the mountaine *Moriah* therein, 39. miles from *Bersabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three *Angels* first of all appeared to *Abraham* in the valley of *Mamre*, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot bee that any of *Abrahams* sonnes were borne in *Mesopotamia*; nor while *Terah* liued; nor in lesse than ten yeares after *Terahs* death: and then consequently was not *Abraham* the eldest sonne of *Terah*, nor borne in the 70. yeare of *Terahs* age.

Gen. 12.

Thirdly, whereas *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75. if *Terah* had begotten him at 70. then had *Terah* liued but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which must also haue bene the full age of *Terah*: but *Terah* liued 205. yeares; and therefore was not *Abraham* borne in the 70. yeare of *Terah*.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifest, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldest brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah* or *Isch* wanted but ten yeeres of *Abrahams* age: *Isaac* being borne when *Abraham* was 100. and *Sarah* 90. yeeres old.

It followeth then, that if *Abraham* had been the elder brother of *Haran*, *Haran* must haue begotten *Sarah* at nine yeares old: for granting that *Haran* was borne but one yeare after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within ten yeares as old as *Abraham*, then of necessity must *Haran* beget her, when he had liued but nine yeares; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that *Isch* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, saith he, bearing the same signification; and names of principality. Again, to what end was the vvord *Isch* or *Ischab* inserted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? For, to speake of any thing superfluous, it is not vsed in Gods Booke: and if *Isch* had not belonged to the story, it had bene but an idle name to no purpose remembered.

Now if it had bene true (as those of the contrary opinion affirme) that *Moses* had no respect of *Nahor* and *Haran*, who were notwithstanding the parents of *Benjamin* and *Rebecca*, the mother of *Israel*, and of *Christ*: what regard then had *Moses* of *Isch* in this place, were shee not *Sarah*, but otherwise an idle name of vvhom there is nothing else first or last?

The age also of *Lot* disproueth the eldership of *Abraham*: for *Lot* was called an old man when *Abraham* was but 83. yeares old: And if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were Father to *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milchah*, *Abraham* marrying one of *Haran*s daughters, and *Nahor* the other, *Sarah* also being within ten yeares as old as *Abraham*: it may appeare to euery reasonable man (not obstinate and preiudicate) that *Haran* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: who also died first and before his Father left *Ur* in *Chaldees*. Also *Lyra* reasoneth against the opinion of *Abrahams* eldership, vpon the same place of *Genesis*: drawing argument from the age of *Sarah*, who was but 10. yeares younger than *Abraham* him selfe. *Lyra* his words are these: *Si igitur Haran fuit iunior ipso Abraham,*

Abraham, sequitur quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit Sarah: imò nec octo, &c. and afterward, *& ideo melius videtur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit ultimo natus de tribus filiis: Thare, tamen nominatur primò, propter eum dignitatem: & quia ponendus erat caput stirpis & generationis sequentis: & quia primò facta est ei repromissio expressa de Christo, sicut supra dictum est de Sem, &c.* If therefore (saith *Lyra*) *Haran* was younger than *Abraham* him selfe, it followeth that he was not ten yeeres old when he begat *Sarah*: And therefore it seemeth better to be said, that *Abraham* was the last borne of the three sonnes of *Thare*, neuertheless he is named first for his dignitie, both because hee was to be ordained head of the stocke and generation following, and because the promise of *Christ* was first made unto him, as before is said of *Sem*.

§. VII.

A conclusion of this dispute, noting the Authors on both sides: with an admonition, that they which shorten the times make all ancient stories the more unprobable.

IT therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that *Haran* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeere of *Terahs* life, and not in the 70. yeere. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after *Terah* died, according to *S. Stephen*, and that journey by *Abraham* performed when he was 75. yeeres old; these two numbers added make 205. yeeres the full age of *Terah*: seeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my selfe, I haue no other end herein than to manifest the truth of the Worlds Story. I reuerence the iudgements of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars: *Saint Augustine* was doubtfull, and could not determine this controuersie. For whatsoever is borrowed from him out of his sixteenth Booke de *Ciuitate Dei*, cap. 15. the same may be answered out of him selfe in his five and twentieth question vpon *Gen*. But *Saint Augustine* herein followed *Iosephus* and *Isidor*: and *Beda* followed *S. Augustine*. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanitie, that the *Hebrewes* and *Iosephus* sought to make *Abraham* the first borne: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did *Iosephus* together with *Nicholas Damascenus* (thinking thereby to glorifie the *Iewish Nation*) make *Abraham* a king, entitling *Sarah* by the name of *Queene Sarah*: and said that *Abraham* was followed with 318. Captaines, of which euery one had an infinite multitude vnder him, *trecentos & octodecem prefectos habuit: quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat*. And that *Iharao* inuading him with a great Armie, tooke from him his Wife *Sarah*: Such fables argue that *Iosephus* is not to bee beleueed, but with discrete reservations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. yeeres from the Flood to *Abraham*, is vpheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how should we value the opinion of such *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their iudgement in such matters were worthy to be regarded, it would haue appeared in setting downe the succession of the *Persian Kings*, vnder whom they liued, whose Historie was not so farre remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet grossly haue they erred therein, & so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we seldom find their opinion reharsed without the confutation treading on the heeles of it. They of the *Romane* religion are also generally on the same side: it being a thing vsuall among them, to maintaine whatsoever they haue bene formerly knowne to hold and beleuee. Contrariwise, of the more ancient, *Theodorct*, and some following him: of later times *Beroaldus*, *Codoman*, *Pencer*, *Caluin*, *Iunius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, *Dod*, *Gibbons*, and *Moore*, with diuers of the *Protestants* hold *Abraham* to haue bene borne in the 130. yeere of his Father *Terah*. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) diuers of the same Religion, and those neuertheless good Authors, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chitraus*, *Fumelinus* and others, are very averse heerein, especially *Iosephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Caluissius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an Arch-heretike in *Chronologie*, and condemning this opinion of his as poysonous. Contrariwise, *Augustinus Tornicius* a Priest of the Congregation of *Saint Paul*, a iudicious, diligent, and free writer, whose *Annales* are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I haue already deliuered, not allcadging *Beroaldus*, nor any *Protestant* writer, as beeing perhaps vnwilling to owe thanks to heretikes. For my selfe I doe neither mislike the contrary opinion, because

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commonly those of the *Romish* Religion labour to uphold it; nor fauour this larger account of times, because many notable men of the *Protestant* writers haue approoued it; but for the truth it selfe. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will adde thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparant to all men of iudgement, that the best approoued Historians, Diuine and Prophane, labour to inuestigate the truth of times, thereby to approoue the stories, & forepast actions of the world: and not the truth of histories to approoue the times by. Let vs then make iudgement to our selues, which of those two accounts giue the best reputation to the story of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Iosephus*, & those which follow him; who makes but 292. yeares, or thereabouts, betweene the flood and birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352. yeares betweene the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to be the first borne of *Thare*, in the 70. yeare of his life: the other a younger sonne of *Thare*, and borne when he had liued 130. yeares. And if we looke ouer all, and do not hastily satisfie our vnderstanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satiated doe slothfully and drowsily sit downe; we shall find it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some editions, make it about 1072. yeares betweene the Flood and *Abrahams* birth: than to take away any part of those 352. yeares giuen. For if we aduisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in *Abrahams* time, yea before *Abraham* was borne, we shall finde that it were very ill done of vs by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times ouer-deepely betweene *Abraham* and the Flood: because in cutting them too neere the quick, the reputation of the whole storie might perchance bleed thereby, were not the testimonie of the Scriptures supreme, so as no obiection can approach it: and that wee did not follow withall this precept of *S. Augustine*, That wheresoeuer any one place in the Scriptures may bee conceiued disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation mis-vnderstood. For in *Abrahams* time all the then knowne parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities: and so had *Palestina*, and all the bordering Countries, yea, all that part of the World besides, as farre as *India*: and those not built with stickes, but of hewne stones, and defended with walls and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquitie, than those other men haue supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and maruailes: giuing also strength thereby to common cauillers, and to those mens apish braines, who only bend their wits to find impossibilities, and monsters in the story of the World and Mankind.

§. VIII.

A computation of the times of the *Affyrians*, and others, grounded vpon the times noted in the storie of *Abraham*.

An. mudi 2008
dit. 352. NINUS
Abraham, Euf.
Aug. de Ciuit.
Deif. 16. c. 17.

IN this sort therefore for the reasons before alleadged, I conclude, that from the generall Flood, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. yeares were consumed: and taking the *Affyrian* History with vs, the same number of yeares were spent from the Flood to the 43. yeere of *Ninus*: in which 43. yeere of *Ninus* *Abraham* was borne: which happened in the yeare of the world, 2009.

Now of this time of 352. yeares, we must giue one part as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinaar*, as to those that stayed in the East, to wit, 30. yeares to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which, though the Scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sonnes, wee may the more safely giue the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg* Regu at 30. *Regu* Serug at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Hauila*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was borne, as it appeareth *Gen. 10.* which *S. Augustine* approueth. Giuing then 30. yeares more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and five yeeres to the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered that 65. yeares were consumed ere *Nimrod* himselfe was borne: and that *Raamah* had that age before any of his sonnes were

Aug. de Ciuit.
Dei.

were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raamah* was, begat *Kem* in the same yeere of his life.

Gen. 11. 18.

Let vs then allow 60. yeeres more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly finde people to build *Babel*: for sure we are, that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The rest of the time of 131. (in which yeere they arrived in *Shinaar*, whereof there are 6. yeeres remaining) we may giue them for their trauels from the East: because they were pestered with women, children and Cattell: and, as some ancient writers haue conceiued, & *Becanus* of later times, they kept alwaies the mountaine sides, for feare of a second Flood. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remaines 221. of which number *Berosus* bestoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus* before *Abraham* borne: both which *S. Augustine* approueth; which two numbers taken againe out of 221. there remaineth 114. yeeres of the 352. from the Flood to *Abrahams* birth: which number of 114. necessitie bestoweth on *Nimrod*.

An. a salute b...
ma. i generis
ab aq. is cente-
sim. a primo ca-
pit. regnum Ba-
bylonicum sub
nostro Saturno
parte Iouis be-
li, qui impera-
uit annis 65.
Berosus.

And if it be obiected that this time giuen to *Nimrod*, is ouer-long: sure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appeare ouer-short. For *Nimrod*, by this accompt, liued in all but one hundred seventy nine yeeres: whereof he reigned one hundred and twelue: whereas *Sale* who was the sonne of *Arphaxad* the sonne of *Sem*, liued foure hundred three yeeres: and of the same age of the World was *Nimrod* the sonne of *Chus*, the sonne of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was borne, *Ninus* reigned 9. yeeres: which added to 43. make *Ninus* dieth and leaueth *Semiramis* his Successor.

Semiramis gouerned the Empire of *Babylonia* and *Affyria* 42. yeeres, and died in the 52. yeere compleat of *Abrahams* life.

Ninias or *Zameis* succeeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. yeeres, in the second yeere of whose reigne *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*.

When *Abraham* was 85. yeeres old, he rescued his nephew *Lot*, and ouerthrew by surprise *Amraphel* King of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38. yeeres, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. yeeres after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75. yeere of his age: so that *Amraphel* may seeme to haue bene this *Ninias* the sonne of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whose 23. yeeres, as aforesaid, being the 75. yeere of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might haue receiued this ouerthrow in the 85. yeere of *Abraham*, and the 33. yeere of his owne reigne: after which hee reigned five yeeres: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, vrging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the *Affyrian* Kings, that they are to be ordered as we haue set downe, according to the times noted by *Moses*, in the storie of *Abraham*, it is most certaine, ylesse we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses* his computation, which were impietie, or account the whole Historie of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to bee but a fiction, which were to condemne all ancient Historians for fablers.

Of the World
2017.
Of the Flood
361.
1059. mudi,
403. a dil.
1083.
427.
1093.
437.

§. IX.

That *Amraphel*, one of the foure Kings whom *Abraham* ouerthrew, *Gen. 14.* may probably be thought to haue bene *Ninias* the sonne of *Ninus*.

AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes King of *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life, that is, in the 33. yeere of the raigne of *Ninias* *Zameis* the king of the *Affyrians*, the sonne of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how he could be at this time King of *Babylonia*: *Ninias* *Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it selfe as most probable, is that which hath bene already noted, that this *Ninias* or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel*: who inuaded *Traconitis* or *Basan*, and ouerthrew those five kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell vs, that *Amraphel* was King of *Shinaar*, which is *Babylonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the successour of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life: wherein he rescued *Lot*, slew *Chedorlaomer*, and ouerthrew the rest. True it is, that

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Gen. 14. 4.

this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest *Monarke*: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chiefe, though *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of *Genesis*. For the Kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or the five Cities, were the vassalls of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*: as it is written, *Twelve yeeres were they subiect to Chedorlaomer, but in the 13. yeere they rebelled, and in the 14. yeere came Chedorlaomer and the Kings that were with him*: and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principall in this enterprise, who was then King of *Elam*, which is *Persia*: Now *Persia* being seated ouer *Tygrus*, and to the East of *Amraphels* Countrie; and the other two kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being seated to the West of *Sbirnaar* or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it selfe, seemeth at this time to haue had no great scope or large dominion. For had *Amraphel* beene so great a Prince as prophane Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom he succeeded, hee should not haue needed the assistance of three other Kings for this expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those foure Kings, (as it is manifest that he was: For these little kings of *Sodome*, *Gomorrah*, &c. were his vassalls, and not *Amraphels*;) yet this makes not the coniecture lesse probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Assyria*, had now (as we shall shew more plainly in that which followeth) receiued a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdomes betweene *India* and the *Phenician* Sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

§. X.

Of *Arioch* another of the foure Kings, and that *Ellas*, whereof he is said to haue beene King, lies betweene *Cœlesyria* and *Arabia Petraea*.

NOW the two other kings ioyned with *Amraphel* and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one king of *Ellas*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellas*, *Aquila* and *Hierome* write *Pontus*: so *Tostatus* thinketh that it should bee *Helle-spont*: which opinion *Pererius* fauoureth. But this is only to defend the Latine translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Helle-spont* farre distant, and out of the way to send any Armies into *Arabia Petraea*, or into *Idumæa*; which Countries these foure kings chiefly inuaded: Besides that, it is certaine, that the *Assyrians* (when they were greatest) had neuer any dominion in *Asia* the lesse. For at such time as the *Assyrians* feared the inuasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the lesse as commanders: but vsed all the Art they had to inuite *Craesus* to their assistance: perswading him that nothing could bee more dangerous for himselfe, and the other Kings of those parts, than the successe of the *Medes* against the *Assyrians*. But examine the enterprise what it was. These Kings (saith the Text) made warre with *Bera*, King of *Sodome*, *Birsha* King of *Gomorrah*, *Shinab* King of *Admath*, and *Shemebar* King of *Zeboim*, and the King of *Bela* which is *Zoar*. All which five Kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex*: being such a kinde of *Reguli*, as *Iosua* found in the land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small territories adioyning; of which *Canaan* had three and thirtie, all slaine or hanged by *Iosua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are said also to haue inuaded, bee imagined to haue beene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus* or *Helle-spont*, had manifested a great impotence and weakenesse in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

And though it be alleadged for an example, that diuers Kings farre off, came to assist *Pompey* against *Cæsar*: yet these same examples without like occasions and circumstances, do neither leade nor teach. For there was no cause to feare the greatnesse of these pettie Kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the world were fixed on *Cæsar*; and his vndertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no lesse doubtful than fearefull: But the whole Countrie by these foure Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward giuen to the halfe tribe of *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*: a narrow valley of ground lying betweene *Jordan* and the mountaines of *Seir*: inclosed by the riuer of *Arnon* on the Southside, & by *Lybanus* on the North, consisting of the two smal Prouinces of *Tracemitis* or *Basan*, & the Region of the *Moabites*: a conquest farre vnualueable, and little answering to the power of the *Assyrian* Empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* & *Semiramis*, who subiected all the great kings of that part

Xenophon:

Gen. 14.

part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of *Helle-spont*, or any other part of *Asia* the lesse. But as the vulgar and *Aquila* conuert *Ellas* for *Pontus*: so *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as farre fetched to ioine with the *Assyrians* in this Warre, as the World had any at that time.

The *Septuagint* doe not change the word of *Ellas* at all, but as they keepe the word *Ararat*, on the mountaines whereof the Arke did rest, so doe they in this place retaine the Hebrew word *Ellas*, being doubtfull to giue it a wrong interpretation. And *Perrerus* himselfe remembereth other opinions farre more probable than this of *Pontus* or *Helle-spont*: yet he dares not auow his liking of them, because the Latin Translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Urbibus a Græciæ Cosmographus*, findeth the Citie of *Ellas* in the border of *Cælesyria*: and *S. Hierome* calleth *Ellas* the Citie of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Cælesyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly ioyned with *Ninus* in all his conquests, being of the same familie, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the Hebrew written *Arioch*: and afterward againe *Aretas*: as in the *Mathabees*: the kings of *Arabia* holding that name euen to the time of *S. Paul*, who was sought to be betrayed by the Lieutenant of *Aretas* commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending vpon the *Assyrian* Empire. It is true that we find in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was General of his armie, & the principall Commander vnder him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plaine, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the sonne of that *Arioch* confederate of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*: regions farre removed from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch* who commanded vnder *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Iudith*, by the name of King of the *Elymeans*: who are a Nation of *Persians* bordering *Assyria*, according to *Stephanus*: though *Plinie* sets it betweene the Sea-coast, and *Media*: and if any brother of the Arabian Kings or other of that house (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Aretas*, or *Aretas*) had the gouernment of that *Persian* Prouince called *Elymaus* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Iudith*) yet the same was in *Nabuchodonosors* time. But this *Arioch* heere spoken of may with more reason bee taken for the King of *Arabia*, the sonne of *Arius*, the confederate of *Ninus*: whose sonnes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West vnto *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their owne house, and blood: which *Diod. Siculus* also confirmeth.

Mac. 2. c. 5. v. 2.
Cory. 2. 11.

Dan. 3.

Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1.

§. XI.

Of *Tidal* another of the foure Kings.

THE fourth King by *Abraham* ouerthrown was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The Hebrew writes it *Gajim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt people: *Calm* of runnagates without habitation. *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, findes that *Galilee* was inhabited by diuers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phenicians*. Nam tales sunt qui *Galileam* habitant; Such are the inhabitants of *Galilee*, saith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called King of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authoritie of *Strabo* is nothing in this question. For *Galilee* was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howsoeuer they might be afterwards mixt, which I know not. But there are many petty kingdoms adioyning to *Phenicia*, and *Palestina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicea*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidice*, *Cassiosus*, *Chalibonitus*, and all these doe also ioine themselves to *Mesopotamia*, on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together vnder *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest coniecture.

Gen. 11. 6.

§. XII. That Chedorlaomer the chiefe of the foure Kings with w^{ch} of Assyria, & of Persia, and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.

LASTLY, whereas it is conceiued that Chedorlaomer was the Assyrian Emperor, and that Amraphel was but a Satrape, Viceroy, or Provinciall gouernour of Babylon, and that the other Kings named were such also, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moses* was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur* and *Shinaar*, to call the Assyrian a king of *Elam*: those kings being in the Scriptures euermore called by the name of *Chaldea*, *Shinaar*, *Babylonia*, or *Assyria*: but neuer by *Elam*; and Chedorlaomer or *Kedorlaomer* was so called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim* which in the Hebrew signifieth *kegale*; for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the Persian Kings wore on their heads.

Neither doe I beleue that the Assyrian or Babylonian Empire stood in any exaltation at the time of this inuasion; and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach vs, that those things which are set vp hastily, or forced violently, do not long last. *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to ouer-look what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire died at once with himselfe: all whose chiefe Commanders became kings after him. *Tamberlaine* conquered *Asia* and *India* with a storme-like and terrible successe: but to preualent furie God hath adioyned a short life; and what-fouer things Nature her selfe worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before.

Ninus being the first whom the madnesse of boundlesse dominion transported, inuaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious ouer them: a man violent, insolent, and cruell. *Semiramis* taking the opportunitee, and being more proud, aduenturous, and ambitious, than her *Paramour*: enlarged the Babylonian Empire, & beautified many places therein with buildings vnexampl'd. But her sonne hauing changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proued no lesse feminine than she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuall smart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, & reuenge the other: so those Kings adioyning (whose subiection, & calamities incident, were but new, and therefore the more grieuous) could not sleepe, when the aduantage was offered by such a successour. For, *in regno Babylónico hic parum replendit, this King shined little* (saith *Nauclerus* of *Ninias*) in the Babylonian Kingdome: And likely it is that the neckes of mortall men hauing beene neuer before galled with the yoke of forraigne dominion, nor hauing euer had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of liuing in slauerie: no long descent hauing as yet inuested the Assyrian with a right: nor any other title being for him pretended than a strong hand: the foolish and effeminate sonne of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerlesse mastering, and a minde lesse industrious than his Father and Mother had vsed before him. And hee that was so much giuen ouer to licentious idleness, as to suffer his Mother to reigne 42. yeeres, and therof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that hee so much preferred ease before honour, & bodily pleasures before greatnesse, as he neither indeuoured to gaine what he could not gouerne, nor to keepe what hee could not without contentious perill enioy.

These Considerations being ioyned to the storie of *Amraphel*, deliuered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinaar* was rather an inferiour to the King of *Persia*, than either his superiour, or equall; make it seeme probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, & restrained againe to *Babylonia*.

For conclusion I will adde these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great trauaile vpon *Abraham*, from *Vr* in *Chaldea* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a passage of 700. miles, or little lesse, with women, children, and carriages: the Countries through which he wandred were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. yeere of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voyce of God, tooke this great iourney in hand: in which time of 23. yeeres after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recouered their libertie and former estates. For *Semiramis* Armie of foure millions, with her selfe vtterly consumed in *India*, & all her armies and

and engines of warre, at the same time lost, gaue an occasion and opportunitie euen to the poorest soules and weakest hearted creatures of the World, to repurchase their former libertie.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that *Arius* the sonne of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, inuaded the *Bactrians* and *Cassians*, and againe subiected them: which needed not if they had not bin reuolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninias* death. And as *Arius* recouered one part, so did *Baleus* or *Balanus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest reuolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said that he conquered from *Egypte* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes*, id est, *Victor & triumphator, a conquerour and triumpher*, which vntertakings had bene no other than the effects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselves from the Babylonian subiection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the reconquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which liued after *Ninias* and *Ninias*, we may as well thinke the rest of *Ninias* and *Semiramis* to be but fained: but if we grant this reconquest, then is it true that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the Assyrian Empire was torne asunder, according to that which hath bin gathered out of *Moses* as before remembred.

§. XIII.

That it is not improbable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had else-where with their colonies planted themselves: and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be so, we neede not say that *Amraphel* was *Ninias*, nor trouble our selues with many other difficulties.

THE consent of all writers, whose workes haue come to my perusall, agreeing as they doe, that these foure Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinaar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and those fellows, were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or seeme intitled: doth almost inforce vs to thinke that the history must so be vnderstood, as I haue deliuered. But if in this place, as often else-where in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for people of those lands, or if (as *Hierome* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry regions: then may we otherwise conceiue of this Historie: remouing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps haue bin vnwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolute them. For as it had bin a strange coniecture to thinke that *Arius* was drawne to assist the Persian, against the *Sodomites*, as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very vnlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of *Siddim* should haue bin once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Persia* alone, should passe through to great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Assyria*, *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to subdue those five Townes whose very names how they should come to his care, being disioynd by so many great nations of different languages, a wise man could hardly coniecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia* together with the Babylonian himselfe, yea the kingdome of *Ellasar* & that of *Tidal*, so far off remoued, were become his dependants, what reason can we find that might haue induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*: and when hee should haue sought the establishment of his new gotten Empire, by rooting out the posterity of *Ninias* (as *Ninias* had dealt by *Pharao* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) then to imploy the forces of *Amraphel*, & those other Kings, against five petty Townes, leauing *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, & the great Citie of *Damasco*, with many other places of much importance, and far neerer vnto him, vnsubdued? Now as these doubts which may be alleadged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: so are the obiections to be made against his reconquest of these five Cities, when they had reuolted, as forcible, yea and more, as being grounded partly vpon the Text it selfe. For first, what madnesse had it bene in that small Province to rebell against so powerfull a Monarch? Or if it were so that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaim them: was it not more than madnesse in them, when his terrible armie approached, still to entertaine hope of euasion: yea to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute & therefore vnwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations betweene *Euphrates*, yea betweene themselves and the riuer of *Indus*.

Gen. 14. 17.

Indus? Likewise on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we should find no great wisdom, if he knowing the weakenesse of this people, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any *Lieutenant*, with small forces he might haue subdued. For the perpetuall inheritance of that little Countrey, was not sufficient to counteruaile one moneths charges of so huge an armie. How small then must his valour haue beene, who with so mightie preparations effected no more than the wasting of that *Valley*, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Countrey, although he had broken their armie in the field? Now the Scriptures doe not of this inuasion (supposed to great) make any feareful matter: but compose the two armies, as equally matcht, saying they were foure kings against five: yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall find that *Abraham* slew all these kings; of which great slaughter no Historie makes mention: Neither will the reigne of *Nimias* who liued foure or five yeares longer, permit that he should haue died so soone: neither would Histories haue forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appeares, that these foure kings were not the same that they are commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title: Lords and Commanders euery one of his owne company, which he carried forth as a *Colony*, seeking place where to settle himself and them, as was the vsuall manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troupe of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinaar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might comfort together, and make the weakest of the Countrey which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whosoeuer will consider the beginning of the first booke of *Thucydides*, with the manner of discoueries, conquests and plantations, in the infancie of *Greece*; or the manner of the *Saracens* inuading *Africa* and *Spain*, with almost as many kings as seuerall Armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new discoueries, passages, and conquests in the *West-Indies*: may easily perceiue, that it was neither vnusual, for the leaders of *Colonies* to receiue title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and breake them againe, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That *Amraphel* and his associates were such manner of Commanders, it may seeme the more likely, by the sloathfull qualitie of *Nimias*, then reigning in *Affyria*: whose vnmanlike temper was such, as might well giue occasion to such vnder-taking spirits, as wanted the imployments whereunto they were accustomed in the reigne of *Semiramis*, rather to seeke aduentures abroad, than to remaine at home vnregarded: whilst others more vnworthy than themselves, were aduanced. If the consent of the whole streame of writers vpon this place make this coniecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authoritie wherof all humane reason must subscribe, then we may hold our selues to the former coniecture, that *Amraphel* was *Nimias*: & that the power of his Ancestors being by his sloath decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Persian Chedorlaomer*: or if this doe not satisfie, we may say that *Amraphel* was an *Vnder king* or *Satrapa* of *Shinaar*, vnder *Nimias*; who may be supposed to haue had his *Imperiall* seat in his Fathers Citie *Nineue*: and to haue preferred it before *Shinaar* and *Babylon* the Citie of his Mother, whom he hated as an vsurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any mans Saluation, & wherein therefore none hath cared to take great paines, all might erre: then can I thinke that the opinion, That those foure Kings were leaders of *Colonies*, sent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And hereto adde that *Chedorlaomer* seemes rather called a *Persian* king, than King of *Persia*: and that *Arioch* (whose kingdome vndoubtedly was betwene *Syria* and *Arabia*) hauing beene a man of action, or being a worthy mans sonne, was very well pleased, to giue passage and assistance, to these Captaines or pettie Kings. These & such like things here to vige, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is vnworthy to haue cost bestowed vpon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to imploy any more time in making it good, but to leaue it wholly to the Readers pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he find any that shall seeme better than these. But of what Countries or people fouer these foure were Kings, this expedition is the onely publique action that we

we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his sonnes, and of his Nephews *Esau* and *Jacob*, as they are registred by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, either to stand vpon things generally known to all *Christians*, nor to repeat what hath beene elsewhere already spoken, nor to preuent our selues in things that may hereafter in due place be remembered, wee passe them here in silence. And because in this Storie of *Abraham* and his posteritie, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appeares that euen in the time of *Abraham*, it was a settled and flourishing kingdome; it will not be amisse in the next place to speake somewhat of the antiquities and first kings thereof.

10

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Ægypt from the first peopling of it after the Flood, to the time of the deliuerie of the Israelites from thence.

§. I.

20 A brieft of the names and times of the first Kings of Ægypt: with a note of the causes of difficulty in resoluing of the truth in these points



One after the confusion at *Babel* (as it seemes) *Cham* with many of his issue and followers (hauing doubtlesse knowne the fertilitie of *Egypt* before the Eloud) came thither and tooke possession of the Countrey; in which they built many Cities: and began the kingdome one hundred nintie one yeeres after the deluge. The ancient *Gouernours* of this Kingdome till such time as *Israel* departed *Egypt*, are shewne in the Table following.

30

An. Mundi.	An. dil.	
1847.	191.	<i>Cham.</i>
2008.	352.	<i>Ofiru.</i>
2269.	613.	<i>Typhon</i> }
		<i>Hercules.</i> }
2276.	620.	<i>Oru.</i>
2391.	735.	<i>Sesestris</i> the great.
2424.	768.	<i>Sesestris</i> the blinde.
2438.	782.	<i>Busiris</i> or <i>Oris</i> the second.
2476.	820.	<i>Acencher</i> or <i>Thermutis</i> , or <i>Meris.</i>
2488.	832.	<i>Rathoris</i> or <i>Athoris.</i>
2497.	841.	<i>Chencres</i> drowned in the red Sea.

40

The Table, and especially the *Chronologie*, is to be confirmed by probabilities & coniectures, because in such obscurity, manifest & restless truth cannot be found. For *Saint Augustine*, a man of exceeding great iudgement, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of *Varro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the *Egyptian* Kings: which he would not haue don, if they had not beene more vncertaine than the *Sicyonians*, whom hee remembreth, than whom doubtlesse they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the *Egyptian* Story, was the ambition of the Priests: who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leasings, and recounted vnto strangers the names of many Kings, that neuer reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed Kings, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is, that the magnificent workes and

and royall buildings in *Egypt*, such as are neuer found but in States that haue greatly flourished, witnesse that their Princes were of marueilous greatnesse, and that the reports of the Priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* History, was the too much credulity of some good Authors, who beleeuing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry *Egyptians*, and publishing in their owne name such as pleased them best, haue confirmed them, and as it were inforced them vpon vs by their authority. A third and generall cause of more than *Egyptian* darkenesse in all ancient Histories, is the edition of many Authors by *Iohn Anniius*, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very learned, I may adde mine) I thinke thus; That *Anniius* hauing seene some fragments of those writers, and added vnto them what hee would, may be credited, as an auoucher of true Histories, where approued writers confirme him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it commeth to passe that the account of Authors, either in the *Chronologie* or *Genealogie* of the *Egyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different wayes. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow *Eusebius*: Many late writers follow the edition of *Anniius* his Authors: The prophane Histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

§. II.

That by the account of the *Egyptian* Dynasties, and otherwise, it appears that *Chams* reigne in *Egypt* began in the yeere after the Flood, 191.

TO reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient Kings, about whom is most controuersie, the best meane is by helpe of the *Dynasties*: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authority of approued Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the Histories of the *Affyrians*, *Troians*, *Italians*, &c. and others. The beginning of the 16. *Dyn.* is ioyned by generall consent, with the 43. yeere of *Ninus*: in which *Abraham* was borne. The twelue first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seuen yeeres, vnder the twelue, which were called the greater gods: so that all the yeeres of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynastie* endured foureteen yeeres: the fourteenth 26, the fifteenth 37. These three last, are said to haue bene vnder the three younger gods. So the fifteene first *Dynasties* lasted one hundred sixty one yeeres. As I doe not therefore beleue that the continuance of these *Dyn.* was such as hath been mentioned, because *Anniius* in such wise limits out their time: so I cannot reiect the account vpon this onely reason, that *Anniius* hath it so: considering that both hitherto it hath passed as currant, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie*, in the yeere of *Abrahams* birth, as aforesaid: the reckoning is easily cast, by which the summe of 161. yeeres, which according to our account were spent in the fifteene former, being subducted out of the sum of 352. yeeres, which were between the Flood & *Abrahams* birth, shew that the beginning of the first *Dynastie*, which was the beginning of *Chams* reigne in *Egypt*, was in the yeere 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appeare. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankind which came into *Shinaar*, arriued at *Babel*, Anno à diluio 131. In building the Tower were consumed fourtie yeeres, as *Glycius* recordeth: whose report I haue elsewhere confirmed with diuers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their Wiues, Children, Carrell, & substance, through all *Syria* then desolate, and full of Bogges, Forrests, and Bryers (which the Deluge and want of culture in one hundred seuentie one yeeres had brought vpon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himselfe in *Egypt*, we allow twenty yeeres: & these summes being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one yeeres after the Flood, before they arriued at *Babel*, 40. yeeres for their stay there, and 20. for *Chams* passage into *Egypt*, and setting there, make vp the summe of 191. yeeres: at which time we said that *Cham* began his reigne in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynastie*. And to this summe of 191. yeeres if we adde the 161. yeeres of the 15. first *Dynasties*, as they are numbered in common account, we shall fall right with the yeere of *Abrahams* birth which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to proue that these first *Dynasties* must needs haue bene very short, and not containing in the whole summe of their severall times

times about 161. yeeres: Let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must *Egypt* haue bene peopled as soone as *Babel* after the Flood, or the *Dynasties* (as *Americus* thinkes) must haue bene before the flood. That the arriual at *Babel* was many yeeres before the plantation of *Egypt*, after the flood, enough hath bene said to proue: and that the *Dynasties* were not before the flood, the number of the long-liu'd generations between *Adam* and the flood, which was lesse than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witnesse. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) be diuided into many *Dynasties*, then may this haue bene as well after the flood, as before: considering that the sonnes of *Noah* did not in euery Countrey erect such forme of Policie; as had bene vsed in the same ere the Deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authority and power of the Conducter, together with many other circumstances, did induce or inforce them to.

§. III.

That these *Dynasties* were not diuers families of Kings, but rather successions of Regents, oft times many vnder one King.

THe short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not seuerall raies of Kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in restitutions of decayed antiquities, it is more easie to denie than to affirme. But this may be said partly vpon good circumstance, partly vpon the surest prooffe, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, to put the gouernment of the Countrey into the hands of some trustie Counsellor, only reseruing the Soueraignty to themselves, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the Turke doth to the chiefe *Vizier*. This is confirmed, first, by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are vnder *Cham*, & more than one vnder *Osiris* or *Mizraim*, and must therefore haue bene successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counsellors and Regents. Secondly, by custome of such Princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures of whom *Abimelech* the *Philistin* in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol* Captaine of his Hoste; though in taking *Abrahams* wife, and in his priuate carriage; he followed his owne pleasure. Likewise of *Abimelech* the sonne of *Gideon* it was said: *Is not he the sonne of Ierubbaal: and Zebul is his Officer*. Also *Ishbosheth* the sonne of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captaine of the Hoste. Yea, *Dauid* himselfe hating *Isab* for his crueltie, did not punish him in regard of his greatnesse, which was such, as was feared euen of *Hadad* the *Edomite* liuing then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appeares by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his owne idlenesse and pleasure, to haue laid the burden of gouernment vpon others; and vpon iealousie, the companion of vnworthinesse, to haue changed his Lieutenants often. About all other proofes is the aduancement of *Ioseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to *Ioseph*; *Onely in the Kings throne will I be about thee: behold, I haue set thee ouer all the Land of Egypt*. *William* Archbissop of *Tyre*, who flourished about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand one hundred eightie, affirms that the like or very same forme of gouernment by *Viceroyes*, was in his time practised in *Egypt*, hauing there bene in vse (as he beleued) euer since the time of *Ioseph*. He plainly shewes, that the *Soldans* of *Egypt* were not Lords of the Countrey, how euer they haue bene so deemed: but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the dutie of subiects vnto the *Caliphe*: who residing in a most magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not onely of ciuill gouernment, but the power of making warre and peace, with the whole office & authority royall into the *Soldans* hands. He that shall reade in *William* of *Tyre*, the state of the *Caliphs*, or *Mulene Elhadach*, with the forme of his Court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authority as *Ioseph* was, though farre inferiour in wisdom.

To thinke that many names of such Regents or Lieutenants as *Ioseph* was, haue crept into the List of the *Egyptian* Kings, were no strange imagination. For *Iosephs* brethren called him, *The man that is Lord of the Land*, and *the Lord of the Countrey*: Besides, it is not vnlikely that the vain-glorious *Egyptian* Priests, would as easily report him a King to posterity, as ignorant men & strangers deceme him such, vnder whose hand all dispatches of

Will. Tyr. de
bell. Sacro. l. 19.
c. 17. 18. 19.
c. 20.

Lib. 19. c. 20.

Gen. 42. 20. 21.

of importance, and royall managing of the State had passed, whilest that the King himselfe intending his quiet, had given his office to another. How strangers haue mistaken in this kinde, the example already cited of *Iosephs* brethren, doth sufficiently witnesse. The reports of Priests doe appeare in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authority, say; *Diodorus*, that *Sesostris* was the nineteenth King after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 32. after *Menas*: which could not haue beene, if *Menas* had beene *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, That the *Dynasties* were not so many races of Kings, but successions of *Regents*, appointed by the kings of so many sundry linages or sorts of men. Now by whatsoeuer meanes a *Dynastie* or *Regencie* continued: whether in one familie, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: sure it is that it was the Kings gift and free choyce, that gaue the office. But the Crowne royall alwayes passed by descent, & not by election: which (besides consent of *Authors*) the Scriptures also proue. For whereas *Ioseph* bought all the Land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the Crowne had passed by election, then should *Pharaoh's* children hereby either haue beene intralld amongst the rest of the people, to the next successor: or inioying their Fathers land, though not his estate, haue beene more mighty than the king: as Land-lords of all *Egypt*, and the king himselfe their Tenant. Likewise we finde in *Exod.* 12. that *God* smote the first borne of *Pharaoh*, that was to sit on his Throne. And in *Ezay* it is said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the sonne of the ancient King.*

§. IIII.

Of Cham, and his sonne Mizraim, or Osiris.

That the succession of Kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath shewed from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to shew. *Egypt* is called in the Scripture the land of *Ham*. That this name is not giuen to it, because the posterity of *Cham* did reigne there, but for that himselfe did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of *Cush*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as *Egypt*, were called the Land of *Ham*. Further, it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Osiris* calleth himselfe the eldest sonne of *Cham*, saying; *Mihi pater Saturnus deorum omnium iunior*: also, *Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso ortum*: which must needs be vnderstood of *Cham*: for this *Saturnus* *Egyptius* was *Cham*: as it is said, that on the monument of *Ninus* was an inscription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus* *Egyptius*. Likewise the Temple of *Hammon*, not farre from *Egypt*, doth testifie, that *Ham* resided in those parts: And *S. Hierome* in *questionibus Hebraicis*, saith, that the *Egyptians* themselues did in his dayes call their Countrey *Ham*: as in foure severall places in the *Psalmes* this Countrey is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Osiride*, that in the sacrifices of the *Egyptians* this Countrey of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*, ut puto (saith he) *à Cham* *Noes filio*, to which also he addeth out of *Isidore*, *Egyptum usq; hodie Aegyptiorum lingua Kam vocari*: that *Egypt* vnto this day in the tongue of the *Egyptians* is called *Kam*. For the beginning and continuance of *Chams* reigne, the same reasons may suffice to be alleadged, which I haue already giuen in prooffe of the time spent in the 15. first *Dynasties*: Neither is it strange that the reigne of *Cham* should last so long as 161. yeeres: considering that *Sem* liued 600: *Arphaxad* and *Shelah* each about 400. But strange it had beene, if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*, had in those long-liued generations reigned there 19. yeeres, and with *Beon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Sesostris*. *Reineccius* in *hisor. Italia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwise called *Osiris* according to *Diodorus*: who, saith he, was the sonne of *Hammon*: *Krentzhemius* saith that *Mizraim* and *Osiris* are words of neere affinitie and sound so in the Hebrew tongue. Howsoeuer it be, we know that *Mizraim* the sonne of *Cham*, was Lord of *Egypt*, and *Reineccius* citing good authority in this case, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their owne language, *Mezre*. Neither doe I see cause of doubt whether *Osiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessary, & hard to shew manifestly, how long *Mizraim* or *Osiris* reigned. For whereas the yeere of his death is no where precisely set downe, we must be faine to follow probabilities. That hee is not vainly said by *Annius* his *Berosus*, to haue begun his reigne at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynastie* of the *Thebes* began, it appeareth, first, by the authoritie of *Eusebius*: who auoucheth

auoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who saith that he inhabited *Thebes*: vvhich habitation of *Osiris* there, that it might be cause of that *Dynastie*, I can well belecue; affecting so farre to *Reineccius*, who thinkes the *Dynasties* were named onely, according to the severall seates of the kings.

§. V.

Of the time when *Osiris* reigne ended: and that *Iacob* came into *Egypt* in the time of *Orus* the sonne of *Osiris*.

The death of *Osiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirme. The onely coniecture that I know is made thus: *Lehiabim* the sonne of *Mizraim* called *Hercules Lybins*, made warre in *Italy*, to reuenge his Fathers death, on the associates of *Typhon*, in the 41. yeare of *Baleus* King of *Assyria*: before vvhich yeare hee had made many great vvarres in *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, and *Spaine*: and hauing ended his *Egyptian* vvarres, left the Kingdome to *Orus*. Thus farre *Berosus*, or *Authors* following *Berosus*. That *Orus* last of all the gods (as they were stiled) held the Kingdome of *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly saith: and *Plutarch* as much; to vvhich all Histories agree. *Krentzhemius* hereupon inferres, that fixe yeares may be allowed to the vvarres, vvhich *Hercules* made in so many Countries, after the *Egyptian* warres were ended, so should the death of *Osiris* haue beene the 34. of *Baleus*, when himselfe had reigned 207. yeares. I thinke that *Krentzhemius* was a greater Scholler than Souldier. For surely in those dayes when commerce was not such as now, but all Navigation made by coasting; a farre longer time would haue beene required, to the subduing of so many Countries. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation; yet would it vvell agree with his intent: which was (doubtlesse) to finde the truth: If according to his account the death of *Osiris* had beene the 34. of *Baleus*, then must *Israel* haue come into *Egypt* but seuen yeares before the death of *Osiris*: and haue liued there in the reigne of *Typhon*. A thing not easily beleueed. For it was the same king who aduanced *Ioseph*, bade him send for his Father, and gaue him leave to goe into *Canaan*, to the performance of his Fathers Funerall: as may easily be gathered out of the booke of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the reigne of *Osiris* cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the seventh yeare of *Israels* coming into *Egypt*: we must needs cut off 23. yeares from that number, which *Krentzhemius* coniectures his reigne to haue continued: namely seuen vvhich hee should haue liued after *Iacobs* coming into *Egypt*; nine in which *Ioseph* had there flourished, ere his fathers coming: and other seuen in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Osiris*, yet before *Iosephs* aduancement.

Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules Lybins* his wars. For the war which *Hercules* made in *Italy*, is said to haue indured 10. yeares: After which proportion we may well giue not onely fixe yeares, as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23. more to so many wars in so many and so far distant Countries, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attribute vnto *Orus* the 13. yeares, which passed betwene the time of *Iosephs* being sold into *Egypt*, vnto his aduancement, considering that *Puiphar* who bought him, & whose daughter he may seeme to haue married, continued all that while chiefe Steward vnto *Pharaoh*; a thing not likely to haue been, if so violent alterations had hapned the whilest in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous vsurpation of *Typhon* must needs haue brought in: If citing some fragment of a lost old Author, I should confidently say, that *Puiphar* for his faithfulness to *Orus*, the sonne of *Osiris*, vvas by him in the beginning of his reigne made his chiefe Steward: at which time buying *Ioseph*, and finding him a stout man, & one vnder whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into *Iosephs* hands, than vnto any of his *Egyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either full hearted, or weak and vnlucky in the troublsome dayes of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further, and say, That when the saying of *Ioseph* pleased *Pharaoh*, and all his seruants, then *Puiphar* Priest of *On*, being chiefe Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Ioseph*, the ancient graces of *God*, & his mirrourous imprisonment: wherupon he gaue him his daughter to wife, and being old, resigned his office of chiefe Steward vnto him, who afterward in regard of *Puiphar*, did about the Priests, when hee bought the lands of all other *Egyptians*. This might appeare to some a tale not vnlike

vnlike to the Frierly book of *Asenath*, *Pasiphar*s daughter: but vnto such as consider that God workes vluably by meanes, and that *Pasaphar* was the Steward of that King, vnder whom *Jacob* died: it would seeme a matter not probable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to auouch it. Concerning the warres of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning hee should haue spent 42. yeares after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumstance which (the length of his *Italian* wars considered, and his former enterprises & atchieuements proportioned to them) doth not make against vs, but for vs: or if it vvere against vs, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the vndisputable truth of Scripture do confirm it. Neuerthelesse I freely grant that all these proofes are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not vuell agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

S. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Egyptus, Orus, and the two Sesostris, successively reigning after Mizraim: and of diuers errors about the former Sesostris.

Concerning the reigne of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giueth three yeares to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptory without proofe, as if his own word were sufficient authority, in many points very questionable; allcading no vvitnesse, but as it were saying, *Telle me ipso*: yet herein wee may thinke him to speake probably, forasmuch as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did verry soone vndertake his Fathers reuenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leauing *Egypt* to his brother, hee followed other warres, in the same quarrell, as hath beene shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Berosus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*: yet seeing *Auentinus* a follower of *Berosus* hath it so, I will also beleue it. That in the reigne of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, seuen yeares were spent, how soeuer diuided betwene them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* only, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* seuen yeares after the death of *Osiris*: forgetting to set downe his reasons, which in a matter so probable I thinke he wanted not. Now vvhence he alloweth 90. yeares of the eighteenth *Dynastie* to *Osiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*: it seemes that the reigne of *Orus* lasted 115. yeares. From the death of *Orus* to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, there passed 122. yeares by our account: who (according to *Berosus* and others) thinke that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeare of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the Flood to the birth of *Abraham* ————— 352
From that time to the vocation of *Abraham* ————— 75
From that time to the departure out of *Egypt* ————— 430
Summa ————— 857:

which summe diuers other wayes may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there doe remaine (as is aforesaid) onely 122. yeares from the death of *Orus*: we are now to consider how many of them are to be allowed vnto *Sesostris* or *Sesouchafis*: who is placed next vnto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiasfes Apollonij*: not without good probability. For this great king or conquerour, is by many Histories recorded to haue ouer-run a great part of *Asia*: to haue built a fleet of ships on the red Sea: and so to haue entred into *India*: likewise with another fleet on the middle-earth Seas, to haue passed into *Europe*, and subdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* iudgeth) whom *Musine* erring in account of his time calleth *Vexoris*: For *Iustine* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Ninus*: whereby it would follow that *Sesostris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient than was *Osiris* (otherwise *Mizraim*) a thing altogether vnlikely. Certaine it is that after the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Asia*) till the Father in law of *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Vaphres*, tooke *Gerar*, and gaue it to his daughter: (as vvee may reade more at large in the holy History of the Bible) after vvhich time *Sesac* oppressed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* sought passage through the land of *Israel*, vvhien hee made his expedition against the *Chaldeans*. Of *King Vaphres* and *Necho* it is out of question, that neither of them vvas the great *King Sesostris*. Of *Sesac* it is doubted by some, forasmuch as hee came into *Judas* with

vwith a great armie. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaueth it vndecided; vnlesse it be sufficient proofe of his owne opinion, that he himselfe placeth *Sesostris* next to *Orus*: following the *Scholiasfes Apollonij*. But further answer may be made to shew that they were not one. For, as *Iustine* witnesseth, *Sesostris*, otherwise *Vexoris*, made war on people farre removed, abstaining from his neighbours. *Sesac* came vp purposely against *Hierusalem*. *Sesostris*, as *Diodorus* witnesseth, had but 24000. horse, *Sesac* had 60000. *Sesostris* had 8000. chariots, *Sesac* but 1200. *Sesostris* made his expedition for no priuie purpose, but to get a great name: *Sesac*, as most agree, had no other purpose, than to succour *Ieroboam*, and giue him countenance in his new reigne; whom he had fauoured euen against *Salomon*: therefore *Sesostris* must needs haue reigned whilst *Israel* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menis*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*: because those Historians affirme that he reigned next after the gods; it moueth me nothing. For *Osiris* did succcede those fifteene gods, namely, the twelue greater, and three lesser: himselfe also (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menis*. Which name, as also *Meneus*, and *Menis*, were titles of dignity: though mistaken by some as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menis* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*; the Hebrew word *Meni* signifying an *Arithmesician*, which name *Ter-maximus* might vuell bee attributed to *Osiris*, vvhov was a great Conquerour, Philosopher, and Benefactor to mankind, by giuing good Lawes, and teaching profitable Arts. In prowesse and great vndertakings *Sesostris* vvas no whit inferiour to *Osiris*. For he sought victory not for gaine, but for honour onely: and being vuell contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his vwill and royall disposition, leauing them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soone vpon his returne he vvas endangered by a great Treason, the house in vvhich he was, being by his owne brother purposely fired: vvhich neuerthelesse hee is said to haue escaped, and to haue reigned in all thirty three yeares: after which time he chose rather to die than to liue; because he fell blinde. Both *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, affirme that *Sesostris* left a sonne, vvhose name vvas *Pheron* or *Pherones*: who afterwards tooke the name of *Sesostris*; but was nothing like to his Father in glory: for he shortly fell blinde. The cause of his blindnesse *Herodotus* attributes to his assaulting the Riuer *Nilus* vwith a iaueline: which tale *Diodorus* hauing likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying that perhaps he tooke the disease naturally from his Father. How long this man reigned it is no where exprest: yet forasmuch as *Orus* the second, (otherwise *Busiris*) vvhov succeeded him, began 14. yeares after that this *Sesostris* had bene king, it must needs bee that this reigned 14. yeares at least. That *Busiris* began not vntill these 14. yeares at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of *Busiris*, to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, plainly shewes, being almost generally agreed vpon, to haue bene 75. yeares. That none came betwene *Sesostris* the second, and *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, it stands onely vpon probabilities: vvhich are these. After *Sesostris* had reigned some while, hee fell blinde; after certaine yeares he recovered his sight, as is said: which may haue been true, but is more like to haue bene a fable: surely the manner of his recovery as it is set downe, is very fabulous: namely, that by looking vpon a woman, or vvasching his eyes with her vvater, who had onely knowne her owne husband, hee got his sight againe. As the time of his reign, before his blindnesse, and when he was vuell again (if euer he were) may haue taken vp a good part of 14. yeeres: so his vvorkes which vvere great, do much more strongly argue, that his reigne vvas not very short. His vvorkes are largely set down by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*: a part of vvhich may seeme to haue bene the finishing of that which his Father had begun, about the channels and sluices of *Nilus*: vvhom I thinke he rather frightened, (as his Father had done) with spades and shouels, than with darts, and iauelins; and by his diligent ouersight of that worke, vvas like enough to lose both his eye-sight and his peoples loue; whom his Father had very busily employed in excessiue labour about it.

§.VII.

Of *Busiris* the first oppressor of the *Israelites*; and of his successor *Queen Thermutis* that took up *Moses* out of the water.

And herein (if I may presume to coniecture) *Busiris*, who was afterwards king, is like to haue dealt with him, as *Ieroboam* did with the sonne of *Salomon*. For that *Busiris* himselfe was much addicted to magnificent workes, it vvell appeared, by the drudgery vvhetherwith he wearied the children of *Israel* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Sesostris*, as *Ieroboam* was by *Salomon*, in the oversight of those busineses, he had good opportunity to worke his greatnesse with the king by industry; and afterward with the people by incensing them against their new king, as *Ieroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers: vnlesse hee haue either an equall spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreover he sought to deriue all the paine and labour of publique workes from the *Egyptians*; to the *Israelites*: hee surely did that which to his owne people was very plausible: who (as appeares in *Exodus*) were nothing slack in fulfilling the kings cruelty. Now that *Orus* the second, or *Busiris*, was the king that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted ten moneths: it is a common opinion of many great and most learned writers; who also thinke that hereupon grew the fable of *Busiris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Exod. 1.* that the King who knew not *Ioseph*, was a king of a new family. That *Busiris* was of a new family, *Reineccius* doth shew; who also thinkes him Author of the bloody *Edict*. Neuerthelesse, true it is, that *Busiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reigne five yeares after the birth of *Moses*; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more that the persecution began; which *Bunting* thinkes to haue lasted 87. yeares, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let vs therefore consider, besides the blindness of *Sesostris* the second, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Vice-Royes* in *Egypt* was; & how great confidence the kings did put in them; seeing *Ioseph* ruled with such full power, that hee bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for bread; giuing at the same time the best of the land to his own father and brethren, for nothing; seeing also that when the *Egyptians* cried out vpon *Pharaoh*, for bread; *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, Go to *Ioseph*; what he saith to you, do ye. If to a stranger borne, lately fetcht out of prison, a king well able to haue gouerned himselfe, would giue such trust, & souereign authority; it is not vnlikely that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often prospers, not only the good (such as *Ioseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did (as many haue done) religne his kingdome to him, though his reigne was not accounted to haue begun, till the death of *Sesostris*. But whether *Busiris* did vsurpe the kingdome, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king resigned it, keeping the title; or whether *Busiris* were only *Regent*, whilst the king liued, & afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himselfe: it might well be said that *Pharaohs* daughter tooke vp *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*; seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not absurd for vs to say that the blind king *Sesostris* the second oppressed *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seeme that the wicked *Tyrant* shewed his euill nature euen when he first arose: I thinke it more likely, that *Busiris* did it, vsing at first the power of a king, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 122. yeares vvhich passed betwene the beginning of *Sesostris* his reigne, & the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47. being spent, the 75. which remain, are to be accounted to *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, and his children. *Busiris* himselfe reigned 30. yeares, according to *Eusebius*: whom very many iudicious authors herein approue. After him his daughter, who tooke *Moses* out of the water, is said by all that I haue read, to haue reigned 12. yeares. Her name was *Thermutis* *Pharicis*; or *Muthis* according to *Cedrenus*: *Euseb.* calls her *Acencheris*; and out of *Artabius* his History *Meris*: *Ioseph* calls her both *Acencheris*, & *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panario* saith that shee was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the daughter of *Amenoph*, the son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken: for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaohs* sons daughter, but *Pharaohs* daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is set next before *Busiris* or *Orus* the second by *Eusebius* & others: but

Quod. 1.

but whether he were a King or onely a *Regent*, I cannot coniecture. For *Herodotus* *Diodorus*, and the ancient Historians name the sonne of *Sesostris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*: and his daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the Neece or Grand-child, than the daughter of *Pharaoh* because of the glory of *Sesostris*, & the disreputation of his son. If so, and if that *Busiris* or *Orus* the second marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our coniecture strengthened, and then was shee both daughter, grand-child, and wife vnto *Pharaoh*: and furnishing him, *Queene* of the land, 12. yeares. But if she were daughter of *Orus* the second, and sister of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many thinke, to whose coniecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seeme, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her Father died.

§.VIII.

Of the two brethren of *Queen Thermutis*: and what king it was, under whom *Moses* was borne: and who it was that perished in the red Sea.

Shee had two brethren: the one was *Rathoris* or *Athoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, vvhich is onely named by *Eusebius*; but his linage and off-spring described by *Reineccius*: *Rathoris* after his sisters death reigned nine yeares: after whom *Chencheres*, thought to be his sonne, reigned ten yeares, and then perished in the red Sea. During the reigne of *Chencheres*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* vpon *Ia*: of which History elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Chencheres* (whom some call *Acencheres*: but all or most doe stile *Θεραχης*, a fighter against God) *Acherres* reigned 8. yeares, and then *Cherres* 15. This descent seems from Father to Sonne. In the 11. yeere of *Cherres* it is said by *Eusebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt*, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not vnlikely: viz. That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid vpon it, and the destruction of her king and army in the red Sea: elle could it not haue had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his posterity seemes to haue taken all from *Cherres* the grand-child of *Chencheres*. For whereas *Armaus* is said to haue reigned 30. foure yeares after *Cherres*: and *Armeis* one after *Armaus*: these two Kings are by *Eusebius* and others accounted as one, and his reigne said to haue bene five yeares. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwise *Danaus*: and his pedigree thus described by *Reineccius* in *Historia Iulia*.

Telegonus:
Epaphus:
Lybia, who had

Agenor, *Belus*, and *Busiris*.

T

Egyptus or *Ramestes* who gaue name to the Country, hauing expelled his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lyncus*, married to *Hypermetra*.

Danaus or *Armeus* expelled by his brother *Egyptus*, after hee had reigned five yeares, became king of *Argos* in *Greece*: was Father to *Hypermetra*.

How it might come to passe that the Nephewes sons of *Epaphus* should haue occupied the kingdome after *Cherres*, it is hard to say: considering that *Epaphus* himself is reported by *Eusebius* to haue bene borne in the time of *Chencheres*. But forasmuch as the History of *Epaphus* his birth, is diuersly related by *Eusebius*, it may suffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danaus* & *Egyptus*, otherwise called *Armeus* and *Ramestes*, was equally distant from *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the grand-child of *Chencheres*. And that the posterity of *Telegonus* did marry very yong, it appears by the History of these two brethren, *Danaus* and

Exod. 4. 19.

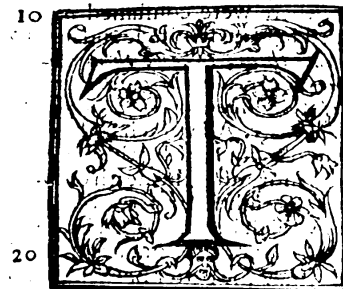
and *Egyptus*: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the latter 50. sonnes: perhaps, or rather questionlesse, by diuers Women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: Ho wfoeuer it were, the generall consent of writers is, that *Armeus* or *Danaus* did succcede *Cherres*: and (according to *Eusebius* and good Authors approuing him) reigned fife yeares. *Ramesses* followed, who reigned 68. yeares. This *Ramesses* or *Egyptus* is that *Armesefmiamum* or *Armesefmiamus*, vnder whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting*; that followes *Atercator*, *Moses* was borne: and the cruell *Edict* made of drowning the *Hebrew* children. The length of his reigne seemes to me the chiefe, if not the onely ground of *Mercators* opinion. For whereas the Lord said to *Moses*, *Goe, returne to Egypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*: *Mercator* hereupon conceiues, that it was one and the same king vnder whom *Moses* was born, and vnder whom he slew the *Egyptian* at the 40. yeare of his age: and fled into the wilderness, and there abode for feare: all which circumstances could agree with none, but this *Ramesses*, who reigned so long: wherefore desirous rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common error, he placeth one *Alisfragmuthosis* (whose name is found in the list of *Egyptian* kings, but the time vncertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. yeares more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his successors from *Thomosis* (whom *Eusebius* calls *Amasis*) downewards with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betweene *Manetho* and *Eusebius*, he findes *Moses* borne vnder *Armesefmiamum*, and *Israel* deliuered in the dayes of his sonne *Amenophis*. The very name of *Alisfragmuthosis* seems to him with little alteration to sound like *Pharates*, of which name one was thought to haue flourished either as a king, or a wife man about the time of *Isaac*. For (saith he) from *Alisfragmuthosis* to *Phragmuthosis*, *Pharmuthosis*, or *Pharates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent learning and industry: and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable works: yet my assent herein is withheld from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that *Cheneres* was king who was drowned in the red Sea: Secondly, the place, *Exod. 4. all are dead*, &c. may better be vnderstood of *Busris* and all his children, than of one King alone: Thirdly, *Saint Cyrill* in his first booke against *Julian* the *Apostata*, saith that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120. yeares old: *Ramesses*, which was this *Armesefmiamum*, being then King of *Egypt*. After *Ramesses*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. 30. yeares: who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that perished in the red Sea: of which our opinion being already laied open, I thinke it most expedient to referre the kings ensuing to their owne times (which a *Chronologicall Table* shall lay open) and here to speake of that great deliuerance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: which for many great considerations depending thereupon, wee may not lightly ouerpasse.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the deliuey of Israel out of Egypt.

§. I.

Of the time of *Moses* birth, and how long the *Israelites* were oppressed in *Egypt*.

It is that the History it selfe is generally and well knowne: yet concerning the time of *Moses* his birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this and of other great workes of the *Highest*, the different opinions are very neere as many, as the men that haue written of that Argument.

L. Vives in his annotations vpon *Saint Augustine* citeth very many of their coniectures as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moses* liued in the time of *Semiramis*: But if hee did meane the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrary to all Stories Diuine and humane, while that *Semiramis* liued, shee commanded *Syria*, and all the

parts thereof absolutely: neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while she ruled, in *rerum natura*.

A second opinion hee remembreth of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolomy* a Priest of *Athenes*, who saith that *Moses* was borne while *Inachus* did rule the *Argiues*, and *Ames* in *Egypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greeke* History the first Booke: that *Moses* was borne while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Assyrius*, who though hee cite some authorities, that *Moses* liued after the *Troian* war, is himselfe of opinion, that *Moses* was farre more ancient, prouing it by many arguments.

Fifthly, he setteth downe the testimony of *Numenius* the Philosopher, who tooke *Atus* and *Moses* to be one: confirming the same out of *Arctapanus*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Atus*, by the *Grecians*: and who farther deliuereth that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Egypt*: the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothos*. *Eusebius* also affirmeth, that by *Eupolemus* in his first booke de bono, *Moses*, vir Deo coniunctissimus, is called *Atus* and *Iudeorum*. *Eusebius* in his Chronology, findes that *Moses* was borne while *Amenophis* ruled

Egypt. The ancient *Manethon* calls that *Pharao*, which liued at *Moses* birth, *Thumosis* or *Thmosis*: the same perchance which *Appion* the Grammarian will haue to be *Amosis*, and elsewhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Sethosis*: to whom *Lysimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* gaue the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it seemes most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherns* or *Iphereus*, gouerned *Assyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Stegonia*, and *Criafus* the *Argiues*; that then (*Sesoftris* the second ruling in *Egypt*) *Moses* was borne. For if wee beleeue *S. Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Edax* *Moses* ex *Egypto* populum Dei nouissimo tempore *Cecropis Atheniensium Regis*: *Moses* (saith he) led the people of God out of *Egypt*, about the end of *Cecrops* time, King of the *Athenians*. In this sort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure

out of *Egypt* best proued. *S. Augustine* affirmes (as before remembred) that *Moses* was borne, *Saphrus* gouerning *Assyria*; and that hee left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time. Now *Saphrus* ruled 20. yeares; his successor *Atamelus* 30. yeares; *Sparetus* after him 40. yeares: in whose fourth yeare *Cecrops* began to gouerne in *Attica*: *Ascatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire 41: So as *Moses* being borne while *Saphrus* ruled *Assyria*; *Orthopolis* *Sicyonia*; and *Criafus* *Argos* (for these three kings liued at once at his birth, saith *S. Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth yeare of the *Assyrian* *Saphrus*: for take one yeare remaining of 20. (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which adde the thirty yeares of *Ma-*

Euseb. de prep. Euang. l. 3. c. 2.

Aug. l. 18. c. 16. de ciuit. Dei.

2514.

melus, and the 40. years of *Sparetus*, these make 71. with which there were vvaisted three yeares of *Cecrops* his 50. yeares: then take nine yeares out of the reigne of *Afcatales*, who was *Sparetus* succellour, those nine yeares added to 71. make 80. at which age *Moses* left *Egypt*: and adde these nine yeares to the three yeares of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remaine but foure yeares of *Cecrops* his 50. and so it fallerh right with *S. Augustines* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moses* led the people of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebrewes* were oppressed in *Egypt*, seemeth to haue had beginning some eight or nine years before the birth of *Moses*, & 54. yeare, or rather more, after *Ioseph*: betwene vvhose death and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed 64. yeates: some of vvhich time, and 80. yeares after, they lived in great seruitude and misery. For as it is written in *Exodus*: They set task-masters ouer them, to keepe them vnder with bardens: and they built the Cities, *Pithom* and *Ramases*, &c. And by cruelty they caused the children of *Israel* to serue; and made them weary of their lines, by sore labour in clay and bricke, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage. All vvhich laid vpon them by a mastering power and strong hand, they endured to the time by the vvisdome of God appointed: euen from 54. yeares, or not much more after the death of *Ioseph*, who left the World when it had lasted 2370. yeares, to the eightieth yeare of *Moses*, and vntill he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zoan*, vvhich he performed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account, 2513. And because those things vvhich we deliuer of *Egypt*, may the better bee vnderstood, I thinke it necessary to speak a few words of the principall places therein named, in this discourse.

§. II.

Of diuers Cities and places in *Egypt*, mentioned in this Story, or elsewhere in the Scripture.

This City vvhich the *Hebrewes* call *Zoan*, was built seuen yeares after *Hebron*. *Ezechiel* calleth it *Taphnes*; and so doth *Hieremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanis*; *Iosephus*, *Protaidis*; after the name of an *Egyptian* Queene; *Antonius* giues it the name of 30 *Thanis*; *Hegeſippus*, *Thamna*; and *William Tyrinus*, *Tapirus*. It adioyneth to the land of *Gosen*, and is the same, wherein *Hieremy* the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the *Egyptian* and *Iewish* Idolatry.

Zoan or *Taphnes* was in *Moses* time the *Metropolis* of the lower *Egypt*, in vvhich their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; & not vnlkely to be the same City, vvhich *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did read *Astronomy* in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharetes* King of *Egypt*. *Alex. Polyhistor*, out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwife, saying, that *Abraham* instructed the *Egyptian* Priests, and not the King; both which authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuagint*, and the *Vulgar* edition, for *Zoan* write *Heliopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Iunius*, and our *Engliſh* call it *On*; and *Pro- 40 lomys*, *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, towards the South; the other somewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of *Nilus* falling into the Sea at *Pelufium*. And it may be that *Heliopolis* to the South of the river *Trian*, vvas the same which *Vatablus* & our *Engliſh* call *Auen*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine knowledge: the same, which *Pomp. Mela*, and *Pliny* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrinus* in the *Holy Warre*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Bahalbeth*; and *Simcon Setbi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Putiphar* Priest, or Prince, vvhose daughter *Ioseph* married. In the Territory adioyning *Iacob* inhabited, while hee lived in *Egypt*. In the confines of this City, *Onias*, the high Priest of the *Jewes*, built a Temple, dedicated to the eternall God; not much inferior to that of *Hierusalem* (*Prology Philopater* then 50 gouerning in *Egypt*) vvhich stood in the time of *Vespasian*, 333. yeares after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Iosephus* falsly reporteth herein to haue fulfilled a prophecy of *Eſay* c. 19. *In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terre Egypti; In that day shall the Altar of the Lord bee in the middest of the Land of Egypt*. *Antiochus Epiphanes* at that time of the building tyrannizing ouer the *Jewes*, gaue the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt*. Lastly, there it was that our Sauiour *Christ Iesus* remained, while *Ioseph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: neere which (saith *Brochard*) the fountain

Numb. 33.
Ezechiel 30.
Hieron. 2. 43.
44. 46.
Ioseph. l. c. 9.
Tyr. de bel. sac.
l. 19. c. 23.

Euseb. de prep.
Enangl. 9. c. 4.
Gen. 12. 15.
Eſai. 19. 11.

aine is still found, called *Iesus well*, whose streames doe afterward water the Gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in *Egypt*. And hereof see more in *Brochard*, in his description of *Egypt*.

There is also the City of *Noph*, remembred by *Eſay* and *Ezekiel*, the same vvhich *Hosea* the Prophet calleth *Moph*: which latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adioyning, so called; which Mountaine *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called *Memphis* and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is knowne to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Alchabyr*; and *Tudalenſis Mizraim*.

Pelufium, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Iunius*, and our *Engliſh* write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call 10 *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the same with *Damata*, as *Gul. Tyrinus* vvitneseth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Pelufium* vvas called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (saith *Tyrinus*) *quaeliam diſta eſt Pelufium; Belbeis, ſed in times paſt vvas called Pelufium*.

The City of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Diſpoles*. Of which name there are two or three 15 in *Egypt*. *Hierome* conuerteth it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Eubastus, (for so *Hierome* and *Zeigler* doe write it) is the same which the *Hebrewes* call 20 *Pibefeth*.

To make the story the more perceiueable, I haue added a description of the land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited; vvhich those Cities and places so often remem- 20 bred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis* or *Bethſemes*, *Balsaphom*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Moses* passage through the Defarts of *Arabia* the *Story*. For all story without the knowledge of the places vvhich the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the knowledge and vnderstanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serue to retaine, what wee reade, in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions doe. In which respect I am driuen to digresse in many places, and to interpoſe ſome ſuch diſcourſe, otherwiſe ſeeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man, *Arias Montanus*; vvhich in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath these vwords: *Si enim absque locorum obseruatione res geste narrentur, aut sine Topographia cognitione historie legantur, adeo confusa et perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex his nihil non obscuro, nihil non difficile elici possit; If narration (saith he) bee made of those things which are performed, without the obseruation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Histories be read without Topographical knowledge; all things will appeare so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby vnderstand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.*

§. III.

Of the cruelty against the *Israelites* young children in *Egypt*: and of *Moses* his preservation and education.

40 **B**UT to returne to the story it selfe. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and slavery, which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: insomuch as *Pharaoh* considering the danger of discontented pouerty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perillous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the Diuell, resolved to slaughter all the male children of the *Hebrewes*, as soon as they should be borne. To which end he sent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the most famous and expert amongst them, que preerant (saith *Comestor*) *multitudinis obſetricum, who had command giuen them ouer all mid-wiues*; by whom (as it seemeth) hee gaue order 50 to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. For to haue called all the Mid-wiues of *Egypt* together, had beene a strange Parliament. Now vvhether these two (before named) were of the *Hebrewes*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diuersly disputed. *S. Augustine* calls them *Hebrewes*, because it is written *Exodus* the first, *The King of Egypt commanded the Mid-wiues of the Hebrew women, &c.* But *Iosephus*, *Abulenſis*, and *Perrinus* beleeue them to be *Egyptians*. Whosoeuer they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murder, to the end the world might witnesse both the wickedness of the *Egyptians*, and the iust cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and reuenge: *Pharaoh* finding these women filled with piety, & the feare of God, commanded

Eſa. 19. 13.
Ezech. 34.
Hosea 9. 6.
Lib. 2. c. 11.

G. Tyr. l. 10. c. 12.
lib. 2. c. 5.

Ezech. 30. 15. 16.

Ezech. 30. 17.

Verſ. 16.
Ioseph. ant. l. 2.
c. 1.
Abul. & Perrin.
in Exodus.

commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publikely, or howsoever, to destroy all the male *Hebrew* children boine within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrewes*, the greatest part of whom hee might haue assured, by affording them the iustice; which euery King oweth to his vassals, and the rest hee might haue employed or sent away at his pleasure; *Iosephus* giueth another cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically deliuered him by an *Egyptian* Priest; that among the *Hebrewes* there should be borne a childe; who growing to mans estate, should become a plague and terrour to his whole Nation. To preuent which, (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God, by a incane, contrary to the lawes of heauen and of nature) he stretched out his bloody and mercilesse hand to the execution of his former intent. The same preuention *Herod* long after practised, when fearing the spirituall Kingdome of *Christ*, as if it should haue bene temporal, he caused all the male children at that time borne, to be slaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had some kinde of foreknowledge of the future successe, it may be gathered by these his owne words, in the tenth verse of the fifth of *Exodus*: Come, let us worke wisely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to passe, that if there be warre, they ioyne themselves also vnto our enemies, and fight against vs, and get them out of the Land. But we see, and time hath told vs from the beginning, how God derideth the wisdom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inuentions of their owne most feeble, and altogether darkened vnderstanding. For euen by the hands of the dearly beloued daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and Minister of Gods maruellous vvorkes taken out of *Nilus*, being therinto turned off, in an Arke of reedes, a sucking and powerlesse infant. And this Princeesse hauing beheld the childe his forme and beauty, though but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as shee did not onely preferue it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her owne, and vvith equall care to the sonne of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her deede, she called the childe *Moses*, as it were, *extractus* or *ereptus*, taken out, to wit, out of the vvater: or after *Iosephus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voyce expressing vvater, and *Hifes*, as much to say, as that which is drawne out of water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* vv as of opinion, that *Moses* vv as circumcised, before he vv as put into the Arke of Reedes, & that *Amram* his father had named him *Ioachim*. In his youth he vv as carefully bred, by the care, & at the charge of *Pharaohs* daughter, and by men of the most vnderstanding, taught and instructed: quoniam regio more educavit, praeceptis ei sapientibus *Aegyptiorum* Magistris, a quibus eruditur, saith *Basil*: vnto whom shee gave princely education, appointing ouer him wise masters of the *Egyptians* for his instructors. Thereby (say *Iosephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; vv hich also the Martyr *Stephen* in the seuenth of the *Acts* confirmeth; And *Moses* vv as learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or atleast so much thereof as *Six. Senensis* hath gathered, vv ee haue added, between the death of *Moses*, and the reigne of *Iosua*.

S. IV.

Of *Moses* his flying out of *Egypt*; and the opinions of certaine ancient Historians of his warre in *Aethiopia*; and of his marriage there: *Philo* his iudgement of his Pastorall life: and that of *Peterius* of the Booke of *Genesis* and *Iob*.

When *Moses* vv as growne to mans estate, *Iosephus* and *Eusebius*, out of *Aritapannus*, tell vs of ten yeares warre that he made against the *Aethiopians*: of the besieging of *Saba*, afterward by *Cambyfes*, called *Neroe*; and how he recovered that City by the fauour of *Tharbis*, a daughter of *Aethiopia*, whom hee took to vvife. So hath *Comestor* a pretty tale of *Moses*. How after the end of that warre, *Tharbis* resisting his returne into *Egypt*, *Moses* most skilfull in *Astronomy*, caused two Images to bee ingrauen in two precious stones, vv hereof the one increased memory; the other caused forgetfulness: These he set in two rings; vv hereof he gaue the one, to wit, that of obliuion, to his vvife *Tharbis*, reseruing the other of memory for himselfe: vv hich ring of forgetfulness, after she had a while vvorne, he began to neglect the loue shee bare her husband: and so *Moses* vvithout danger returned into *Egypt*. But leauing these fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. yeare of *Moses* age, vvhen hee beheld an

Egyptian

Egyptian offering violence to one of the oppressed *Hebrewes*, moued by compassion; in respect of his brother, and stirred vp by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the *Egyptian*. Soone after which fact, finding a disposition in some of his own Nation to accuse him, for whose defence he had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and aduice of God, vv hose chosen seruant hee was, he fled into *Arabia Petraea*, the next bordering Country to *Egypt*; where wandring all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place vv knowne vnto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and vvho in future times vv ere the irreconcilable enemies of the *Hebrewes*: it pleased God (vvorking the greatest things by the weakest worldly meanes) to make the watering of a few sheep, & the assisting of the Daughters of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, an occasion whereby to prouide him a vvife of one of those, & a father in law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Country nearest *Egypt*, fittest to returne from: necessary to be knowne, because interiacent betweene *Egypt* and *Iudea*, through vv hich hee was to leade the *Israelites*; and vv herein God held him, till the occasion vv hich God presented, best serued. And lastly, vvhere the glory of the world shined least, amidst mountainous Deserts, there the glory of God, vv hich shineth most, couered him ouer, and appeared vnto him, not finding him as a Kings sonne, or an adopted childe of great *Pharaohs* daughter, but as a meeke and humble shepherd, sitting at a mountaines foot, a keeper and commander of those poore beasts only.

In that part of *Arabia*, neere *Madian*, hee consumed 40. yeares. And though (as *Philo* in the story of *Moses* life obserueth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Pastorall knowledge; yet in that solitary Desert he enioyed himselfe: and being separate from the preasse of the world, and the troublesome affaires thereof, hee gaue himselfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himselfe all those knowledges, vv hereof his younger yeares had gathered the grouns and principles: the same Author also iudging, that his Pastorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, vv hich he afterward obtained. *Eftenim* (saith *Philo*) *ars Pastoralis, quasi preludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quemadmodum bellicosa ingenia praerexerunt se in venationibus, experientia in seru, quod postea in militia & bello perfectura sunt; brutis praebentibus materiam exercitij, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vero praefectura mansueti pecoris, habet quidam simile cum regno in subditis; ideoq. Reges cognominantur Pastores populum, non consumelia sed honoris gratia; The art of keeping sheepe is, as it were, an introductory exercise vnto a Kingdome, namely, the rule ouer men, the most gentle flocke: Euen as warlike natures doe before-hand exercise themselves in hunting, practising on wilde beasts those things, vv hich after they vvill accomplish in vv arfare: those brute beasts affording matter, vv herein to traine themselves, both in time of warre and of peace. But the government of gentle castell, hath a kinde of resemblance vnto a Kingly rule ouer subiects; therefore, Kings are stiled shepherds of the people, not in vvay of reproch, but for their honour.*

That *Moses*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, vvrote the Booke of *Iob*, as *Peterius* supposeth, I cannot iudge of it, because it is thought, that *Iob* was at that time liuing: Neither dare I subscribe to *Peterius* opinion, That *Moses* vv hile hee liued in that part of *Arabia*, vvrote the Booke of *Genesis*; although I cannot deny the reason of *Peterius* coniecture, That by the example of *Iobs* patience he might strengthen the oppressed *Hebrewes*: and by the promises of God to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, put them in assurance of their deliuey from the *Egyptian* slavery, and of the Land of rest, and plentie promised.

Of this calling backe into *Egypt* by the Angell of God, and the maruailes and vvonders vv hich he performed, thereby to persvade *Pharaoh*, that hee was the messenger of the most High, the particulars are vv ritten in the first fourteene Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it vv ere needlesse. But for the first, it is to be noted, that vvhen *Moses* desired to be taught by God, by vv hat name hee should make him knowne, and by vv hich he was sent; he receiued from God so much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and euer-being nature. Out of vv hich he deliuered him in the first part of his answer, a name to bee considered of by the vvifet: and in his second, to be vvnderstood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it selfe, but the Eternall: vv hich truly is; vv hich is aboue all; vv hich is immutable. The bodies of men are vv changed euery moment: their substance vv asteth, and is repaired by nutriment;

Exod. c. 3. vv. 13. 14. and 15.

H. 2. ad. Di.

C. 40. v. 13.

C. 16. v. 5.

Epiphani. l. 1.
cont. Hæres.

ment; neuer continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long as while one may say, Now. Likewise, whatsoeuer is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in euery shortest piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. *Vna est Dei & sola natura quæ verè est: id enim quod subsistit, non habet aliud, sed sum est. Cetera quæ creata sunt, etiamsi videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & potest rursum non esse, quod non fuit; it is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is: for hee hath his being of himselfe, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they seeme to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not: and that which hath not beene, may againe want being.* And with this, in respect of the Diuine nature, the saying of Zeno Eleates excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura umbra est, aut inani, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitfull:* in comparison of whom (saith *Esay*) all Nations are as nothing, lesse than nothing, and meere vanity.

Of the tenne plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were stricken, the first was by changing the Riners into blood: God punishing them by those waters, into which their Forefathers had throwne, and in which they had drowned the innocent children of the *Hebrewes*. To which this place of the Reuelation may bee fitly applied: *And I heard the Angel of the water say, Lord, thou art iust, which art, and which wast; and holy, because thou hast iudged these things; for they shed the blood of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thou giuen them blood to drinke.*

The rest of the plagues by Frogges, Lice, Flies, or stinging Wasps; by the death of their Cattaile; by leprous Scabbes; by Haile and Fire; by Grasshoppers; by Darknesse, after which *Pharaoh* forbad *Moses* his presence: moued the hardned heart of the vnbelieuing King, no longer, than the paine and perill lasted; till such time as his owne first-borne, and the first-borne of all his Nation perished. Hethen, while he feared his owne life, (a time vvhærin we remember God perforce) stood vpon no condition: vvhær as before, he first yielded but to the departure of the men, then of the men, women, and children, reseruing their beastiall; but he was now content for the present, that the *Israelites* should not onely depart with all their own, but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels of his owne people: of vvhich (the feare being past) hee suddainly repented him, as his pursuit after them proued. For when euery one of the *Hebrewes* had (according to direction from *Moses* receiued) slaine a Lambe, without spot or blemish, for the *Passouer*, (a Sacrament of the most cleane and vnspotted Saviour,) and with the blood thereof coloured the poste and linterne of the doores; the Angel of God in the night smote euery first-borne of *Egypt*, from the sonne of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slaue: the children of the *Israelites* excepted. At vvhich terrible iudgement of God, *Pharaoh* being more than euer amazed, yielded, as before is said, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (saith *Epiphanius*) did in after-times imitate this colouring with blood, which the *Israelites* vsed after the *Passouer*; ascribing an exceeding vertue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not onely marke their Sheepe and Cattell, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preserue them from lightning and other harmes.

§. V.

Of *Pharaohs* pursuit of the *Israelites*: and of their passage towards the Red Sea, so farre as *Succoth*.

NOW, when the people were remoued, and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God) hee bethought him as well of the Honour lost, as of the shame remaining after so many Calamities and Plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoiles of his people, and in despight of himselfe. And hauing before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readinesse, he consulted with himselfe, what way the *Israelites* were like to take. Hee knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the Countrey of the *Philistims*. But because these people were very strong, and a vvarlike Nation, and in all probability of his Allies, he suspected that *Moses* meant to finde some other out-let, to wit, through the Desert of *Etiam*; and there, because the Countrey was exceeding mountainous, and of hard access, and that *Moses* was pestered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, hee thought it impossible for the *Israelites* to escape

escape him that way. In the meane-while hauing gathered together all the Chariots of *Egypt*, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines ouer them; hee determined to set vpon them in the Plaines of *Gosen*, which way soeuer they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with broad and sharpe Hooks on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kinde of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Brittaines* vsed against the *Romanes*, while they made the Warre for the Conquest of this Land. Of this Army of *Pharaoh*, *Iosephus* affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. Horse, and 20000. Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot bee doubted but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to assaile the *Hebrewes* at their departure, or to destroy them in *Gosen*; and refused them passage, till such time as hee had prepared an Army, to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of *Exodus*, hee doubted two things; either that the *Hebrewes* might ioyne themselves to his enemies within the Land; or being so multiplied, as they were, might leaue his seruice, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieved him withall, enforc't him at this time to giue an assent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise; and *Iosephus* partiall in this affaie, yet by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Egypt*, which could not bee done in haste. For *Moses* made but three dayes march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heeles; and yet the last day he went on fixteene miles: which, in so hot a Countrey, and to driue their Cattell and Sheepe with them, pestered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull Enemy at hand. Now, as *Moses* well knew that hee went out with a mightie hand, and that God guided his vnderstanding in all his Enterprizes: so he lay not still in the ditch crying for helpe, but vsing the vnderstanding vvhich God had giuen him, hee left nothing vnperformed becomming a Wise man, and a valiant and skilfull Conducter; as by all his actions and counsailes from this day to his death, well appeared.

When *Moses* perceiued that *Pharaoh* was engaged against him, & commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after that he had warned *Israel* of the *Passouer*, he appointed a generall Assembly or *Rendezvous* of all the *Hebrewes* at *Ramases* in the Territory of *Gosen*; a City standing indifferent to receiue from all parts of the Countrey the dispersed *Hebrewes*: and gaue commandement, that euery Family should bring with them such store as they had of Dow, and Paste, nor staying to make it into bread: knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foote, and on his way towards them. Which done, and hauing considered the great strength of *Pharaohs* Horse-men & Chariots, of which kind of defence *Moses* was vtterly vnprovided (though, as it is written, the *Israelites* went vp armed) he marched from *Ramases* East-ward, towards the Desarts of *Etiam*, and incamped at *Succoth*; vvhich he performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Abib*. Which Moneth from that time forward they were commaunded to account as the first Moneth of the year. Whether in former times they had beene accustomed to begin their year in some other Moneth, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now recalled by *Moses* to the rule of their Fore-fathers, it is vncertain. Certaine it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politicke year, which was not now abrogated, but rather by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and stil continued in vse. Wherefore in referring things done, or hapning among them, vnto the beginning, midst, or ending of the year, that distinction of the Sacred, and the Politike year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of dayes in euery Moneth, and the whole forme of their year, like enough it is that *Moses* himselfe in forty years space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was giuen in trust: but that any rule of framing their Kalender, was made publicke, before the captiuitie of *Babylon*, I do not finde. Now because time and motion begin together, it will not, I thinke, be any great breach of order, to shew heere at their first setting forth, what was the forme of the *Hebrew* year: with the difference betwene them and other Nations in ordering the account of time.

§. VI.

Of the Solary and Lunary yeeres; and how they are reconciled: with the forme of the Hebrew yeere, and their manner of intercalation.

The Hebrew Moneths are thus named.

The first Moneth, *Nisan*, or *Abib*.
The second, *Iar*, or *Tiar*, *Zio*, or *Zin*.
The third, *Suan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban*.
The fourth, *Tammuz*.
The fifth, *Ab*.
The sixth, *Ebul*.
The seventh, *Tifri*, or *Ethanin*, or *Ethaninim*.
The eighth, *Marchesuan*, or *Mechasuan*, or *Bul*, or with *Iosephus*, *Marfonane*.
The ninth, *Chisleu*, or *Casseu*.
The tenth, *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth*.
The eleventh, *Sebeth*, or *Sabath*.
The twelfth, *Adar*, and *Ve Adar*.

1. *March*.
2. *Aprill*.
3. *Maie*.
4. *Iune*.
5. *Iulie*.
6. *August*.
7. *September*.
8. *October*.
9. *November*.
10. *December*.
11. *Iannarie*.
12. *February*.

VE *Adar* was an intercalary Moneth, added, some yeeres, vnto the other twelue, to make the Solary and Lunary yeere agree; which (besides the generall inconuenience that would otherwise haue risen, by casting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the *Hebrewes*, because of the diuine Precept. For God appointed especiall Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a Moneth of the yeere, and withall on a set day, both of the Moone and of the Moneth; as the Feast of the first fruits; the new Moones; and the like: which could not haue so bene kept, if either the day of the Moone had fallen in some other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it selfe bene found farre distant from his place in the season of the yeere.

Other Nations, the better to obserue their Solemnities in the due time, and to asceraine all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commodity of time, that is the measure of endurance), were driuen in like manner to make their yeeres vnequall, by adding sometimes, & sometimes abating one or more dayes, as the error committed in foregoing yeeres required. The error grew at first, by not knowing what number of daies made vp a complear yeere. For though by the continuall course of the Sun, causing Summer and Winter duly to succeed each other, it is plaine enough euen to the most sence of all people, when a yeere hath passed ouer them; yet the necessity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbred by a shorter Tally, makes this long measure of whole yeeres insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affairs. Therefore men obserued the Monethly conspicuous reuolution of the Moone, by which they diuided the yeere into twelue parts, subdividing the Moneth into 29. dayes and nights, and those againe into their quarters and houres. But as the markes of time are sensible and easily discerned: so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the vnderstanding. Twelue reuolutions of the Moone, containing lesse time by 11. dayes or thereabout, than the yearly course of the Sunne, through the Zodiacke, in the space of sixteene yeeres, euery moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the yeere, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to adde some daies to the yeere, making it to consist of twelue Moneths, and as many daies more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the Sunne determine his yearely reuolution by any set number of whole dayes; neyther did the Moone change alwaies at one houre, but the very minutes and lesser fractions were to be obserued by him, that would speke to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certaine rule.

Here lay much Wisedome and deep Art, which could not soone bee brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at randome, the *Athenians* held the yeere to containe three hundred and sixty daies, wherein most of the *Greekes* concurred with them. That 360. daies filled vp the *Grecian* yeere (besides many collateral proofes) it is manifest by that which *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in honour of

Demetrius

Demetrius Phalerem, which were (saith he) 360. whilst as yet the yeere exceeded not that number of dayes. By this account neither did any certaine age of the Moone begin on end their Moneths; neither could their Moneths continue many yeeres, in their owne places: but must needs be shifted by little and little from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the dayes forgotten to be inserted into the *Almahacke* by men, but not forgotten by the superiour bodies in their courses, should occupy their owne rooms in their due times. Now, because the solemnity of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth *Metam-ban* (which answereth in a manner to our *Iune*) they were careful to take order, that this Moneth might ever begin with the new Moone; which they effected by adding some two daies to the last Moneth of euery yeere, those Games being held once in foure yeeres. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter euen, which caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth yeere, which was the second of the Moneth *Andromion* (beginning nearly with our *August*) sometimes not to omit it on (which is all one) to insert another for it in their fourth Lunary yeere, accounting by the Moone, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their Moneth of *Iune* would euery yeere haue growne colder and colder, had they not sought to keep all vp right, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth yeere one whole Moneth, which they called the second *Pasiceon* or *December*; which was the denice of *Harpalus*, who also taught them to make one Moneth of 29. daies, another of 30. daies, and so successively through the whole yeere. Thus with much labour they kept their yeere as neere as they could, vnto the high way of the *Planets*; but these markes which they obserued, were found at length to be deceitfull Guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth yeeres intercalation, that it should not deceiue them in 11. houres and 18. minutes at the least, or some waies in 34. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 12. minutes; which differences would, in few Ages, haue bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meson* the *Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth yeeres intercalation, deuised a Cycle of 19. yeeres, wherein the Moone hauing 235. times runne out her circuit, met with the Sunne in the same place, and on the same day of the yeere, as in the 19. yeere before past she had done. This inuention of *Meson* was entertained with great applause, and passing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inserted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called the Golden Number, which name it retaineth vnto this day. Hereby were auoyded the great and vncertaine intercalations that formerly had been vsed, for by the intercalation of 7. Moneths in the 19. yeeres, all was so euen, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that error which in one yeere could not be perceiued, was very apparant in a few of those Cycles; the new Moones anticipating in one Cycle 7. houres, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* deuised a new Cycle containing foure of *Meson's*, that is to say, 76. yeeres; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a Noble *Astronomer*, framed another, containing foure of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding some error in the former obseruations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the Kalendar was that which *Julius Caesar* made, who by advice of the best *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courses of those heavenly bodies, reduced the yeere vnto the forme which is now in vse with vs; containing 365. daies and six houres, which houres in foure yeeres make vp one whole day, that is intercalated euery fourth yeere, the 24. of *February*. The correction of the *Julian* yeere by *Pope Gregorie* the 13. *Anno Domini* 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall consent; it was indeed, but as a note added vnto the work of *Caesar*; yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was obserued, that the Sunne, which at the time of the *Nicene Councell*, *Anno Dom.* 324. entred the *Equinoctiall* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the year 1582. ten daies sooner found in that time, *Pope Gregorie* strooke out of the Kalendar ten daies, following the fourth of *October*, so that in stead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth, by which means the moueable Feasts depending on the Sun's entrance into *Aries*, were againe celebrated in such time, as at the *Nicene Councell* they had been. And the better to preuent the like alterations, it was by the Councell of *Trent* ordained, that from thence forward in euery hundredth yeere, the Leape day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred: because the Sun doth not in his yearely course take vp full sixe houres aboue the 365. daies; but faileth so many minutes, as in 400. yeeres make about three whole daies.

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But the Cycle of 19. yeares, which the *Hebrewes* vsed, was such as neither did need any nice curiosity of houres, minutes, and other lesser Fractions to helpe it; neyther did in summing vp the dayes of the whole yeare, neglect the dayes of the Moon, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fell out so, that alwayes the *Kaleends* or first day of the Moneth was at the new Moone; and because that day was festiuall, they were very carefull as well to obserue the short yeare of the Moone, passing through all the 12 Signes in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gaue it to *Nisan* their first Moneth, which is about our March or April, 30. dayes; to *Iar* their second Moneth 29. dayes; and so successiue 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to passe, that every two Moneths of theirs contained somewhat euently two reuolutions of the Moone, allowing 29. dayes, 12. houres, and odd minutes, from change to change: The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or Epact dayes, which made vp 7. Moneths in 19. yeares; to 6. of which 7. were commonly giuen 30. dayes; to one of them 29. dayes, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common yeare (as appeareth by the seuerall dayes of each Moneth) contained 354. dayes, which faile of the yeare, wherein the Sun finisheth his course, 11. whole dayes, with some fractions of time. But these dayes, and other broken pieces, howsoeuer they were neglected in one yeare, yet in the Cycle of 19. yeares were so disposed of by conuenient intercalations, that still at the end of that Cycle, both the Sun and Moone were found on the same day of the yeare, moneth and weeke, yea commonly on the same houre of the day, where they had been at the beginning of it 19. yeares before.

Sigide rep. Heb. lib. 3. c. 2.

Genes. Chron. lib. 2.

Diuers haue diuersly set downe the forme of the *Hebrew* yeare, with the manner of their Intercalations. *Sigonius* tells vs, that euery second yeare they did adde a Moneth of 22. dayes; euery fourth yeare a Moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. dayes and a halfe wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a yeare of the Sun. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceiued. For the Moone doth neuer finish her course in 22. or 23. dayes: and therefore to haue added so many daies to the end of the yeare, had bene the way to change the fashion of all the Moneths in the yeares following, which could not haue begun as they ought, with the new Moon. *Genebrard* saith, that euery third yeare, or second yeare, as neede required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the yeares end vnto the other 12. This I beleue to haue bene true; but in which of the yeares the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) me thinks they do not probably deliuer, who keep all farre from euennesse vntill the very last of the 19. yeares. For (to omit such as erre grossely) some there are who say, that after three yeares, when besides the daies spent in 36. courses of the Moone, 33. daies are left remaining, that is, 11. daies of each yeare; then did the *Hebrewes* adde a Moneth of 30. daies; keeping three daies, as it were in plussage vnto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixth yeare, at which time, besides the Intercalary Moneth, remained sixe daies, namely, three surmounting that Moneth, and the Epact of three yeares, besides the three formerly referred. Thus they goe on to the 18. yeare; at which time they haue 18. daies in hand: all which with the Epact of the 19. yeare, make vp a moneth of 29. daies, that being intercalated at the end of the Cycle, makes all euen.

Whether this were the practise, I can neither affirm nor deny, yet surely it must needs haue bred a great confusion, if in the 18. yeare euery Moneth were remoued from his owne place by the distance of 48. daies, that is, halfe a quarter of the yeare and more; which inconuenience by such a reckoning was vnauidable. Wherefore, I preferre the common opinion, which preuenteth such dislocation of the Moneths, by setting downe a more conuenient way of Intercalation in the 8. yeare. For the 6. daies remaining after the two former Intercalations made in the third and sixth yeares, added vnto the 22. daies, arising out of the Epacts of the 7. and 8. yeares, do fitly serue to make vp a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the yeare following; and this borrowing of two daies is so farre from causing any disorder, that indeed it helpe to make the yeares ensuing vary the lesse from the proper season of euery Moneth. This may suffice to bee spoken of the *Hebrew* Moneths and yeares, by which they guided their accounts.

S. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea: and of the diuers wayes leading out of Egypt.

FROM Succoth in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the East part of *Etham*, to recover the Mountaine foot, by the edge of that Wildernesse, though he intended nothing lesse than to goe out of that way, of all other the nearest. But being assured of the multitude of *Horsemeh* and armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himselfe from being incompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. As *Etham* he rested but one night, and then he reflected backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance betwene it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbore to enter *Arabia* being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceede from three respects; the first two naturall, the third diuine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and hauing receiued intelligence of the way which *Moses* tooke, perswaded himselfe, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of about a Million, if not two Millions of soules, (for as it is written, *Exod. 12. Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them*) could not possibly passe ouer those desert and high Mountaines with so great multitudes of Women, Children, & Cattel, but that at the very entrance of that fastnesse he should haue overtaken them, and destroyed the greatest numbers of them. For these his owne words: *They are tangled in the Land, the Wildernesse hath shut them in*, doe shew his hopes and intents; which *Moses*, by turning another way, did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* towards the East-side of the Land of *Gosen*, or *Rameses*: from whence (missing *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howsoeuer, yet while the *Hebrewes* kept the Mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the ouer-bearing violence both of the Horse & Chariots. Thirdly, *Moses* confidence in the Al-powerfull God was such, by whose spirit, only wife, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leaue the glory of his deliuerance & victory to Almighty God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000 men, to cast the successe vpon his owne vnderstanding, wise conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Vally of *Pihacherath*, 16. miles distant; and sate downe betwene two ledges of Mountaines adioyning to the Red Sea, to wit, the Mountains of *Etham* on the North, & *Baalzephon* towards the South: the same which *Orsinus* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a Temple dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* noteth, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as, *Dominus specula, sine custodia, Lord of the watch-tower*. For the *Egyptians* beleue, or at least made their slaues beleue, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, his Idoll would both arrest them, and force them to returne to their Lords and Masters. For the *Egyptians* had gods for all turnes. *Egyptij dijs sunt omnes*; The *Egyptians* were fruitfull in gods, saith Saint *Hierome*. But *Moses*, who encamped at the foot of this Mountaine with a million of soules, or as other conceiue, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-towre asleepe, or out of countenance.

Now these two passages leading out of Egypt into *Arabia* vpon the firme land, *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelusium* and *Cafotis*, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of *Iudea*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembred, and tooke the way by the Valley of *Pihacherath*, betwene the Mountaines, which made a straight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made so great speed with his Horse-men and Chariots, as he gaue the *Hebrewes* no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but gate sight of them, and they of him, euen at the very brinke and wash of the Sea: in so much as the *Hebrewes* being terrified with *Pharaohs* sudden approach, began to despaire, and to mutine, at that time when it behoued them most to haue taken courage for their owne defence, laying it to *Moses* charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And feare, which, saith the booke of *Wisdom*, is the betraying of those succours which reason offereth, made them both despaire in Gods former promises, and to be forgetfull of their owne strength and multitudes.

It is probable that all those *Egyptians* and others brought by the *Hebrewes* to the Red Sea, were led by the true God, followed *Moses* at his departure.

Climax is so called in respect of a passage vp and downe, than that it is any proper name.

Exod. 13. 17.

Cap. 13. 11.

S. VIII.

Of their passage over the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it selfe.

Exod. 14. 13.

Exod. 14. 16.

Isa. 43. 2.

Exod. 14. 27.

Exod. 14. 27.

BUt *Moses* who feared nothing but God himselfe, perswaded them to be confident in his goodnesse, who hath neuer abandoned those, that assuredly trust in him, saying this comfortable word, *I will stand before you, and fight for you against the Egyptians: for the Lord shall fight for you, and you shall be quiet.* After which *Moses* called on God for succour, and received his encouragement, & commaundement to go on in the words, *Wherefore cryest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward, and lift up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it: and let the children of Israel go on dry ground through the middle of the Sea.* *Moses* obeying the voice of God, in the darke of the night leading the flocks into the Sea, past on towards the other side and coast of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being spent, he opened the Board, which it pleased God by a forcible Easterling wind, and by his set roile to prepare.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the same dry ground which *Moses* trod on. Therefore, as it is written: *The Angel of God which went before the host of Israel, removed, and went behinde them: as the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behinde them;* which is, that it pleased God therein either by his immediate power, or by the ministry of his Angel, to enterpose his defence betwene the *Hebrewes* and their Enemies, to the end that the *Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, in such sort, as they could not pursue *Israel* with any harmefull speedes: But in the morning watch *Moses* seized the other banke of *Arabia* side: and *Pharaoh* (as the dawne of day began to illighten the obscure aire) finding a beginning of the Seas return, halted himself towards his own Coast: But *Moses* stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force, that is, the Sea moved by the power of God ran back towards the land with vnresistable fury and swiftnesse, and overwhelmed the whole Army of *Pharaoh*, so as not one escaped. For it is written, that *God took off their Chariot wheeles*, that is, when the waters began to couer the sands, the *Egyptians* being stricken with feare of death, ran one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had past on after the *Hebrewes*, their wheeles stucke fast in the mud and quick-sands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming against them with supernaturall violence.

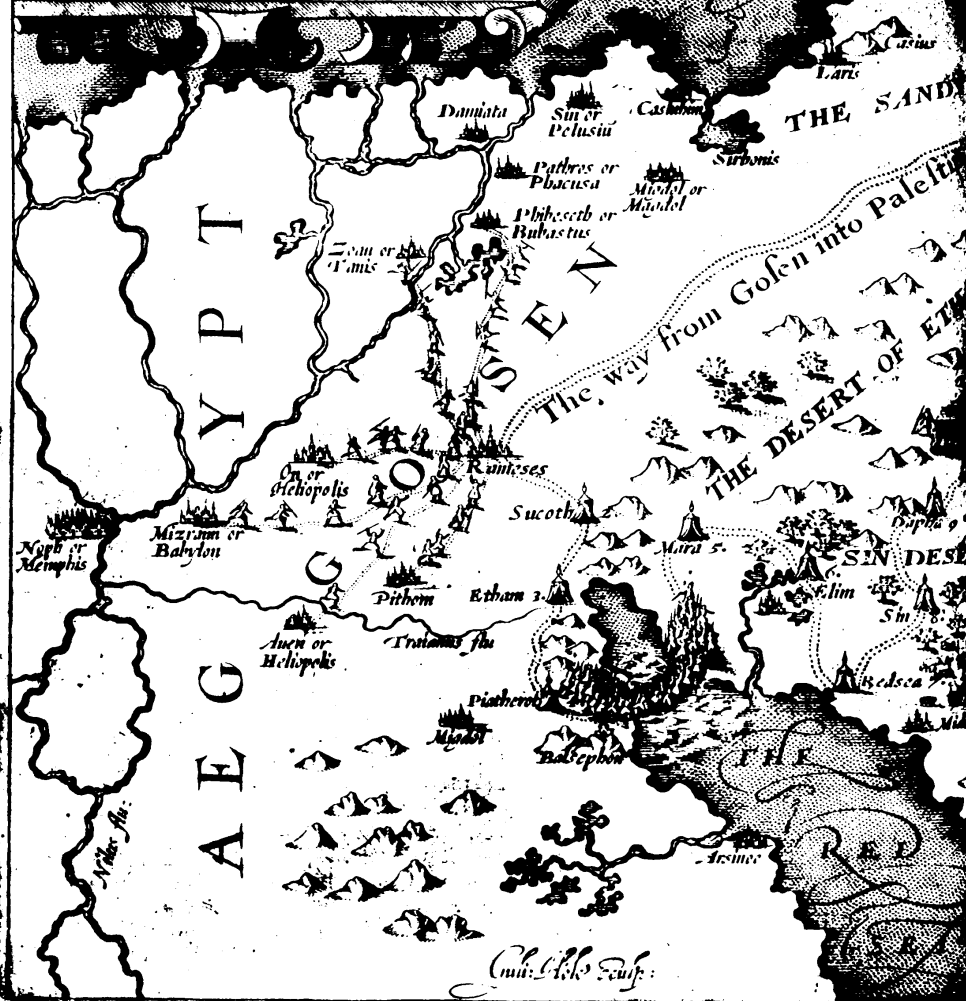
Lyranus upon *Exod. 14.* and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of the *Hebrewes*, conceiued, that after *Moses* had by the power of God diuided the Red Sea, and that the children of *Israel* were fearefull to enter it, *Aminadab* Prince or Leader of the Tribe of *Juda* first made the aduenture, and that therefore was that Tribe euer after honored aboue the rest, according to the prophecy of *Jacob, Gen. 49. 8.* *Thy fathers sword shall be a sword unto thee.* But *Hierome* upon the 11. of *Ioseph* condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that *Juda* had the first place in all their marches in the Desert; and, as we now call it, led the Vantgard, (wherupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the Red Sea) yet that *Moses* himselfe was the Conductor of *Israel* at that time, it is generally receiued. For as it is written in the 77. *Psalme*: *Thou didst lead thy people like sheepe by the hand of Moses and Aaron.*

The *Hebrewes* haue also another fancy, that the Red Sea was diuided into twelue parts, and that euery Tribe past quer in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. *Psalme*, according to the vulgar *Admissit mare rubrum in diuisiones; He diuided the Red Sea in diuisions.* Also that the bottome of the Sea became as a Greene Field or Pasture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulenensis*, and *Genebrard*, fauouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelue Pillars, nor twelue Armies of the *Egyptians*. It is written in *Psalm. 77. v. 16.* *Thy way is in the Sea, not thy wayes;* and in the last of the booke of *Wisdom. 1. 7.* *In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now this Sea, through which *Moses* past, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwise called *Chamers*, perished in the 16. yeare of his reigne, is commonly knowne by the name of the Red Sea, though the same differ nothing at all in naturall colour from other waters. But as *Philoponus* in his third booke noteth, and our selues know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seas are. It entreteth a narrow strait betwene *Arabia* the Happy and *Ethiopia*, or the land of the *Abyssins*: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape which *Ptolomy* calleth *Possidium*, to the other Land of *Ethiopia*, hath not about

Sin. Ex. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

A Description of the Land of Moses through



six leagues in breadth, and the same also filled every where with Ilands, but afterwards it extendeth it selfe 58. Leagues from Coast to Coast, and it runneth vp between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Arabia Petraea*, on one side, and *Aethiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as far as *Sues*, the vttermost end and indraught of that Sea: where the *Turk* now keepeth his fleet of Gallies. The Cosmographers commonly giue it the name of the *Arabian Gulfe*: but the North part towards *Sues*, and where *Moses* past, is called *Heropolites* of the City *Hero*; sometime *Troy*, and of later times *Sues*. *Pliny* calls it *Cambisa*, by which name it was knowne, saith he, before it was called *Hero* many yeares. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Eleniticum*; King *Iuba* *Leniticum*, others more properly *Elaniticum*, of the Port and City *Elana*; which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*: *Ptolomy*, *Elana*: *Pliny*, *Lana*: *Iosephus*, *Ilana*: and *Marino Niger*, *Aila*: there is also *Ilalah* in *Affrya*, to which *Salmanassar* carried the *Israelites* captiue, *2. Kings* 6. 8. v. 11. which *Ilalah* in *Affrya*, the *Septuagint* call *Elan*: and in the first of *Chron.* the *Arabians* (Vassals to the *Turk*) know it by no other appellation, than the Gulfe of *Mecca*, after the name of *Mahomets* Towne *Mecca*. The *Greekes* write it the Sea *Erythraum*, of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythraus*: and because *Erythros* in the *Greeke* signifieth Red: hence it is, that being denominated of this *Erythraus*, the sonne of *Persus* and *Andromeda*, yet it tooke the name of the Red Sea, as *Quintus Curtius* coniectureth: which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirme. But it seemeth to me by the view of a discovery of that Sea in the yeare 1544. performed by *Seuenn Gama*, Viceroy of the East *India* for the King of *Portugall*, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of redness, both from the banks, cliffs, and sands of many Ilands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For I finde by the report of *Castro*, a principall Commandervnder *Gama* (which discourse I gaue Master *Richard Hacluit* to publish) that there is an Iland called *Dalagua*, sometime *Leques*, containing in length 25. Leagues, and 12. in breadth; the earth, sands, & cliffs, of which Iland, being of a reddish colour, serue for a foile to the waters about it: and make it seeme altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Castro* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of *Septentrional* Latitude, to 27. (which make in length of Coast 180. miles, lying as it doth Northwardly and Southerly) all the cliffs and banks are of red earth or stone, which by reflection of the Sun-beames, giue a kinde of reddish luster to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottome of this Sea towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of *Corrall* growes, which is carryed into most parts of *Europe*, & elsewhere. There are also on the Ilands of this Sea many red Trees, saith *Strabo*, & those growing vnder water may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of rednesse by the shadowes of these stones, sands, earth, & cliffs, I suppose that it first took the name of the Red Sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such: which *Iohannes Barros* in his second *Decade*, eighth Booke and first Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana* or *Ezion-Gaber* adioyning, now *Toro*, called by the ancient Cosmographers *Sinus Elaniticus*, which washeth the banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. Leagues together, along Northward towards *Sues*, some three Leagues or nine *English* miles ouer, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. Leagues, of which the first 26. haue nine miles breadth, as aforesaid, and afterward the lands both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselves into the Sea, & streighten it so fast, as for six miles together it is not above three miles ouer, from thence vpward the land on *Egypt* side, falleth away and makes a kinde of Bay or Cove for some ten miles together, after which the land growes vpon the Sea againe, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at foure miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that *Moses* past it ouer, though others would haue it to be ouer against *Elana* or *Toro*, but without iudgement; for from *Ramesses* to *Pihacheroth* and *Baalzephon*, there is not above 30. miles interiacent, on 35. miles at most, which *Moses* past ouer in three dayes: and betwene the land of *Egypt* opposite to *Elana* or *Toro*, the distance is about 80. miles. For *Ramesses* to which City *Moses* came (being the Metropolis of *Gosen*) when hee left *Pharaoh* at *Zaan*, and tooke his last leave, standeth in 30. degrees threeminutes of *Septentrional* Latitude, and *Adigod*, on the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the Mountaine *Cliamax*, or *Baalzephon*, in nine and twenty and a halfe, which made a difference of five and thirty *English* miles, the way lying in effect North and South.

§. IX.

That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not at a low Ebbe.

THe Egyptians, and of them the *Memphites*, and other *Heathen* Writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrewes* haue objected that *Moses* past ouer the Red Sea at a low ebbe, vpon a great spring-tyde, and that *Pharaoh*, conducted more by fury than discretion, pursued him so farre, as before he could recouer the coast of *Egypt*, he was ouer-taken by the flood and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For, not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the Waters were diuided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly winde, and by the hand & rod of *Moses* (which authority to men that beleue not therein, perswadeth nothing) I say, that by the same naturall reason vnto which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there been no other working power from aboue, or assistance giuen from God himselfe to *Moses* and the children of *Israel* than ordinary and casuall, then could not *Pharaoh* and all his Army haue perished in that pursuit.

For wheresoeuer there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there doe the waters fall away from the Land, and run downwards toward the Ocean, leauing all that part towards the Land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off to be dry Land. Now *Moses* entering the Sea at *Migdol* vnder *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the aduantage and opportunity of the tyde) must haue left all that end of the Red Sea towards *Sues*, on his left hand dry and vncouered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the vvater ten or twelue miles farther into the Sea than *Sues*, and betweene it and where *Moses* past, who entred the same so farre below it, and towards the body of the same Sea: it followeth then, that if all that part of the Slecue or Strait, had been by the ebbe of a spring-tyde discovered, when *Pharaoh* found the flood increasing, he needed not to haue returned by the same way toward *Egypt* side, but might haue gone on in his returne before the tyde, on his right hand: & so taken ground againe at the end of that Sea, at *Sues* it selfe, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures doe truly witnesse the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that *Moses* past on betweene two Seas, and that the waters vvere diuided. Otherwise *Pharaoh* by any returne of waters could not haue perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, proue the cause to haue bene a power aboue nature, and the miraculous worke of God himselfe. Againe, those words of the Scriptures, that God caused the Sea to runne backe by a strong East-winde, doe rather proue the miracle, than that thereby vvvas caused an ebbe more than ordinary: for that Sea did not lye East and West, but in effect North and South. And it must haue bene a West and North-west winde, that must haue driuen those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East winde blew athwart the Sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell backe towards the South and maine body thereof, the other part remained towards *Sues*, and the North. Which being vnknowne to *Pharaoh*: while hee vvvas cheeke by that Sea which vsed in all times before to ebbe away, the flood prest him & ouerwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing *Iosephus* auoweth, that *Moses* was not onely of excellent iudgement generally, but also, so great a Captaine, as he ouer-threw the *Aethiopians* in battels, being employed by *Pharaoh*, and vvanne diuers Cities seeming impregnable: it vvould barba-rous to condemne him of this grosse nesse, and distraction: that rather than he vvould haue endured the hardnesse of a Mountainous passage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that vvay, and foretold him of the honour vvvhich hee would there winne vpon *Pharaoh*) he vvould haue trusted to the aduantage of an ebbing vvater. For hee knew not the contrary, but that *Pharaoh* might haue found him, and prest him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it seemeth hee did. For the people, beholding *Pharaohs* approach, cryed out against *Moses*, and despaired altogether of their safetie: and vvhen *Moses* prayed vnto God for helpe, hee vvvas answered by God: *wherefore cryest thou vnto mee? Speake vnto the children of Israel that they goe forward, and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuide it*: vvvhich proues, that there was not at the time of *Pharaohs* approach any ebbe at all; but that God did disperse and cut through the vveight of waters, by a strong East-winde, vvherby the Sands

discou-

discouered themselves between the Sea on the left hand toward *Sues*, from whence the waters moued not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, *so that the waters were a wall vnto them on the right hand, and on the left hand*, that is, the waters so defended them on both sides, as the Egyptians could only follow them in the same path; not that the waters stood vpright as wals doe, as some of the Schoole-men haue fancied. For had *Pharaoh* and the Egyptians perceiued any such buildings in the Sea, they would soone haue quitted the chase and pursuit of *Israel*. Furthermore, there is no man of iudgement, that can think, that *Pharaoh* and the Egyptians, who then excelled all Nations in the obseruations of heauenly Motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes & refluxes of the Sea, in his owne Country, on his own Coast, and in his owne most traded and frequented Ports and Hauens; and wherein, his people hauing had so many hundreds of years experience of the tydes, he could not be caught, as hee was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknown or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand onely; which then falleth most heauily on all men, when looking through no other spectacle but their own prosperitie, they least discern it coming, and least feare it. Lastly, if the Army of the Egyptians had been ouer-taken by the ordinary returne of the flood before they could recouer their own Coast; their bodies drowned would haue bene carried with the flood which runneth vp to *Sues*, and to the end of that Sea, & not haue been cast ashore on that Coast of Arabia where *Moses* landed, to wit, vpon the Sea-bank ouer against *Baalzephon*, on Arabia side: where it was that the *Israelites* saw their dead bodies; & not at the end of the Red Sea, to which place the ordinary flood would haue carried them: Which flood doth not any where crosse the Channell, and run athwart it, as it must haue done from *Egypt* side to Arabia, to haue cast the bodies there; but it keepes the naturall course towards the end of that Sea: and to which their carcases should haue been carried, if the worke had not been supernaturall and miraculous. *Apollonius* in the liues of the Fathers affirmeth, that those of the Egyptians which staid in the country, and did not follow *Pharaoh* in the pursuit of *Israel*, did euer after honour those Beasts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were busied at the time of *Pharaohs* destruction: as he that was then labouring in his garden, made a god of that Plant or Root, about which he was occupied: and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall bee giuen elsewhere. *Orosius* in his first Booke and tenth Chapter against the Pagans, tels vs, that in his time, who liued some 400. years after Christ, the prints of *Pharaohs* Chariot wheelles were to be seen at a low water on the Egyptian sands: and though they were sometime defaced by winde and weather, yet soone after they appeared again. But hercof I leaue euery man to his own beliefe.

CHAP. IV.

Of the iournyng of the Israelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was giuen them: with a discourse of Lawes.

§. I.

50 *A transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the storie, vntill the Amalekites met with the Israelites.*



Vt to goe on with the storie of *Israel*, in this sort I collect the times. *Moses* was borne in the yeare of the World 2434. *Saphrus* then gouerning *Assyria*, *Orthopolis* *Sycionia*, or *Peloponnesus*, *Crisius* the *Argiues*, *Orus* *Egypt*, *Assi* 7. and *Deucalion* *Thessalie*. He fled into *Midian* when he had liued 40. years, *Iosua* 14. in the yeere of the World 2474. and two yeares after was *Caleb* borne. 2474 He returned by the commandement and ordinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought his

25 14. his miracles in the fields of Zoan, in the year 25 14. the last moneth of that year. On the 14. day of the first Hebrew moneth Abib, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sun setting, in the year of the world 25 14. was the celebration of the Passover: and in the dead of the night of the same day were all the first-borne slain through Egypt, or in all those parts where the Hebrewes inhabited nor. The 15. day of the first moneth of the Hebrewes called Abib, being about the beginning of the year of the World 25 14. *Moses* with the children of Israel removed from the generall assembly at Ramases, and marched to Succoth.

Exod. 12.
Num. 33.

Exod. 13.

Num. 33.

Exod. 14.

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Exod. 14.

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Exod. 15.

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Exod. 15.

Num. 33.

And departing thence they made their third Station at Etham: and journeying from Etham, they incamped in the Vally of Pihacheroth, or Migdol, vnder the Mountain Baalzephon; and in the same night after mid-night, they past the Red Sea: *Pharaoh* and his Army perishing in their returne, about the first dawne of the day. *Moses* hauing recovered the banks of Arabia, gaue thanks vnto God, for the deliury of Israel; and making no stay on that coast, entred the Desarts of Arabia Petrea, called Sur. But finding no water in that passage, he incamped at Marah, in the Desart of Etham, which in *Exod. 15. v. 22.* is also called Sur, 25 miles from the Sea: where the children of Israel preist with extreame thirst, murmured against *Moses* the second time; first at *Pharaohs* approach in Pihacheroth, and now in Arabia. But *Moses* taking the branches of a tree, growing neer a Lake of bitter water, and casting the same therinto, made the same sweet: a plain Type and Figure of our Saniour; who vpon the tree of the Crosse changed the bitternesse of euerslating death into the sweetnesse of eternall life. *Plinie* remembers these bitter Fountaines in his sixth Book and 29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in Egypt, *Sesostris* first, *Darius* after him, and lastly *Protonie* the second, began to cut an artificiall Riuer, therby by Boats and small Shipping to trade & nauigate the Red Sea, from the great Cities vpon Nilus. From Marah he removed to Elim, the sixth Mansion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelue Fountaines of sweet water, and threescore and ten Palme trees, he rested diuers dayes.

Whether this Helim were the name of a Towne or City in *Moses* time, I cannot affirme. And yet the scarcity of waters in that Region was such, as Helim, which had twelue Fountaines, could hardly be left vnpeopled. *William*, Archbishop of Tyre, in his History of the Holy warre, found at Helim the ruines of a great and ancient City. And at such time as *Baldwine* the first past that way into Egypt. *Ingressus* (saith he) *Helim*, *Ciuitatem antiquissimam*, *populo Israelitico aliquando familiarem*; *ad quam cum peruenisset, loci illius incolae, Regis aduentu praecognito, nauiculam ingredientes, in mare visum se contulerunt*, *Entering Helim a very ancient City, well known sometime to the people of Israel; whither, when he came, the inhabitants forewarned of the Kings approach, took Boate, and bisited themselves into the Sea, lying neere them.* From Elim he returned again towards the South, and fate downe by the banks of the Red Sea: the seuenth mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who repaired to relist his passage through that part of Arabia. And *Moses* who had not as yet trained those of the Hebrewes, appointed to beare armes: nor assured the mindes of the rest, who encountering with the least misery, were more apt to returne to their quiet slavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which euery where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to vndertake or sustain so dangerous an enemy: he therefore made stay at this Mansion, vntill the fiftenth of his second Moneth called Zim, or Iar: and made the eight Mansion in the Desart of Zim, where the children of Israel mutined against *Moses* the third time, hauing want of food. In the sixteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this reitrait from Elim to the red Sea, but in the collection of euery seuerall incamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is set downe.

Exod. 16.

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Exod. 16.

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Exod. 16.

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Here it pleased God to send so many flights of Quails, as all the Country about their incamping was couered with them. The morning following it also rained Manna, being the sixteenth of their Moneth, which serued them in stead of bread. For now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of Egypt. And though they had great numbers of cattell and sheepe among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feed themselves with many of those: but reserued them both for the milke to releue the children withall: and for bread to store themselves when they came to the Land promised.

Exod. 16.

Exod. 16.

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Exod. 16.

From hence towards Raphidim they made two remoues of twenty miles: the one to

to *Daphca*, the other to *Alus*, distant from *Raphidim* fixe miles. Here being againe preist with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from Egypt, where they rather contented themselves to be fed and beaten after the manner of beasts, than to suffer a casuall and sometime necessary want, and to vndergoe the hazzards and trauailes which euery manly minde seeketh after, for the loue of God, and their own freedoms. But *Moses* with the same rod which he diuided the Sea with, all, in the sight of the *Elders of Israel*, brought waters out of the rocke, wherewith the whole multitude were satisfied.

10

§. II.

Of the *Amalekites*, *Madamites*, and *Kenites*, upon occasion of the battell with the *Amalekites*, and *Iethro*es coming: who being a *Kenite*, was Priest of *Midian*.

And while *Moses* incamped in this place, the *Amalekites* who had knowledge of his approach, and ghesied that he meant to leade the children of *Israel* through their Country (which being barren of it selfe, would be vterly wasted by so great a multitude of people and cattell) thought it most for their aduantage to set vpon them at *Raphidim*: where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of 20 man infeebl'd them. On the other side, *Moses* perceiuing their resolutions, gaue charge to *Iosua* to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest *Hebrewes*, to incounter *Amalech*. Between whom and *Israel*, the victory remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day: the *Hebrewes* and *Amalekites* contending with equall hopes & repulses for many hours. And had not the strength of *Moses* prayers to God been of far greater force, and more preualent, than all resistance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprife. For those bodies which are vnacquainted with scarcity of food, and those mines whom a seruile education hath dulled, being beaten, & despaired in their first attempts, will hardly, or neuer be brought again to hazzard themselves.

After this victory, *Iethro* repaired to *Moses*, bringing with him *Moses* his wife, and his two Sons, which either *Iethro* forbore to conduct, or *Moses* to receiue, till he had by this ouerthrow of *Amalech* the better assured himselfe of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in the 18. of *Exod. v. 1.* When *Iethro* the Priest of *Midian*, *Moses* Father in Law heard all that God had done for *Moses*, &c. of which, the last deed, to wit, the ouerthrow of *Amalech*, gaue *Iethro* courage and assurance, hee then repaired to his sonne in law *Moses*, at *Sinai*, where amongst other things, he aduised *Moses* to appoint *Iudges*, and other *Officers*, ouer *Israel*, being himselfe vnable to giue order in all causes and controuersies, among so many thousands of people, full of discontentment and priuate controuersie.

This *Iethro*, although he dwelt amongst the *Midianites*, yet he was by Nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Iudges. v. 11. & 17.* it is manifest; where it is written; Now Heber the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, to wit, the sonne of *Iethro*, the father in law of *Moses*, was departed from the *Kenites*, and pitched his Tents vntill the Plaine of *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kadesh*. Likewise in the first of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, lest hee should destroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountaines of *Sin Kadesh*: and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the Plains, according to the saying of *Balaam*, speaking of the *Kenites*; Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the Rocke. And that *Saul* spared this Nation, hee giueth for cause; that they shewed mercy to all the children of *Israel*, when they came vp from Egypt. For these *Kenites* were a Nation of the *Midianites*, and the *Midianites* were of the issues of *Midian*, one of the sixe sonnes which *Abraham* begat on *Kethura*: and might also take that name of *Kenites* from *Kethura*, of whom they descended by the Mother, who (as it seemeth) kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they receiued from their parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when hee fled out of Egypt into *Midian*, and married the daughter of *Iethro*, would not (had he found them Idolaters) haue made *Iethros* daughter the Mother of his children. And although the *Kenites* are named amongst those Nations, vvhich God promised, that the seede of *Abraham* should roote out, and inherite their lands; yet it cannot bee meant by these, who are descended from *Abraham* himselfe: but by some other Nation, bearing the

the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For in the fifteenth of *Genesis* verse nineteenth, these *Kenites* or *Chusites* are listed with the *Hittites* & *Perizzites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites*, and *Iebusites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites*, descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as it is before remembred, *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*, that is to say, from those *Kenites* of *Canaan*; and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kadesh* or *Kadesb*. Again, *Moses* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham's* other sonnes were borne: which he did (referring my self to better iudgement) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

And as of the *Kenites*, so wee may consider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moses* into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and heathens; as those of *Madian* by the River *Zared*, afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the *Madianites* neere the banks of the *Red Sea*, where *Moses* married his wife *Zipora*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of *Amalech*, seeme likewise not to haue bene corrupted. For these *Madianites* with the *Kenites*, assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the *Desarts*. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*, called *Petrea*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adioyning to the *Red Sea* were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of *Madian*, of whom *Iethro* was Priest, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not haue sent 12000. *Israelites*, as far backe as the *Red Sea*, from the *Plaines* of *Moab*, to haue destroyed that *Madian*, where his wiues kindred inhabited; seeing himself comming with 600000. able men, was encountred by *Amalech*, in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable *Desarts*, wherein himselfe and *Israel* had wandred 40. yeeres.

That *Iethro*, or *Iethor*, *Raguel*, or *Renel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the Scriptures teach vs. For the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our *Englisb* *Renel*, *Exodus* 2. 18. calls him *Iethro*, or *Iethor*, *Exod.* 3. & v. 1. c. 4. v. 18. & c. 18. 1. & 6. 9. 10. & 12. and in *Num.* c. 10. v. 29. *Hobab*. Others take *Iethro* & *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

S. III.

Of the time when the Law was giuen; with diuers commendations of the inuention of Lawes.

THE rest of the moneths of this yeere 25 15. were spent in the *Desart* of *Sinai*, neere the mountaine of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, the twelfth Mansion. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* or *Horeb* were distinct mountaines: *Hierome*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For, in *Exod.* 3. v. 1. it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exod.* 24. v. 19. it is written *Sinai*. In the 106. *Psalme* v. 19. *Horeb*: in *Exod.* 19. 11. *Sinai*. And so it is called, *Galatians* 4. 24. and againe, *Deut.* 1. 10. & 15. & *Deut.* 5. 2. *Horeb*. And so it is in the first of *Kings* 8. 6. and the second of *Chron.* 5. 10. and in *Malachie* 4. 4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus* the 48. 7. they are named as one, which bearded (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) the rebuke of the Lord in *Sinai*, and in *Horeb* the iudgement of the vengeance. Somewhat they are disioyned in the top by the report of *Peter Belonius*; who in the yeere 1588. past out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsieur de Fumes* of *France*, and trauielled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by far the higher hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there falleth a very faire spring of water into the Valley adioyning: where he found two Monasteries of *Christian Maronites*, containing some 100. Religious persons of diuers Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and excellent wine. These (saith the same Author) giue entertainment to all strangers, which passe that way.

Now that there was some such Torrent of water neere *Sinai* in *Moses* time; it is very probable: First, because hee incamped thereabout almost a yeere, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: secondly, because it is written, *Exod.* 32. 20. that when *Moses* had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which *Aaron* set vp in his absence, hee cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drinke thereof.

On this mountaine, the Law by the Angel of God was giuen to *Moses*, where hee staied

staied a whole yeere, wanting some ten or twelue daies: for he remoued not till the 20. day of the second moneth of the second yeere; and hee arriued about the 45. day after the egression: the Law being giuen the 50. day.

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that booke; all in *Leuiticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no storie nor other passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speake somewhat of the Law, and the kindes and vse thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the story any way disioyned, hee may turne ouer a few leaues; and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can bee neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, leuell, and square of Lawes: so it pleased God to giue thereby vnto *Moses* the powerfulllest meane (his miraculous grace excepted) to gouern that multitude which hee conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the North starre is the most fixed directour of the Seaman to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the guide and conductor of all in generall, to the haue of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his creatures: the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very spirit, & the very sinewes of euery Estate in the world, by which they liue and moue: the Law, to wit, a iust law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without lust, and to a Minde without passion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for euery man what he hath, and distributeth to euery man what he ought to haue. This benefit the *Ancient*, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those which weretaken for the first makers of Lawes, were honoured as gods, or as the sonnes of gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posteritie for men of no lesse vertue, and no lesse liberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerours that euer gouerned them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, receiued their Lawes from one: as the *Israelites* from *Moses*; the *Lacedemonians* from *Lycargus*; the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romans* sometime from their first Kings, from their *Decemviri*; from their *Senators*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themselves: others from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Christian Monarchies* and *Estates*.

S. IIII.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.

THE word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not alwaies taken alike, but is diuersly, and in an indifferent sense vied. For if wee consider it at large, it may bee vnderstood for any rule prescribing a necessarie meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any private ordinance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandements of Tyrants, which they cause to be obserued by force, for their decrees do also vsurpe that title, according to the generall acceptation of the word *Law*: of which *Esay*, *Woe vnto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grievous things*. Likewise, the word is vied for the tumultuary resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call Lawes, though euill and vnjust: *ut lex est, que tumultuaria posita est: it is an ill law, which is made tumultuously*. So as all ordinances, either good or euill, are called by the name of Lawes.

The word *Lex* is also taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it selfe, as to their patterne and plat-forme. And thus the law of the flesh which the *Diuines* call *legem sensibus*, is to be vnderstood. For euery law is a kinde of patterne of that which is done according vnto it, in which sense as elsewhere, this morall habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or signetum of the heart: so in *S. Paul* to the *Romans* it is called a Law: *But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the Law of my minde, and leading me captive vnto the law of sinne*. Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometime called Lawes, so far as they agree with the reason of the law eternall; as the law of a *Lion*, to be fierce or valiant.

Also private contracts among Merchants and other Trades-men, do often put on the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly, is taken for a right rule, prescribing a necessary meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Ciuill communie. The rest, to wit, the comādements of Tyrants, &c. which haue not the common good for their end, but being *leges inique*, are by *Thomas* called *violensie magis quam leges*; rather compulsiōns than lawes: And whatsoever is not iust, *S. Augustine* doth not allow for lawes, howsoeuer established: for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, quae nec cura dicendi, nec putanda sunt*; The vniuersall constitutions of men which are neither to be termed nor thought lawes. For, saith *Aristotle*, *Legalia iusta sunt saltem, & conseruatiua felicitatis*; Iust lawes are the workers and preseruers of happinesse: because by them we are directed ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life, according to *Cicero*: Yea, to life euerslasting, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the Law, saith *Plato*, is God and his worship: *Finitis legis Deus & cultus eius*. Lex, or the Law is so called by the Latines à legendo, or à ligando, of reading or binding: *Leges quia lecta & ad populum lata*, saith *Varro*; For after Lawes were written and published, all men might reade them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other Etymology, à ligando, is no lesse agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as *confregerunt iugum, diruperunt vincula*: they haue broken the yoke, they haue broken the bands. And in the second *Psalm*, *Dirupimus vincula eorum, & projecimus a nobis funes ipsorum*; Let vs break their bands in sunder, and cast away their cords from vs.

The *Covenant* it is called, because of the conditionall promises of God: and because of Gods peoples voluntary submission of themselves vnto it: for which vword the *Septuagint*, and the *Epistle to the Hebrewes*, vse the word *διαθηκη*, a Testament or last will: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectuall for our saluation, but in respect of the death of the Testator; for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force: as *Hebr. 9. 17.* it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est*.

The *Hebrewes* call the law *Thorah* of teaching, because euery man is thereby taught his dutie, both to God and Men. The *Greekes* call it *Nomos* of distributing, because it distributeth to euery man his owne due; the power of the law is the power of God: iustice being an attribute proper vnto God himselfe. *Imperium legis imperium Dei est*; The reigne of the law is the reigne of God.

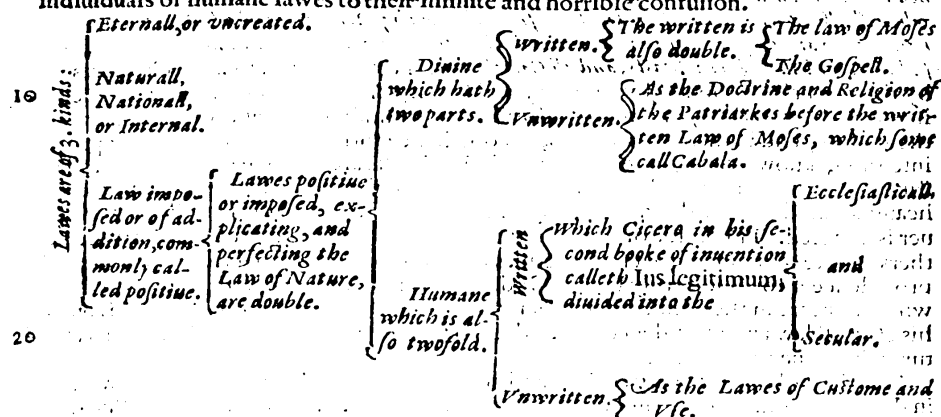
Law in generall is thus defined by the Philosophers: *Lex est vite regula, praecipiens quae sunt sequenda, & quae fugienda*; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to shun: or *Lex est omnium diuinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; Law is the Queene or Princeesse of things both humane and diuine. But this description is grounded vpon the opinion of ineuitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of Nature: the reason and vnderstanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *index sui & curui*, the demonstration of it selfe, and of the crooked: so is the law, the iudge and measure of right and wrong.

M. Hooker calls the Law a directive rule to goodnesse of operation: and though law as touching the substance and essence, consist in vnderstanding: *Comprehendit tamen actum voluntatis*; Yet it comprehends the act of our will. The word *Lex* is also diuersly taken, as sometime for the matter of the law and for common right: sometime for the law it selfe: as *Lex ciuile*, or *Lex gentium*. *Isidore* distinguisheth the two generall words *Lex* and *Fas*: whereof *Lex*, saith he, hath reference to men, *Fas* to God: *Fas lex diuina, Lex lex humana*. To goe out another mans field, is permitted, by Gods law, not by mans; and therefore in a thing out of controuersie, *Virgil* vsed both these words: as *Fus & iura sumus*, God and men permit.

The word *Lex* or Right, is deriued or taken from the old substantiue Nowne *insu*, a bidding or commandment: or perhaps from the Greeke *ζωω* which is the name of *Insu*, or of the Latine genitiue case *Iouis*; because as the Scripture speaks, the iudgement is Gods. For as it is certaine that *insu-inandum* came of *Iouis-inandum*, (for so we find it written in *Namus* out of the ancient, in which sense the Scripture calls it *iuramentum lebona*) so also we may say, that *Lex* came of *Iouis*, quia *Iouis est*: because as God is the Author, and Patterne, and Maintainer of right, so also in his *Kiegers* the *Magistrates*, he is the pronouncer and executor of right. Of this *Lex* the iust are denominated, *iustus & iure*, and *iustitia à iusto*; The right giues name to the righteous: and *iniustice* takes her name from the *insu*.

Of the definition of Lawes, and of the Law eternall.

But because lawes are manifold, and that euery kinde hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, fitt to diuide and distinguish them. I meane those sorts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawne: leauing the individuals of humane lawes to their infinite and horrible confusion.



The law eternall is thus defined by *Thomas*. *Lex aeterna est aeternum diuine sapientie conceptum, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso praecognitum*; The eternall law is the eternall conceit of Gods wisdom as it is referred to the government of things foreknown by himselfe. Or, *Lex aeterna est summa atque aeterna ratio diuine sapientie: quatenus res omnes ad destinatas fines ita dirigit, ut illis iuxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat*; It is the high and eternall reason of diuine sapience: as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kinde of necessity according to their severall natures, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the same diuine vnderstanding directeth all these to their proper ends; so it is called prouidence: but as it imposeth a necessity according to the nature of all things which it directeth, so it is called a law.

Of this eternall law *Cicero* took knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, he wrote in this manner. *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & a delicto auocans: quae non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est: sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente diuina: quia obrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad iubendum & ad vnuendum ratio est recta summi Iouis*; That perfect reason and nature of things incontinuing or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling vs backe from euill, did not (saith hee) then begin to be a law when it was written: but when it had being. Being and beginning is had together with diuine vnderstanding, and therefore a true law and a fit Princeesse to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God. This eternall law, (if we consider it in God, or as God,) is alwaies one and the same, the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to diuers objects, so the reason of man findes it diuers and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the heauens; stabilitie of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another law to men, another to other creatures, hauing life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counsaile and prouidence of God: from this law all lawes are deriued, as from the rule vniuersall: and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternall, and the diuine Law, differ only in consideration; the eternall directing more largely: as well euery creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man to his supernaturall: but the diuine law to a supernaturall end only: the naturall law is thence deriued, but an effect of the eternall: as it were a streame from this fountaine.

The Law humane or temporall is also thence drawn: in that it hath the forme of right reason: from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua*, a wicked imposition: and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are subiected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures,

creatures, or things created; whether necessary or contingent, naturall or morall, & humane. For the Law eternall runneth through all the vniuersall, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, naturall and inanimate.

Psal. 148.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Directour: as, *Praise him all ye his Angels: praise him Sunne and Moone, all bright Starres: beaues of beaues, for he hath established them for ever and euer. He hath made an ordinance which shall not passe: Praise ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all Deepes: Fire and haile, snow and vapours, stormie windes, which execute his word: mountaines and hills, fruitfull trees and all Cedars: Beasts, and all Cattel, &c.* Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glory and felicity proposed vnto them (beatitude being both the attractiue, and the end) so all other naturall things and creatures, haue in themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formall to it, without any proper intention, known cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and naturall instinct: things without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heauy to fall downward: things light to mount vpward, &c. and fire to heate whatsoeuer is apposed. This kinde of working the Aristotelians ascribe to common nature: others to fate: a difference vsed in termes only; it being no other than Gods generall providence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnium super omnia*: so are all things which appeare in themselves thence deriued: there-vnder subiected: thence-from by his eternall law and providence directed, euen from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heauen and in earth.

L. i. de lib. arb. cap. 6.

The Schoolemen are very curious and ample in the consideration of these lawes: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternall law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who haue thence-from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them: so is the object and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to S. Augustine, *Lex aeterna est, qua iustum est, ut omnia sint ordinatissima*; The law eternall is that, whereby it is iust, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Iohn 18. 10. Psal. 69. 22.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternall law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which S. Augustine vseth a sufficient argument in his first Booke of *Free-will*, the sixth Chapter. For the law of *Moses* which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last vntill the time of the *Paedagogie* of Gods people, or introduction to Christ should bee expired; which time of expiration some thinke our Sauour noted to be come, when on the Crosse he said, *Consummatum est*. But I rather thinke these words of our Sauour to haue no other signification, than that now the prophetic of their giuing him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For so Saint Iohn expounds it, when hee saith v. 28. *That Christ seeing all (other) things to be fulfilled, vs consummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said, I thirst*: though I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremoniall, and of so much of the iudiciall, as appertained peculiarly to the Iewes, and agreeth not with the law of the new Testament and Gospel of Christ. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it selfe; but the things prescribed, change according to this eternall ordinance, of which the *Wisdome of Salomon*, And being one see can doe all things, and remaining in her selfe reneweth all.

§. VI. Of the Law of Nature.

Augustin Ep. ad Hil. 80 & in Euang. Ioh. tra R. 49. Vlp. de in Iuria & in R. l. i. tit. 1.

OF the law of Nature as it is taken in generall, I finde no definition among the Schoolemen: only as it is considered in man, it is called the *impression of diuine light*, and a participation of the eternall law in the reasonable creature. *Lex naturalis est impressio diuini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis aeternae in rationali creatura*. Vlpian defines the naturall law to be the same which nature hath taught all liuing creatures: *Lex naturalis est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit*: and hee afterward addeth, *Lex istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quae terra marique nascuntur, animam quoque commune est*; The law of Nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all liuing creatures, as well to birds, as to those which the Land and Sea produceth.

But

But this definition is not generall, but of the naturall Law in things of life.

The Law of nature in generall, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formall quality, which God in his eternall providence hath giuen and imprinted in the nature of euery creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *diuinum lumen* in Men, inlightning our formall reason; so is it more than sense in Beasts, and more than vegetation in plants. For it is not sense alone in Beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, and without experience or instruction, to shie from the enemies of their liues: seeing that Bulles and Horses appeare vnto the sense more fearefull and terrible, than the least kind of Dogges; and yet the Hare and Deere feedeth by the one, and lieth from the other, yea, though by them neuer scene before, and that as soone as they fall from their Dammes. Neither is it sense which hath taught other Beasts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their nests, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of *India* to make their nests on the smallest twiggies which hang ouer Rivers, and not on any other part of the tree, or else where: to saue their egges and young ones from the Monkeys, and other Beasts, whose weight such a twigge will not beare: and which would feare to fall into the water. The instances in this kinde are exceeding many which may bee giuen. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the female of the *Palm-tree*, will not beare any fruit except the male grow in sight. But this they doe by that Law, which the infinite and vnsearchable wisdom of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for euery nature created. In man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt; where the reason of man hath made it selfe subiect, and a Vassall to passions, and affections brutall: and incorrupt, where time and custome hath bred in men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kinde of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which Saint Augustine calleth the Law of reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law constrained to become Idolaters; that by the Lawes of *Ejurgus* it was permitted to men to vse one anothers Wife, and to the Woman to chooche them others besides their Husbands, to beget them with childe: which law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

Supra. §. 4. ex loco ad Rom. 7. 23.

Theod. l. 9. de curandis affect. Graecorum.

Aristo.

The *Seythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to bury with them the best beloued wiues: as also they haue many other customes remembered by *G. Valentia*, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these Lawes some men auow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithlesse among the faithlesse: to provide for our selues by another mans destruction: that iniury is not done to him that is willing: to destroy those whom we feare, and the like. For taking the definition of naturall Lawes, either out of Saint Augustine or *Aquinas*, (the one calling it the *impression of diuine light*, the other, the *dictate* or sentence of *practique reason*) the same can teach vs, or incline vs to no other thing, than to the exercise of Iustice and vprightnesse: and not to offer or performe any thing toward others, saue that which we would be content should be offered or performed toward our selues. For such is the Law of Nature to the minde, as the eye is to the body, and that which according to *David* sheweth vs good, that is, the obseruation of those things which leade vs thereby to our last end, which is eternall life: though of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Nemo iure naturae cum alterius detrimento locupletari debet.

Rom. 4.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the Law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of Gods diuine light in men, and a participation of the Law increased and eternall. For without any Law written, the right reason and vnderstanding, which God hath giuen vs, are abilities within our selues, sufficient to giue vs knowledge of the good and euill, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for our selues. For when the *Gentiles* (saith Saint Paul) which haue not the Law, doe by nature those things contained in the Law: they haue not the Law, are a Law vnto themselves. Now, to loue God by whom we are, and to doe the same right vnto all men, which we desire should be done vnto vs, is an effect of the purest reason: in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation, *In arce altissima rationis quies habitat*. Therefore, the *Gentiles* (saith Saint Paul) which shew the effects of the Law written in their hearts, haue their consciences for a witness of those effects: and they reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.

A 3

And

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himselfe (while hee hopeth to abuse the world by the advantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his owne soule, by crafty unrighteousnesse, purchasing eternall perdition. For it helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eye, seeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them : some Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the world, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arefcit; Those flowers wither while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That we should therefore inhabite and dwell within our selves, and become fearefull witnesses of our secretest euils, did that reuerend Philosopher *Pythagoras* teach in this golden precept: *Nil turpe committis, neque coram alijs, neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipsum; Commit nothing foule or dishonour, faith he, neither to be knowne to others, nor to thine owne heart: but above all men reuerence thine owne conscience.* And this may be a precept of nature and right reason : by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their owne forme; as fire to give heate. Now, as the reasonable minde is the forme of man, so is he aptly moued to those things which his proper forme presenteth vnto him : to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of vertue; and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable : as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitiue, growing, and inanimate, obey the Law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

Gen. 1. The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the hearbe which seedeth seede, &c. and the Beast, which liueth thereon. Hee gaue a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obey. Hee made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the Sunne to moue, and to giue light, and to serue for signes and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their natures and formes; the whole world would then perish, and all returne to the first *Chaos*, darknesse, and confusion.

Iob. 1. 28. By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reason, did *Cain* perceiue his owne wickednesse, and offence, in the murder of *Abel*: for he not only feared the displeasure of God, but the revenge of men: it being written in his reason, that whatsoeuer he performed towards others, the same by others might be done vnto him againe. And that this judgement of well and euill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall Law, before the Law written: *Moses* in the person of God witnesseth, *Gen. 4. If thou doe well, shalt thou not be accepted, and if thou doe not well, sinne lyeth at thy doore.*

The Schoolemen are large also in this question of the naturall Law: the same being opened amply by *Keimerius*, *Antonius*, and *Valentia*. But it is not my purpose to write a Volume of this subiect.

Tb. 4. 94. art. 2. But this Law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth an act of reason taken properly, and not a habite, as it is an euident naturall iudgement of practique reason: they diuide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and euill eschewed) and demonstrable, which is euidently proued, out of higher and more vniuersall propositions. Again, as it answereth the naturall appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be auoyded as euill (as of the first, to desire to liue, and to satisfie hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew paines, sorrow, and death) in this consideration they diuide it, according to the diuers kinds of appetites that are in vs. For in euery man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of naturall Law. The first is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to liue, and to preserve our being and life, also the desire of issue, with care to provide for them: for the Father after his death liues in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable lawes of nature, for the most part. For it needs no prooffe, that all creatures should desire to be, to liue, and to be defended, and to liue in their issue, when they cannot in themselves. And as man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*: so he doth desire good, and shun euill. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their owne natures, which is, to desire their owne good. And so is Good defined by *Aristotle*, to be that which all desire. Which definition *Basil* vpon the 44. *Psalme* approveth: *Kellē quidem Bonum definierunt. Quod omnia expetant; Rightly haue some men defined Good, or Goodnesse, to be that which all things desire.*

Ethic. 1. 1. c. 1.

The

The second kinde of appetite is of those things which appertaine to vs, as wee haue sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, we desire the delights of euery sense, but with such moderation, as may neither glut vs with satiety, nor hurt vs with excessse. For as Sense it selfe is for the preservation of life and being : so is it meete, euen by the Law of nature, that the sensitiue appetite should not carry vs to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beasts) we may well say, that Nature hath giuen diuers Lawes vnto them: In which sense the *Civilians* define *Naturall right*, or *Ius naturale*, to be the same which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures; Yet the Schoolemen admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a Law, but only a *Ius*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aime of euery Law. For so they distinguish it; where *Vlpian* affirmeth, that *Ius naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures. In this place (saith *Valentia*) *Ius* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where *Vlpian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to liuing creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Ius naturae*, the other *Ius gentium*: the Diuines vnderstand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all euident dictates, precepts, or biddings of diuine reason: both in beasts and men; and restraints the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertaine properly to man, as hee is a liuing creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selues : and the Lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our Religion.

Now although there are many other branches and diuisions of this law of nature answering the diuision of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: first, because it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or moriue faculty, which is but one, stirring vnto good, and declining the contrary : secondly, because all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and ill auoyded : and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

30 That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest : and chiefly man ; because he is indued with reason ; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of obseruing the law of nature increaseth, *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, Ad iudicium mandatu, peccatum remissit; When reason grew to perfection, then it came to passe, which was written by Saint Paul, when the Commandement came, sinne remitted.* Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which breake the same, are said by Saint Paul, To be deliuered ouer into a reprobate sense (or minde) to doe those things which are not conuenient : and againe, that their consciences beare witness, and their thoughts accuse them. For, though this law of nature stretch not to euery particular : as to command fasting and the like : yet, it commandeth in generall all good, and whatsoeuer is agreeable to right and reason. And therefore, said *Damasianus*; *Homines falli sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est; Men (saith he) are made euill, by declining vnto that which is contrary to nature: and Saint Augustine, Omne vitium natura nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary vnto it.*

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so straight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to vnequall merit : by taking from the euill, and giuing to the good : and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enioy the fruites of their labours to themselves : according to the rules of iustice and equitie.

50 And though the Law of nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes, this her law shee suffereth to be broken : as to denie a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the vniuersall principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable : who according to Saint Paul, abideth faithful, and cannot denie himselfe.

1 Tim. 2.

§. VII. Of the written Law of GOD.

Aug. de Civit.
Dei. lib. 1.

After the eternall, and naturall, the law *Positive* or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather *exposition* of the former, hath two kinds: *Diuine* and *Humane*. Again, the diuine *positiue* law is double; the *Olde* and *New*: The *Old* was giuen vnto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at such time as the world had stood 2513. whole yeeres: and in the 67. day of this yeere, when as *Asatades* or *Assades* gouerned the *Assyrians*, *Marathus* the *Sycionians*, *Triopus* the *Argiues*, *Cecrops* *Attica*, and *Acherres* *Egypt*: to wit, after the promise to *Abraham*, 430. yeeres. And this it seemes, was the first written law which the world receiued. For the very word *Nomos*, signifying a law, was not then, nor long after inuented by the *Gracians*: no not in *Homers* time, who liued after the fall of *Troy* 80. yeeres at least: and *Troy* it selfe was cast downe 335. yeeres, after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This Law, it pleased God to ingraue in stone, that it might remaine a lasting booke of his exprest will in the Church; and that the Priests and people might haue, whereof to meditate, till the comming of *Christ*: and that so these Children of *Israel*, though bred among an Idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuse: the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason knowne to vs why this Law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their liues long, the *Elders* of Families might easily without any written Law, instruct their owne Children: and yet as they increased, so doubtlesse they had, besides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the Law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the law of Nature did not define all kinds of good, and euill; nor condemne euery sinne in particular: nor sufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders: nor so expound diuine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gaue euery day lesse authority than other to the naturall Law; In these respects it was necessary, that the Law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men: which before, they might, but would not reade, in their owne consciences. The *Schoolmen*, and the *Fathers* before them, enlarge the causes and necessity, why the Law was written, whereof these are the cheefest.

The first, for restraining of sinne, directly grounded vpon this place of *Dauid*, *The law of the Lord is vndefiled, conuerting soules: The testimonies of the Lord are faithfull, giuing wisdom to children.* For the humane Law, saith Saint *Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profit: but the diuine law written, forbiddeth euery euill, and therefore by *Dauid* it is called vndefiled.

Secondly, it serueth for the direction of our mindes. For the Lawes of men can onely take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internall motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that wee be no lesse cleane in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *conuerting our soules*, added by *Dauid*: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*. *Adhiones hominum nulla essent, nisi prius in mente discrecentur: The actions of men (say they) would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the minde.*

Thirdly, it leadeth vs to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diuersitie of opinion, and difference of peculiar Lawes among sundrie Nations, wee cannot bee assured of; but the Law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without error: and therefore also said *Dauid*, *That the testimony of the Law of God is faithfull: giuing wisdom to children.*

§. VIII. Of the unwritten Law of God, giuen to the Patriarkes by Tradition.

NOW, that in all this long tract of time, betwene the creation and the written Law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appeare. For the *Patriarkes* of the first Age receiued many precepts from God him selfe, and whatsoeuer was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was obserued by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*: from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Ioseph*, and *Moses*. Yea many particular Commandements afterward written, were formerly imposed and deliuered ouer by Tradition; which kinde of teaching the *Iewes* afterward called

called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*: precepts receiued from the mouth of their *Priests* and *Elders*: to which the *Iewes* after the law written, added the interpretation of secret mysteries, referred in the bosomes of their *Priests*, and vnlawfull to be vttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the diuine law reuealed to the *Patriarkes*, and from them deliuered to the posterity, when as yet it was vnwritten. The Commandements which God gaue vnto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that hee should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of vnderstanding they were sufficiently knowne. For finding the reason of his owne name *Adam*, or *Adamah*, Earth, or red clay, he gaue other names significant, not onely to beasts, but to his Children and Nephewes, which afterward his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather, one giuen in recompence for *Abel* that was slaine: and *Enosh* signifieth man or miserable; &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the ground, and to liue by the labour thereof: God also gaue him the choise of all fruits, but the forbidden; and in *Adam* also was marriage first instituted: all men thence-after being commanded to cohabit with their Wiues, rather than with their Father or Mother.

That murder and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood it selfe, it is manifest. God him selfe making it appeare, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankind by the generall flood. For God said vnto *Noah*, *An end of all flesh is come before me: for the earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold, I will destroy them* from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be vnknown to all that perished: Gods mercy and justice interposing between the vntaught, and reuenge. This commandment God repeated to *Noah*, after the waters were dried vp from the earth: *who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God hath he made man.*

Also the law of honouring and reuerencing our parents, was obserued among the faithfull, and the contrary punished by the fathers curse: as, *Cursed be Canaan, a seruant of seruants shall he be vnto his brethren.* Again, we finde that the vnnatural sin of the *Sodomites* was punished in the highest degree, as with fire from heauen. The sinne of Adulterie and *Rauishment*, was before the law no lesse detested than the rest, as appeareth by that reuenge, taken for *Dina*'s forcing: and by the iudgement which *Iuda* gaue against *Tamar*, That she should be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* & *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the woman which thou hast taken: for she is a mans wife.* To these we may adde the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of cleane and vncleane beasts; of Circumcision, of the brother to raise vp seed to his brother that left a widow childlesse, and diuers other constitutions, partly Morall, and partly Ceremoniall, which being deliuered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Diuine Law imposed*, of which the Law of *Moses* containeth that which is called *The old Testament*, may be said, not onely to haue bene written in the hearts of men, before it was engrauen in stone, but also in substance to haue bene giuen in precept to the *Patriarkes*. For as *S. Paul* witnesseth of him selfe, *I knew not sinne, but by the Law:* so euer the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kinde of vnwritten law; the *Angels* intuitiue; Men by reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, with our discourse; Plants by their vegetatiue powers; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or preception.

§. IX. Of the Morall, Iudiciall, and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

NOW as the word (*Law*) in general, as is afore said, hath diuers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and restraine: so the Law, called the Law of *Moses* in particular, is taken by *S. Paul* diuersly; as sometime for all the old Testament, as, *Now we know whatsoeuer the Law saith, it saith to them which are vnder the Law.*

When it is opposed, or differenced from the *Prophets* and *Psalmes*, it is there taken for the five Bookes of *Moses*. For so *S. Luke* hath distinguished them; as, *All must bee fulfilled which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalmes.*

* The common reading is *cruentia*: but God did not destroy the earth: and why may not this proposition in this place, haue the same force, which it hath according to *Isaiah*, Gen. 4. 1. Item 44. 4. & Deut. 34. 1. especially, seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is said, verse 7. *Deleb. hominem de superficie terre.* Gen. 9. 6. Gen. 14. 25. Gen. 38. 24.

Rom. 3. 19.

Luc. 24. 44.

Rom. 7: 12.

When it is opposed to the *Gospel*, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is iustified by Faith, without the works of the Law.*

Rom. 6: 14.
Gal. 3: 18.

When it is opposed to *Grace*, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and *summum ius*: as, *For ye are not under the Law, but under Grace.*

John 1: 17.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or signes are taken for the things signified; as the *Sacrifice for Christ*, and the like: then it signifieth but shadows and figures; as, *The Law was giuen by Moses, but grace & truth came by Iesus Christ.*

Gal. 3: 23.
Law 16.6.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of *Christs* coming, it signifieth the whole polity of the *Jewes* Common-weale; as, *Before faith came, we were kept under the Law, &c.* Or the Law of the order and institution of the *Aaronicall Priesthood*; as, *All the Prophets and the Law, or the Priests prophesied vnto Iohn.* And if the *Priesthood* be changed, the Law also, to wit, of the *Priesthood*, must needs be changed.

Rom. 8: 1.
Rom. 7: 23.

The word (*Law*) is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, *The Law of the Spirit of life, the Law or the force of sinne and death, the enforcements of concupiscence, &c.*

James 2: 10.

But the *written Law of Moses*, or the Law of the Olde Testament, of which we now speake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding Holinesse and Iustice, promising eternall life conditionally, that is, to the obseruers of the Law, and threatening death to those which breake the law in the least. For, according to *S. James*, *who soeuer shall keepe the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition vsed by the *Schoolemen*, in which both the Old and New law are comprehended, is thus giuen. *Lex diuina est diuinum decretum, hominibus prescribens modum necessarium ut apte peruenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, que est ultimus humane vite finis; The diuine Law (say they) is the decree of God, prescribing vnto men a necessary meane, whereby they may aptly attaine supernaturall beatitude, which is the last end of mans life.*

Rom 7: 12

The law of *Moses* hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall. The Morall part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that euill to be auoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord*; whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Againe, the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodnesse; the Ceremoniall of diuine seruice, and of holinesse; (for externall worship, and the order of hallowing our selues vnto God is called Ceremony) and the Iudiciall teacheth the particular gouernment, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Jewes*, and prescribeth orders for iustice and equity. And therefore was it said of *Saint Paul*, *The commandment is iust, holy, and good*: iust, or iustice being referred to the Iudiciall: holy, or holinesse to the Ceremoniall; good, or honest to the Morall. The Iudiciall part is touching the gouernment of the Common-wealth of the *Jewes*, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The Ceremoniall is diuided into foure parts, according to the foure kinde of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Obseruances. To Sacrifices belong beasts, and the fruites of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcision, the Pasche, and such like. For Obseruances, they consisted either in prohibition of certaine meates, as not to eate the blood and fat of beasts: or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifying, anointings, and attire, as not to weare mixt garments of Linnen and Woollen: as also it prohibiteth other vnnaturall and vnproper commixtions, as, *Thou shalt not yoke together in a Plough an Oxe and an Asse*, or cast mingled seed in one field. It also exhorteth to naturall compassion, and forbiddeth crueltie euen to beasts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some reſerre these precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest, nor beate downe the first buds of the tree, nor muzzle the labouring Oxe*, and the like, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the Law of *Moses*, but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the coming of *Christ*. For the Morall liueth still, and is not abrogated or taken away: sauing in the ability of iustifying or condemning; for therein are wee commanded to loue and worship God: and to vse charitie

one

one towards another: which for euer shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to bee done: which power of directing by speciall rules and precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be obserued: though principally for the feare of God in the one, and for the loue of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall also liueth in the things which it fore-signified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it selfe is represented to vs. Besides, it still liueth, in that it giueth both instruction and testimony of *Christ*, and in that it giueth direction to the Church, for some Ceremonies and Types of holy signification, which are still expedient; though in a farre fewer number than before *Christs* coming, and in a far lesse degree of necessitie.

Lastly, the Iudiciall liueth in substance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and vniuersall equitie thereof.

But the Morall faileth in the point of iustification, the Ceremoniall as touching the vse and externall obseruation (because *Christ* himselfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were signes and shadows) and the Iudiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was peculiar to the *Jewes* Common-weale and policie.

§. X. A proposall of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.

AS for that which remaineth in the generall consideration of the diuine written Law, it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Maieſty of the Law-giuer.
3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiuing it.
4. The conueniency of the time in which it was giuen.
5. The efficacie and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.
7. The end and vse of the Law.
8. The sense and vnderstanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is sufficiently proued by *S. Paul*, in these words: *wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, and iust, and good*: which three attributes are referred, as aforeſaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall.

2. The Maieſty of the Law-giuer is approued in all his creatures: who as he hath giuen all things their liues and beings, so he onely gaue the Law, who could onely giue the end & reward promised to wit, the saluation of mankind: but he gaue it not to *Moses* immediately, but by the ministry of Angels: as it is said: *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator*: and in the Acts, *He gaue the Law by the ordinance of Angels.*

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiuing the Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared. Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and disſeuered: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and ſeuered they were, because of Gods choice and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God vnto *Abraham* & his ſeed: not vnto his ſeedes, as to *Eſau* and *Iacob*, but to his ſeed, as to *Iacob* or *Israel* ſingularly, of whom *Christ*. Now to *Abraham* and his ſeed were the promises made: hee ſaith not to the ſeedes, as ſpeaking of many, but to thy ſeed, as of one, which is *Christ*.

4. The conueniency of the time, in which it was giuen, is noted by *S. Auguſtine*: that it was about the middle time, betweene the Law of Nature, and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses*: the Law written in the Commandments receiued by *Moses* in the worlds yeere 2514. continued to the Baptiſme of *Iohn*: from which time, begun the Law of Grace, which ſhall continue to the worlds end. Other reaſons for the conueniency are formerly giuen.

5. The ſixt conſideration is of the efficacie of this Law, the ſame being a diſpoſition to,

or

or signe of our Iustification: but not by it selfe sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousness in morall precepts. For through the passion of *Christ* were sinnes forgiven, who taketh away the sinnes of the world: and therefore *S. Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law *beggerly and weak*; beggerly as containing no grace, weak as not able to forgive and iustifie. The blood of Goats and Bulles, and the ashes of an Heifer could onely cleanse the body; but they were figures of *Christ's* blood, which doth cleanse the inward soule. For if the law could iustifie, then *Christ* died in vaine.

§. XI. Of the sixt point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.

THe Old and New Testament differ in name, and in the meane and way proposed for attaining to saluation; as the Olde by workes, the New by grace: but in the thing it selfe, or object and remote end, they agree: which is mans happinesse and saluation.

The Old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witness of Gods will, was called the Old, because it preceded the New Testament, which is an explication of the Old: from which the New taketh witness. Yet the New of more excellencie, in that it doth more lively expresse, and openly and directly delineate the wayes of our redemption. It is also called the Old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: *In that he saith the New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the Old law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and deliuered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable: but the New was giuen in a promise of an euermore lasting Kingdome, and therefore called in the *Apocalyps*, a Testament and Gospel for euer during.

The Old Testament is called the Law, because the first and cheefe part is the Law of *Moses*, of which the *Prophets* and *Psalms* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Testament is called the Gospell, because the first and cheefe part thereof, is the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Bookes, as the Epistles, or Letters of the *Apostles*, and the Acts or story of the *Apostles*, are plentifull interpreters thereof: The word *Euangelion*, signifying a ioyfull, happy, and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* vsed it) the reward giuen to the Messenger, bringing ioyfull newes. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing successe, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tidings in generall, as in *Esay* the 52. verse 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellencie it is restrained, to signifie that most ioyfull message of Saluation, as in *Luc.* 2. 10. whence also by figure it is taken for the History of *Christ*: and so we vnderstand the four Gospels.

Lastly, for the preaching and diuulging the doctrine of *Christ*, as *1 Cor.* 9. 14. & *2 Cor.* 8. 18.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I thinke, as they are diuided in volumes) is by *Dan.* 9. comprised in these foure.

In their Author.

In the substance of the Couenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, *Christ*.

In the effects, that is, in righteousness and iustification,

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was euer one Church, so was there one Couenant, one Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Christ*, so doth the new Law teach *Christ*: the olde proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one, and the same end: euen the saluation of our soules: which according to *S. Peter*, is the end of our Faith. For although it be said, that *Moses* did promise by obseruing the Law, an earthly Kingdome, a land flowing with milke and hony, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spirituall blessings by *Christ*; for by the earthly, he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Ierusalem*: according to this place of the *Hebrewes*: *All these dyed in faith, and receiued not the promises, but saw them a farre off, and beleued them, confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpose also *Saint Augustine*: *Omnino pauci veteres legem intelligunt, non attendentes*

cap. 11. 23.
Lib. de Ciuit.
Pei. 18. 15.

studentes per promissa terrena, aeterna promissis: Few (saith he) do vnderstand the old law: not attending that by things earthly eternall are promised. And S. Hierome: Noli Deus pascere In Sophon, cap. 3. v. 9. Iudeos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, ut Iudei somniant; God would not feed the Iewes as beasts with corporall gifes and riches, as themselves dreame. And this may be gathered out of Gods owne words, Ego sum Deus tuus; Ego ero vobis in Deum; I am thy God, and I will be your God. For the words, I will be your God, proue that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gaue them this promise, but in respect of the future: to wit, the safetie of their soules. For as God created both body and soule, so hath he of his goodnesse, not left the better part vncaared for, which liueth euer.

The agreement betweene the Old and New Testament in substance, inferres also the agreement in foundation. For *Christ* is called the foundation of the law, laide both by the *Apostles* and *Prophets*; in whom all the promises of God in the Olde and New, are assured: the Fathers hauing eaten the same spirituall foode, which we eate in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our sinne and miserie, which is taught vs by the law, maketh way, and as it were, serueth in subordination to the Gospell, the proper effects whereof are mercy and saluation: to which the Law serueth as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sin and misery, God sheweth his mercy and saluation) may be said to agree with the Gospell in the effect. For otherwise if we seuer the Law from subordination to the Gospell, the effects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousness by workes, the other by faith: the Law woundeth, the Gospell healeth: the Law terrifieth, the Gospell allureth; *Moses* accuseth, *Christ* defendeth: *Moses* condemneth, *Christ* pardoneth. The Old restraineth the hand, the New the minde. *Data est lex quae non sanaret (saith Saint Augustine) sed quae agrotantes probaret; The Law was giuen, not to helpe, but to discover sicknesse: and Saint Chrysostome, Data est lex, ut se homo inueniret, non ut moribus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quaeretur; The Law was giuen that man might finde and know his owne imperfection: not that his disease was thereby holpen, but that he might then seeke out the Physician.* For *Christ* came to saue the world, which the law had condemned. And as *Moses* was but a seruant, and *Christ* a Son; so the greatest benefit was reserved to be brought, as by the worthiest person, saith *Cyril*: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

§. XII. Of the rest of the points proposed.

THe seventh consideration is of the end, and vse of the law: which is to bring vs to *Christ*: for finding no righteousness in our owne workes, wee must seeke it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and vniuersall end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousness, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. *Leuit.* 18. 5. *Cursed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

The second end of the Law, is to render vs inexcusable before God: who knowing so perfect a law, doe not keepe it: the law requiring a perfect and inuirtue, not a broken or halfe obedience: but both inward and outward righteousness, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The third and cheefe end of the law is, as hath beene said, to send vs to *Christ*, and his grace, being in our selues condemned and lost. For the law was deliuered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearfull tempest, threatening eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to designe, and preserue, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to holde them in one Discipline, and awe, till the comming of *Christ*: after whom the Church was to be dispersed ouer the whole world.

These be the ends of the Morall law. The end and vse of the Ceremoniall law, is to confirme the truth of *Christ*, and the new Testament. The vse of the Iudiciall, to teach vs naturall equity, and right, whereto we must conforme our selues.

The sense and vnderstanding of the Law is double, literall and spirituall: by the literall we are taught the worship and seruice of God: by the spirituall, the figures and my-
sticall fore-speakings of *Christ*.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the Law, the same had being vntill the passion of *Christ*: before which time, and while *Christ* taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered vpon the Altar of the Crosse, to come,

* Gen. 49. 10.
The Scepter
shall not de-
part from Iu-
da, nor a Law-
giuer from
betweene his
feet, vntill Shi-
r

Crosse, then the *Iewish* sacrifices and ceremonies, which were Types and figures of *Christ* (*Christ* being the body of those shadows) ceased to binde the consciences any longer: the mystery of our redemption being now by *Christ* and in him finished. In token whereof, the vaile of the Temple rent asunder; noting that the ceremoniall vailes and shadows were now to be remoued, not that the morall law of the Commandements was hereby abolished, or weakened at all: otherwise than that it had not power to condemne according to the *Iewish* doctrine, as aforesaid. For the obseruing of the law was by *Christ* himselfe feuerly commanded: our loue towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein *Dauid* so much reioyced, as hee preferred the obseruation of the Law, before all that the world could yeeld. *In via testimoniorum suorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus diuitijs* 3 I haue been delighted in thy law, as in all manner of riches: And againe, *The law of thy mouth is good for me aboue thousands of gold and silver. This is the loue of God* (saith *S. Iohn*) that we keepe his Commandement. And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himselfe in *Deuteronomy* witnesseth. *This Commandement* (saith he) *which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it farre off. It is not in heaven that thou shouldest say, who shall go up for vs to heaven, and bring it vs, and cause vs to heare it that we may do it? neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldest say, who shall goe over the Sea for vs, and bring it vs? &c. but the word is very neere vnto thee, euery in thy mouth, and in thy heart for to do it. Behold* (saith *Moses*) *I haue set before thee this day, life and death, good and euill, in that I command thee this day, to loue the Lord thy God, to walke in his waies, and to keepe his Commandements, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou maist liue, &c.* Neither is it laid in vaine in *Saint Mathew*: *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serua mandata* 3 If thou wilt enter into life keepe the Commandements: and in *S. Iohn*, *Scio quia mandatum eius vita aeterna est* 3 I know that his Commandement is life everlasting. And if this bee the charitie of God, or of Men towards God, as *S. Iohn* hath taught, to wit, that we keepe his Commandements: certainly hee is but a liar, that professeth to loue God, and neglecteth to obserue the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confesse it not in mans ability, without the speciall grace of God, to fulfill the law (*Christ* only as man excepted) yet if wee rightly consider the mercifull care which God had of his people in those his Commandements, we shall finde in our selues, how wee borrow liberty, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them from the chaines of obedience, to which the word of God and diuine reason hath fastened them, than that wee are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our minde (greedy of libertie) proposeth to it selfe. For this is the loue of God, that we keepe his Commandements, & his Commandements are not greuous. 1 *Iohn* 5. 12. and if wee examine euery precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our consciences: it is not hard for any man to iudge, by what easie perswasions, we steale away from our owne power, as vnwilling to vse it against our pleasing desires.

§. XIII. Of the seuerall Commandements of the Decalogue: and that the difficulty is not in respect of the Commandements, but by our defaults.

For by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serue, and loue one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? seeing euery reasonable man may conceiue and know, that infinite power cannot be diuided into many infinities: and that it is of necessitie, that by this almighty Vnitie, all things haue bin caused, and are continued. And if brute beasts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his prouidence he hath also provided for euery of them, which giueth to beasts their foode, &c. there is no doubt but that they would also serue and loue him only.

The second precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worship of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the inuention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true: *Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs orta sunt, At illi exempla did fring and arise from good beginnings.* For their first erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their vertue: vntill (saith *Lactantius*) the diuell crept into them, and (having blotted out the first intent) working in weak and ignorant soules, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serue himselfe thereby. For what reasonable man, if hee be not forsaken of God, will call on those blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead stocks, more

worthlesse

worthlesse then the most worthlesse of those, that hauing life and reason, implore their helpe, which haue neither: yea, of more vilde prize and baser, than the basest of beasts, who haue sense and estimation? For what doe we thereby (saith the Wisedome of *Salomon*) but call to the weake for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, assistance in our iournies of him that cannot goe, and successe in our affaires of him that hath no power? And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which he prayeth, bee more senselesse; *Dauid* maketh a doubt. For (saith he) they that make them are like vnto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them. *Wisd. 13. 2. 19. Psalm 135. 18.*

The breach of the third Commandement, is neither perswaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit: the two greatest enchanterers of mortall men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible disdain of God, vnlesse the hate of good men, and Gods curse, be accounted an aduantage. For as our corruptest nature giues vs nothing towards it, so can it satisfie no one appetite, except euil last forrow, and hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custome hath the diuell brought vp among men, without all subtiltie of argument, or cunning perswasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornfull aduantage ouer vs. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, Theft giues satisfaction to need, Adultery to lust, Oppression to couetousnesse: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemy, and the irreuerent abuse of Gods name, as it giueth no helpe to any of our worldly afflictions, for the most saluage Nations of the world doe not vse it.

The fourth Commandement, to keepe the Sabbath day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconuenience. For it giueth rest to the laborer, and consolation to their Masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, *Moses* teacheth in the reason of the law: as in *Exod. 23. 12.* And in the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine Oxe and thine Asse may rest, and the sonne of thy maide, and the stranger may be refreshed.

The first of the second Table to honour our Parents, with whom wee are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it selfe hath taught vs towards them, who after God gaue vs life and being, haue begotten vs, and borne vs, cherished vs in our weake and helpless infancie, and bestowed on vs the harvest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporall and Iudiciall ordinances, curling of parents, or the offering

30 them violence, was made death. The next is, that thou shalt not Murther, that is, thou shalt not doe the actes following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, haue made difference between slaughter casuall, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (saith *Bracton*) *imponit nomen operi tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the worke such as it is.* And certainly, whosoever cannot forbear to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any vse of his owne will.

The third of the second Table, commands vs from Adultery. Now, if the preservation of Virginity haue bene possible, for thousands of Men and Women, who in all Ages haue mastered their fleshly desires, and haue returned chaste to their graue: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the dishonour and iniurie, which wee offer to others by such a violation, seeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God, and Men, to all that affect it. And there is no man liuing whom the desire of beauty and forme hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbear the prosecution of this ill: did not himselfe giue sucke to this Infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heate, heate till it turne to fire, and fire to flame.

The fourth of the second Table, is, that we shall not steale. And if that kinde of violent robbery had bene vsed in *Moses* time, which many *Russians* practise now a dayes in *England*, and to the dishonor of our Nation more in *England*, than in any Region of the world among *Christians*; out of doubt, he would haue censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speak not of the poore and miserable soules, whom hunger and extreme necessitie inforceth, but of those detested Theeues, who to maintaine themselves Lord-like, assault, rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring man; or breake by violence into other mens houses, and spend in Brauerie, Drunkenesse, and vpon Harlots, in one day, what other men sometime haue laboured for all their liues: impoverishing whole Families, and taking the bread and foode from the mouths of their children. And that this Commandement might easily be obserued; it would soone appeare, if Princes would resolute, but for a few yeeres to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that encourageth these

2. Iohn 5.

Deut. 30. 11. 12.
13. & 14.
Rom. 6. 10. 2. 6,
7, 8.

Cap. 9. 17.
Cap. 12. 50.

Psalm 147. 9.

Glossa in verb.
Calam.

Nuptia replent
terram, Vnde
nihil Parafisum.

these Hell-hounds. And if euery man presume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impouerish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandement of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false witness: from which if men could not forbear, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witness, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falshood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandements forbiddeth vs to couet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wiues for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gaine. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to obserue; so esteemed by reason of our fraile affections: and yet if wee iudge hereof rightly, it may bee doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For, although it be not easie to master all our sudden passions, yet we may restraîne and hinder the growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seeke for grace. How the word *Coueting* reacheth to all those it is to bee considered. For *Concupiscencia*, according to some, *est effrenatus habendi appetitus*; An vnbridled, or unrestrained appetite of hauiug; And as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse our felues by any our naturall frailty, or vnadvised error; But as I suppose, the word *Concupiscence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and vnbridled euill intent, or for some vrging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the later sort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione, que est principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi*; Such passions, or inclinations are imperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action. And sure, it may seeme, that so long as we resist such motions, they harme vs not: as they say, *Quamdiu refragmur nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus*; As long as wee giue no assent vnto them, it is thought by some that they hurt vs not; and that then onely they hurt, when we suffer them to beare sway. But these men, as it seemes, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath bene forbidden in the other: for in euery Commandement, not onely the outward act, but also the inward assent vnto euill, though it breake not out into acte, is forbidden: therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandement and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held: that some are with assent, and vnbridled; others bridled, and without assent. For so euen the Morall Philosopher can tell vs, that the Continent man hath euill desires, but without assent; for they are bridled by the strength of right reason; as on the other side the Incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrary passions. The euill desires when they are accompanied with assent, are in euery Commandement forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if we will haue any thing proper to this Commandement, wee must needs say, that the euill desires of the Continent man (that is, euen those which wee resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridled his euill desires, bee much better than he that yeeldeth vnto them: yet such a man, euen according to the Heathen Philosopher, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For Aristotle himselfe makes *Continentia*, not to be vertue, but onely a degree vnto it: confessing, that though the Continent man doe well in bidding his euill affections, yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to haue them at all. Neither is it much more, that true diuinity deliuereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the continent man the hauiug of these euill desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a vertuous man: so we, that the hauiug of them is a sinne. Only in this we excell him here: that we are able out of diuinity to giue the true reason of this doctrine: which is, that euery one sinneth, that doeth not loue God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the euill desires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridled them, must needs be sinne: seeing such desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make vs know, that by our faithfull endeouours to keepe his commandements, we witness our loue toward himselfe; we may not safely giue libertie to our vanities, by casting backe vpon God (who is iustice it selfe) that he hath giuen vs precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandements impossible for vs to keepe. For, as hee is accursed (saith Saint Hierome) that auowes that the Law is in all things possible to be obserued: so he hath made this addition: *Maledictus*

qui

qui dicit impossibilia Deum precepisse; Accursed is hee that saith that God hath commanded things (in themselves, and not through our fault) impossible. Now, as the places are many which command vs to keepe the Law: so is our weakenesse also in the Scriptures laide before vs, and therefore it is thus safely to be vnderstood, that we should without euasion, or without betraying of our felues, doe our faithfull endeouours to obserue them: which if we doe vnfaidely, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man iust, David witnesseth: *Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant, for in thy sight no flesh that liueth shall be iustified*. And in the first of Kings, *There is no man that sinneth not*: And againe, *who can say, I haue made my heart cleane*? But seeing there is no sinne greuous without deliberation; let euery mans conscience iudge him, whether hee giue way willingly, or restraîne himselfe in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King giues to his subiect a commandement vpon paine of losse of his loue, to performe some seruice: if the subiect neglecting the same, seeke to satisfie his *Soueraigne* with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himselfe to be derided therein.

§. XIII.

If there were not any Religion, nor Iudgement to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessary to be obserued.

20 And if wee consider aduisedly and soberly, of the Morall Law, or ten Commandements, which God by the hand of Moses gaue vnto his people, it will appeare that such was his mercifull prouidence in the choise of them, as were there neither paine, nor profit adioyned to the obseruing, or not obseruing of them; were there no diuine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet if wee did not for our owne sakes strue to obserue these Lawes, all society of men, and all endeouours, all happinesse and contentment in this life would be taken away: and euery State and common-wealth in the World fall to the ground and dissolve. Therefore, these Lawes were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that euery man might enioy the fruites of his owne trauaile, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by iustice, order, and peace, we might liue the liues of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of slaues; of ciuill men, and not of sauages. And hereof making our humane reason onely iudge, let vs see the inconueniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these Lawes.

As first, what would the issue be if we acknowledged many Gods? would not a farre greater hatred, warre, and bloud-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremony, and diuersity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, euen among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one Christ?

And what could it profit man-kinde to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, mettall, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the losse of time, and an impossibilitie to receiue thence-from, either helpe or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandement bringeth therewith this disadvantage, and ill to man, that whosoeuer taketh the name of God in vaine, shall not at any time benefit himselfe by calling God to witness for him, when hee may iustly vse his holy name.

The obseruing the Sabbath holy, giueth rest to men and beasts, and nature her selfe requirerth intermission of labour.

If we despise our Parents, who haue giuen vs being, wetherby teach our owne children to scorne and neglect vs, when our aged yeeres require comfort and helpe at their hands.

50 If murder were not forbidden, and seuerely punished, the race of man-kinde would be extinguished: and whosoeuer would take the liberty to destroy others, giueth liberty to others to destroy himselfe.

If adultery were lawfull and permitted, no man could say vnto himselfe; This is my sonne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posterity, no endeouour by vertue and vndertaking to raise Families: murders and poysonings betweene man and wife would be daily committed: and euery man subiect to most filthy and vncleane diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all man-kinde would shortly after perish, or

or liue as the saluages, by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth but to enioy the fruites thereof. And such is the mischief of robbery, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes appointed restitution fourefold; policie of State and necessity hath made it death.

To permit false witnesses, is to take all mens liues and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would swear against the vertuous: the waster against the wealthie: the idle beggar and loyterer, against the carefull and painfull labourer: all triall of right were taken away, and iustice thereby banished out of the world.

The couering of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while we couet what appertaines to others, we neglect our owne: our appetites are therein fed with vaine and fruitlesse hopes, so long as we do but couet; and if we doe attaine to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wiues or goods of our neighbours, we can look for no other, but that our selues shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there bee nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all liuing? Surely, for our owne good, and not in respect of himselfe, did the most mercifull & provident God ordaine them; without the obseruation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the blessings given vs in this life, would be vnto vs altogether vnprofitable, and of no vse. For wee should remaine but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a farre more vnhappy condition.

§. XV. Of humane Law, written and vnwritten.

Humane Law, of which now it followeth to speake, is first diuided into two, (*Viz.*) Written, and Vnwritten. The vnwritten consists of vsage, approved by time: which *Isidore* calls *Mores*; and he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probate*; to be customs approved by antiquitie, or vnwritten lawes. Now custome differeth from use, as the cause from the effect: in that custome is by vse and continuance established into a Law: but yet there where the law is defectiue, saith *Isidore*.

And of customes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars; the first are written customes, receiued and exercised by Nations, as the customes of *Burgundie* and *Normandie*, the ancient generall custome of *England*, and the customes of *Castill*, and other *Prouinces*.

The second are these petty customes, vsed in parricular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors: The generall or Nationall customes are some written, others vnwritten.

The particular or petty customes are seldome written, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitants. The Customes of the *Duchie of Cornwall*, comprehending also the *Stannerie* of *Deuon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* causes, are written in *Deuon*, but not in *Cornwall*. But howsoeuer vse and time hath made these customes as lawes, yet ought euery custome to be *rationabilis*, as well as *prescripta*. *Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de iure ab initio non subsistit*; That which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (saith *Vlpian*) *quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis conualecere*; Course of time abridges not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessary in all lawes of custome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law diuine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, prouing a right birth, and necessary continuance: it being manifest, that euery custome which is against the law, had his beginning from euill deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customes of this nature were but tolerated for a time, by the Law-makers, though they haue beene since continued, because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moued. For, *non sufficit simplex toleratio*. And it is in this sort ouer-ruled in the law; *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui nouauit legem, & nouam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus Princeps est*; The people cannot bring in a new custome against law: sane by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is onely the Prince.

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doome of prattique reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the Law a common precept, the aduise ment of wise men, and the

restraint

restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calles the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Government and common profit: And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione consistit*; All that stands with reason.

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law naturall, and eternall: made by the rational discourse of those, that exercise publike authority: prescribing necessary obseruances to the subiect. That euery Law ought to be a righteous decree, *S. Augusline* teacheth, saying; *Mibi lex esse non videtur, quae iusta non fuerit*; It seemes to be no law at all to me, which is not iust: and iust it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no Law iust and legitimate (saith *S. Augusline*) which the Law-makers haue nor deriued from the eternall. *Nihil iustum atque legitimum est, quod non ab aeterna lege sibi homines deriuauerint*.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the Law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration, from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorised Magistracie, it cannot be doubted, be the government of what kinde soeuer. For it falleth otherwise vnder the Title of those decrees called *Violentiae*, or *iniqua constitutiones*; *Violences*, or wicked constitutions.

Of humane Law there are foure properties, especially answering these foure conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: so euery particular of the humane Law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the naturall.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred vnto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publique authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the Law, it prescribeth, and directeth, all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and diuers, as all humane actions are diuers, which may fall vnder it. For according to *Thomas*, *Alia lex Iulia de Adulterijs, alia Cornelia de Sicarijs*; The Law of Iulian against Adultery is one, the Cornelian against Ruffians, is another. Now the humane Law, generally taken, is in respect of the first of these considerations, diuided into the Law of Nations, and the Ciuill.

The Law of Nations is taken lesse or more properly; lesse properly for euery Law which is not of it selfe, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it seemeth that *Vlpian* vnderstands it: for he defineth *Ius gentium*, or the Law of Nations, to be that which is onely common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God: which is not in the very nature of this Law of Nations; but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other diuine Reuelations. But the Law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawne from a very probable, though not from an euident principle, yet so probable, that all Nations doe assent vnto the conclusion, as that the free passage of Ambassadors be granted betweene enemies, &c. which Nationall Law, according to diuers acceptations, and diuers considerations had of the humane Law, may be sometime taken for a Species of the Naturall, sometime of the Humane.

Ius Ciuile, or the Ciuill Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in diuers estates it is also diuers and peculiar, and this Law is not so immediately deriued from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of such principles as all Nations doe not agree in, or easily assent vnto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are diuers, and doe not fit all estates. Hereof *Vlpian*, *Ius ciuile, neque in totum a naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei seruit: itaq; cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus Iuri communi, Ius proprium, id est, Ciuile efficiamus*; The Ciuill Law (saith he) doth neither wholly differ from the Law of Nature, and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it; therefore when we adde ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Ciuill Law.

The Law now commonly called the Ciuill Law, had its birth in *Rome*: and was first written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. yeeres after the foundation of the City. It was compounded as wel out of the *Athenian*, & other *Grecian* Lawes, as out of the ancient *Romane* customes and Lawes *Regall*. The Regal Lawes were deuised by the first Kings; and called *Leges Regiae*, or *Papyrianae*, because they were gathered by *Papirius*, *Tarquinius* then reigning. For though so many of the former Lawes as maintained Kingly authority, were abolished,

Dion. Hal.

C. Sigon. l. 1. out
of Pomponius.

shed, with the name; yet those of *Servius Tullius*, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common utility, were continued, and were a part of the Lawes of the twelve Tables. To these Lawes of the twelve Tables were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the *Senate*, called *Senatus-consulta*: those of the common people called *Plebei-seita*, those of the Lawyers, called *Responsa-prudentum*; and the Edicts of the *Annual Magistrate*: which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Iulian*, and presented to *Adrian* the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall Lawes, and the Volume stiled *Edictum perpetuum*; as those and the like Collections of *Iustinian* afterward were.

The difference anciently betwene Lawes and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that Lawes are the Constitutions made or confirmed by soveraign authority (be the soveraignty in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withall generall and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Iustum Magistratus*, vntil by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the Officer, who made the same, saith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum Edicta tribuant, legem annuam esse dicunt*: They who ascribe the most into an Edict, say that it is a Law for one yeere: Though *Isidore* doth also expresse by the word *Constitutions* or *Edicts*, those Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogatives*; as *Constitutio vel Edictum est quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit*: An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordaine or proclaime.

Lastly, the *Humane Law* is diuided into the *Secular*, and into the *Ecclesiasticall*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquillity of the Common-weale: the *Ecclesiasticall* the spirituall good, and right Government of the *Ecclesiasticall* Common-weale, or Church, *illud naturalem legem, hoc diuinam spectat*: That respecteth the Law of Nature, this the Law of God, And so may *Ius Civile* be taken two wayes; first, as distinguished from the Law of Nations, as in the first diuision: Secondly, as it is the same with the *Secular*, and diuers from the *Ecclesiasticall*. But this diuision of the *Schoolemen* is obscure. For although the *Ciuill* be the same with the *Secular*, as the *Ciuill* is a Law, yet the *Secular* is more generall, and comprehendeth both the *Ciuill*, and all other Lawes not *Ecclesiasticall*. For of *Secular* Lawes, in vs among *Christian* Princes, and in *Christian* Common-weales, there are three kindes, the *Ciuill*, which hath euery where a voyce, and is in all *Christian* estates (*England* excepted) most powerfull; the Lawes of *England* called *Common*, and the Lawes of custome or *Prouinciall*. In *France* besides the *Ciuill*, the customes of *Burgundy*, *Blois*, *Berry*, *Niurnois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tous lieux situs & assis en Lothanois, seront gouvernez selon les custumes du dit pays*: All places lying within the precincts of *Lodunois*, shall be gouerned according to the customes of that place. There are also in *France* the customes of *Normandy*, and these of two kindes; Generall, and Locall; and all purged and reformed by diuers Acts of the three Estates. The *Charters* of confirmation of these ancient customes, before and since their reformation haue these words; *Nu autem, registrum predictum, et sus laudabiles, et consuetudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approbamus, et autoritate Regis confirmamus*: The Register aforesaid, laudable use, and ancient customes we praise, approve, and by our Kingly authority confirme. The common Law of *England* is also compounded of the ancient customes of the same, and of certaine *Maxims* by those customes of the Realme approved. Vpon which customes also are grounded those Courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other small Courts.

These ancient customes of *England* haue beene approved by the Kings thereof, from age to age: as that custome by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, disced, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the *Statute of Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient custome of *England*, that the eldest Sonne should inherite without partition. In *Germany*, *France*, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the custome for all Landes (that haue not beene resigned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the Houle shall enioy the Inheritance during his owne life: and to the second and third eldest (if there be so many brothers) before the Heire in lineall descent: this is called the custome of *Tanistrie*. For example, if a Lord of Land haue foure sonnes, and the eldest of those foure haue also a Sonne, the three Brothers of the eldest Sonne, shall after the death of their Brother, enioy their Fathers Lands before the Grand-childe: the custome being grounded

grounded vpon the reason of necessity. For the *Irish* in former times, hauing alwayes liued in a subdiuided *Ciuill* Warre, not onely the greatest against the greatest, but euery *Baron* and *Gentleman* one against another, were enforst to leade successors of age and ability, to defend their owne *Territories*. Now as in *Normandie*, *Burgundie*, and other *Prouinces of France*, there are certaine peculiar and petty *Customes*, besides the great, and generall custome of the Land, so are there in *England*, and in euery part thereof. But the greatest bulke of our Lawes, as I take it, are the *Acts of Parliament*: Lawes propounded and approved by the three estates of the Realme, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound; because they are *Acts of choise*; and selfe-delire. *Leges nulla alia causis sedent, quam quod iudicio populi recepte sunt*: The Lawes doe therefore binde the subiect, because they are receiued by the iudgement of the subiect. *Tum demum humane leges habent vim suam, cum fuerint non modo instituta, sed etiam firmata approbatione communitatis*: It is then that humane lawes haue their strength, when they shall not onely be deuised, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.

Isidore fasteneth these properties to euery *Christian* Law, that the same bee honest, that it bee possible, that it bee according to Nature, and according to the custome of the Countrey; also for the time and place conuenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of priuate profite, that it be written for the generall good. He also giues foure effects of the Law, which *Modestinus* comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, and instigation: the former bindes vs by feare, to auoide vices, the latter instigeth with hope, to follow vertue. For according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet esse vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum*: It becometh the Law to bee a reuender of vices; and a commander of vertues. The part obligatorie or binding vs to the obseruation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all lawes: and it is two-fold; the one constraineth vs by feare of our consciences, the other by feare of externall punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, *Coactive* and *Directiue*.

The second of these two effects remembered by *Modestinus*, is *Instigation*, or incouragement to vertue, as *Aristotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For lawes being such as they ought to be, doe both by prescribing and forbidding, urge vs to well doing; laying before vs the good and the euill, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmatiue commanding good, and power negatiue forbidding euill, are those into which the law is diuided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: saying, *Declina a malo, & fac bonum*: Decline from euill, and doe good. *Psalm 37.*

§. XVI. That onely the Prince is exempt from humane Lawes, and in what sort.

NOW whether the power of the humane Law bee without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that haue written of this subiect, as well *Diuines* as *Lawyers*: and namely, whether *Soueraigne* Princes bee compellable; yea, or no: But whereas there are two powers of the Law, as aforesaid; the one *Directiue*, the other *Coactive*: to the power *Directiue* they ought to bee subiect, but not to that which constraineth. For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to giue a preiudiciall iudgement against himselfe; and if equals haue no any power ouer each other, much lesse haue inferiours ouer their superiours, from whom they receiue their authority and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of lawes, simply there is the Prince so much about the lawes, as the soule and body united, is about a dead and senselesse carcase. For the King is truly called, *ius vltimum, & lex animata*: An animate and liuing Law. But this is true, that by giuing authority to lawes, Princes both adde greatnes to themselves, & conferre it, and therefore was it said of *Maximian* out of *Iustinian*, *Merito debet Rex tribuere se Equod lex attribuit*: namely, *facit ut ipse sit Rex*: Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the Law, which hee by Law first attributeth to the King; for it is the Law that doth make King. But whereas *Isidore* attributeth this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken. For Kings are made by God, and lawes diuine; and by humane lawes onely, declared to bee Kings. As for the places remembered by the *Diuines* and *Lawyers*, which inferre

a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to giue an account of their actions to God onely.

Psal. 50.
ff. de Leg.

Tibi soli peccavi, saith David; Against thee onely haue I sinned: therefore, the Prince can not bee said to be subiect to the Law; *Princeps non subijctus legi*. For seeing according to the Schoolemen, the Law humane is but *quoddam organum & instrumentum potestatis gubernativa: non videtur posse eius obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humane non pertinet, sed vis potestatis humana non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo neq; lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia actiua, est principium transmutandi aliud; Seeing humane Law (say they) is but a* kind of Organ or Instrument of the power that governeth, it seemes that it cannot extend it selfe to binde any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold of: but the Governour himselfe, in whom the governing power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himselfe, or by his own power be controlled. And therefore the Law which is made by such a power, cannot binde the law-maker himselfe: for every active ability, is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which it selfe resides. And seeing Princes haue power to deliuer others from the obligation of the Law: *Ergo etiam potest ipsemet Princeps sine legislator sua se voluntate prohibito ab obligatione legis liberare; Therefore also may a Prince or Law-maker at his owne will and pleasure deliuer himselfe from the bond of the Law*. Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: *Subditi tenentur leges observare necessitate coactionis, Princeps vero sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni communis; The subjects are bound to fulfill the Law by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince onely by his owne will, and regard of the common good*.

Greg. de Valentini de Leg.

Now concerning the politique Lawes, giuen by *Moses* to the Nation of the *Israelites*, whether they ought to be a President, from which no ciuill institutions of other people should presume to digresse, I will not presume to determine, but leaue it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions giue them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirme, That we ought not to seeme wiser than God himselfe, who hath told vs that there are no Lawes so righteous, as those which it pleased him to giue to his Elect people to be gouerned by. True it is, that all Nations haue their seuerall qualities, wherein they differ, euen from their next borderers, no lesse than in their peculiar languages: which disagreable conditions to gouerne aptly, one and the same Law very hardly were able. The *Roman* ciuill Lawes did indeed containe in order a great part of the then knowne World, without any notable inconuenience, after such time as once it was receiued and become familiar: yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yeelded much vnto the naturall customes of the sundry people, which it gouerned. For whether it be through a long continued persuation; or (as *Astrologers* more willingly grant) some influence of the Heauens; or peraduenture some temper of the soile and climate, affording matter of prouocation to vice (as plenty made the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and oportunitie to steale, makes the *Arabians* to be Theeues) very hard it were to forbid by Law an offence so common with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from iust and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdome of *Congo* unhappily diuerced from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after with great fury reiected, because plurality of Wiues was denied vnto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, me thinkes, it were not amisse to consider that the high God himselfe permitted some things to the *Israelites*, rather in regard of their naturall disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant vnto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where euen the generall nature of man doth condemne (as many things it doth) for wicked and vniust, there may the Law, giuen by *Moses*, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the euill, which forcerth man, as neere as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custome hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habite, with so long and so publike approbation, that the vertue opposing it would seeme as vnouth, as it were to walke naked in *England*, or to weare the *English* fashion of apparel in *Turkie*: there may a wife and vpright Law-giuer, without presumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of *Moses* his Law required, euen as the good King *Hezekiah* did, in a matter merely Ecclesiasticall, and therefore the lesse capable of dispensation, praying for the people; The good Lord be mercifull vnto him, that prepareth his whole heart

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to seeke the Lord God, the God of his Fathers, though hee be not cleansed according to the purification of the Sanctuary: which prayer the Lord heard and granted.

2 Chron. cap.
30. v. 18. 19.

To this effect it is well obserued by Master Doctor *Willet*, that the morall Iudicials of *Moses* doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatiuely that we are tyeed to the same seuerity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatiuely they doe hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adiudged, where sentence of death is not giuen by *Moses*: Christian Magistrates ruling vnder *Christ* the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the seuerity of *Moses* Law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot adde vnto it to make the burden more heavy: for to shew more rigour than *Moses*, becommeth not the Gospel.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath bene the subiect of many learned discourses, neither will I take vpon me, to speak any thing definitiuely in a case which dependeth still in some controuerisie among worthy Diuines. Thus much (as in honour of the Iudiciall Law, or rather of him that gaue it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath alwayes bene very plausible. And surely howsoeuer they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and onely Law: yet shall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conscience of a Iudge may rest, with equall satisfaction in making interpretation, or giuing sentence vpon doubts, arising out of any Law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Iudge could haue bene witnesse, of whom *Fortescue* that notable Bulwarke of our Lawes doth speake, complaining of a iudgement giuen against a Gentlewoman at *Salisbury*, who being accused by her owne Man, without any other prooffe, for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the Man who accused her, within a yeere after being conuict for the same offence, confessed that his Mistis was altogether innocent of that cruell fact, whose terrible death hee then (though ouer-late) greiuously lamented: but this Iudge, saith the same Author, *Septius ipse mihi confessus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animum eius de hoc facta ipse purgaret; He himselfe often confessed vnto me, that he should neuer during his life, be able to cleare his conscience of that fact*. Wherefore that acknowledgement which other Sciences yeeld vnto the *Metaphysiques*, that from thence are drawne propositions, able to proue the principles of Sciences, which out of the Sciences themselves cannot be proued, may iustly be granted by all other politique institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more iustly, by how much the subiect of the *Metaphysiques*, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*; Being as it is being, is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*; The being of beings, the onely good, the fountaine of truth, whose feare is the beginning of wisdom. To which purpose well saith Saint *Augustine*, *Conditor legum temporalium si vir bonus est & sapiens, illam ipsam consulit eternam, de qua nulli anima iudicare datum est; The Author of temporall Lawes, if he be good and wise, doth therein consult the Law eternall, to determine of which there is no power giuen to any soule*. And as well Prince *Edward*, in *Fortescue* his discourse, *Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus; No man can lay a better, or another foundation* than the Lord hath laide.

CHAP. V.

The Story of the *Israelites* from the receiuing of the Law to the death of *Moses*.

§. 1. Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of *Israel*, for their marches through the wilderness; with a note of the reuerence giuen to the worship of God, in this ordering of their troups.



When *Moses* had receiued the Law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the Tabernacle of the *Arke* and Sanctuary; he mustred all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*: and hauing scene what numbers of Men fit to beare armes, were found in euery Tribe, from 20. yeeres of age vpwards; he appointed vnto them, by direction from the Lord, such Princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in euery Tribe most eminent. The number

number of the whole Army was 60356. able men for the wars, besides women & children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of Egypt. This great Army was divided by Moses into foure grosse and mighry Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600. fighting men, led by *Nasson*: in *Issachar* 54400. led by *Nathaniel*: in *Zabulon* 57400. led by *Eliab*. All these marched vnder the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who held the Vantage-guard, and was the first that moved & marched, being lodged and quartered at their generall incampment on the East-side of the Army, which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures the Host of *Reuben*, had ioyned vnto it *Simcon* and *Gad*, in number 151450. All which marched vnder the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. vnder *Elizur*: in *Simcon*: 59300. vnder *Shelumiel*: in *Gad* 45650. vnder *Elisaph*: These had the second place, and incamped on the South-side of the Tabernacle.

The third Army, marched vnder the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were ioyned the Regiments of *Manasse* and *Beniamin*; who, ioyned together, made in number 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. vnder *Elisbama*: *Manasse* 32200. vnder *Gamliel*: *Beniamin* 35400. vnder *Abidam*.

The fourth and last Army, or Squadron, of the generall Army, containing 157600. able men, marched vnder the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were ioyned the two Tribes of *Nephtali* and *Asber*. And these had the Rereward, and moved last, incamping on the North-side. *Dan* had 62700. vnder *Abiezzer*: *Asber* 41500. vnder *Pagiel*: *Nephtali* 53400. vnder *Abira*.

Besides these Princes of the severall Tribes, there were ordained Captaines ouer Thousands, ouer Hundreds, ouer Fifties, and ouer Tens; as it may appeare by that mutinie and insurrection against *Moses*: *Num. 16. v. 1 & c.* For there arose vp against *Moses* 250. Captaines of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renowne: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principall Mutiners, with those 250. Captaines that followed them, were not any of the 12. Princes of the Tribes or Generall Colonels before spoken of, as by their names, *Num. 1.* is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, tooke place not only in the diuision of the Land of promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but euen in sorting them vnder their severall Standards in the wildernesse it was observed. For *Judah* had the precedence and the greatest Army, which also was wholly compounded of the Sonnes of *Leah*, *Jacobs* eldest wife, having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simcon*, who had vnder gone the Fathers curse; and with *Gad*, the sonne of his Mothers Hand-maide. *Joseph*, who in temporall blessings had the prerogative of the first borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and diuided into two Regiments, the younger according to *Jacobs* prophecy taking place before the elder. He was assisted by *Beniamin*, his best beloved brother, the other son of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest son of *Jacobs* Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Jacobs* prophecy. Hee had with him vnder his Standard none of the children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*; but only the Sonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, surrounded by the *Leuites*. Neere vnto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approach, by reason of the foure powerful Armies which guarded the same; so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come neere it, who were not of the *Leuites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the moueable Temple of God, and with such reuerence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the seruice and attendance thereof: of which 8500. had the peculiar charge, according to their severall offices and functions, the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the people observed the same order in their incampings; so did the *Leuites* quarter themselves, as in an inner square on euery side of the Tabernacle; the *Gersurims* on the West, within the Army, and Standard of *Ephraim*, ouer whom *Elisaph* commanded; in number 7500. The

The Family of *Cobath* on the South-side guided by *Elizaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and betwene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third company were of the Family of *Merari*, ouer whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North side, within the Army of *Dan*; On the East-side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Judah* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies and of the People; vnder whom, as the chiefe of all the other *Leuiticall* Families, was *Eleazar* the sonne of *Aaron*, his successeur in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Army of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching; the Tabernacle of God being alway set in the middle and center thereof. The reuerend care, which *Moses*, the Prophet, and chosen seruant of God, had in all that belonged euen to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, *Arke* and *Sanctuary*, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeale borne towards God himselfe. The industry vsed in the framing thereof, and euery, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the durifull obseruance in the laying vp, and preserving the holy Vessels; the solemn remouing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon; and the proud defence of the same, which all Ages haue in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the Family, by the *Anabaptist*, *Brownist*, and other *Settaries*, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be serued and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of *Popery*, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: infomuch as Time would soone bring to passe (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes, and from thence againe into the Fields and Mountaines, and vnder the hedges; and the Offices of the Ministry (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as these places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-gouernment, left to newnietic of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and soone after, as many kindes of Religions would spring vp, as there are Parish-Churches within *England*: euery contentious and ignorant person clothed his fancie with the Spirit of God, and his imagination with the Gift of *Revelation*; infomuch, as when the Truth, which is but one, shall appeare to the simple multitude, no lesse variable than contrary to it selfe, the Faith of Men will soone after dye away by degrees, and all Religion be held in scorne and contempt. Which distraction gaue a great Prince of *Germany* cause of this answer to those that perswaded him to become a *Lutheran*, *Sime adiuugo vobis, tunc condemnor ab alijs; si me alijs adiungo, à vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo: If I adiuoyne my selfe to you, I am condemned by others; If I ioyn with others, I am condemned by you: what I should auoide I see, but I know not what I should follow.*

§. II. The offerings of the twelue Princes: the Passouer of the second yeere: The departing of Iethro.

Now when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessary, prouided for the seruice of God, written the Lawes, numbred his Army, and diuided them into the battailes and troupes before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all sorts; The twelue Princes or Commanders of the Tribes brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, six couered Chariots, and twelue Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto: the *Sanctuary* excepted, which for reuerence was carried vpon the shoulders of the sons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots in which was conueyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were deliuered to the *Leuites* for that seruice, namely to the Sonnes of *Gershan* and *Merari*.

Besides these Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered vnto God, and for his seruice in the Temple, a Charger of fine siluer, weighing 130. sheckles; a siluer Boll of 70. sheckles; after the sheckle of the *Sanctuary*; and an Incense-Cup of gold, of ten sheckles, which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated vnto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards

half-pence sterling: the Siele of the Sanctuary (as it is expounded, *Exod. 30. 13.*) containeth 20. Gerahs, so a Sanctuary Siele of Siluer is about 7. groats, the common Siele is but halfe as much, to wit ten Gerahs: as it is vsually expounded; though *Villalpandus* labours to prove that the common and the Sanctuary Siele were all one, *Num. 9. verse 5. Num. 10. 11. Exodus. 26. 34. Numbers 9. 27.*

their

their conquest, besides the Beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the Law Ceremoniall, the weight of all the twelue siluer Chargers, and twelue siluer Bolles, amounted vnto 2400. sheekles of siluer; and the weight of gold in the Incense-Cuppes, to 120. sheekles of gold; which makes of sheekles of siluer 1200. euery sheekle of gold valuing ten of siluer, so that the whole of gold and siluer which they offered at this time, was about foure hundredth and twenty pound sterling. This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gaue order for the celebrating of the *Passouer*, which they performed on the foureteenth day of the second moneth of the second yeere: and on the twentieth day of the same, the cloude was lifted vp from about the Tabernacle, as a signe of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this inuocation to God: *Rise vp Lord, and let shine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee, flee before thee.* Then all the people of *Israel* remoued from their incamping at the foote of the Mountaine *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the Armie, or great Squadron of *Juda*, led by *Naasbon*, taking the Vaunt-guard, followed by *Nethanael* and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Issacar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the rest marched, as in the figure exprest. And because the passage through so many deserts and mountaines, was exceeding difficult: *Moses* leauing nothing vnforethought which might serue for the aduancement of his enterprize, he instantly intreated his Father in Law, whom in the tenth of *Numbers* he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their iourney towards *Canaan*; promising him such part and profit of the enterprize, as God should bestow on them: for this man, as he was of great vnderstanding & iudgement (as appeared by the Counsell hee gaue to *Moses* for the appointing of Iudges ouer the people) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himselfe inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian*, or *Madian*: and (as it seemeth) a man of great yeeres and experience; for he was then the Priest or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moses* fled first out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. yeeres before this request made. And though *Moses* himselfe had liued 40. yeeres in these parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to trauell: yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of soules, which could not be so few as a Million, it was necessary to vse many guides, and many conducters. To this request of *Moses*, it may seeme by the places, *Exod.* 18. 27. and *Num.* 10. 30. that *Iethro*, otherwise called *Hobab*, yeelded not: for it is euident, that he went backe from *Moses* into his owne Countrey. But because it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the posterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Israelites*, it is most likely that his returne to his owne Countrey, was rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leaue of his owne Countrey, by setting things in order, than to abide there.

Indic. 1. 16. &
4. 11. Allo
1 Sam. 15. 6
And 2. Reg. 10.
15.
1 Chro. 2. 55.
1er. 35.

§. III.

The voyage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their turning backe to the Red Sea.

After this dismission of *Hobab*, *Israel* began to march towards the Deserts of *Paran*:⁴⁰ and after three daies wandring, they sate downe at the Sepulchers of lust, afterward called *Tabera*, or *Incensio*: by reason that God consumed with fire those Mutiners and Murmurers which rose vp in this remoue, which happened about the 23. day of the same Moneth. And from this 23. day of the second Moneth, of the second yeere, they rested and fed themselves with Quails (which it pleased God by a Sea-winde to cast vpon them) to the 24. day of the third moneth, to wit, all the moneth of *Sinan* or *Iune*: whereof surfsaiting there dyed great numbers: from whence in the following moneth, called *Thamus*, answering to our *July*, they went on to *Hazereth*, where *Miriam* the sister of *Moses* was stricken with the leprosie, which continued vpon her seuen dayes, after whose recovery *Israel* remoued toward the border of *Idumea*; and incamped at *Rithma*,⁵⁰ neere *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moses* sent the twelue discoverers into the Territory of *Canaan*, both to informe themselves of the fertility and strength of the Countrey; as also to take knowledge of the Wayes, Passages, Riuers, Fords, and Mountaines. For *Aradking* of the *Canaanites* surprized diuers companies of the *Israelites*, by lying in ambush neere those wayes, through which the discoverers and searchers of the Land had formerly past. Now, after the returne of the discoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned against *Israel*, whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefits, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliuerance from the

Num. 11. & 13
Num. 12.

Num. 21.

the *Egyptian* slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *Wildernesse* (for so *Moses* calleth it) with the victory which he gaue them against the powerfull *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that hee led them on and preferred them, but to bring them, their wiues, and children to be slaughtered, and giuen for a prey and spoyle to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was reported vnto them, by the searchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong Towers and Castles; that many of the people were *Giant-like*, (for they contest that they saw the sonnes of *Anac* there) who were men of fearefull stature, and so farre ouer-topped the *Israelites*, as they appeared to them, and to them-
10 selues, but as *Grashoppers* in their respect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a Captaine (or as they call it now adayes, an *Electo*) to carry them backe againe into *Egypt*; so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he exstinguished euery soule of the whole multitude (*Iosua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promises, perswaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then neere it; and at the mountaine foote of *Idumea*, which is but narrow, laying before them the fertility thereof, and assuring them of victory. But as men, whom the passion of feare had bereaued both of reason and common sense, they threatned to stone these encouragers to death; accounting
20 them as men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the liues, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the feare of his bright glory between the vnadvised fury of the multitude, and the innocency and constancy of his seruants, preferred them thereby from their violence; threatening an intire destruction of the whole Nation, by sending among them a consuming and mercilesse pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion, which they had made, since God deliuered them from the slavery of the *Egyptians*. But *Moses*
30 (the mildest or meekest of all men) prayed vnto God to remember his infinite mercies; alledging, that this so seuer a iudgement, how deseruedly soeuer inflicted, would increate the pride of the Heathen Nations, and giue them occasion to vaunt, that the God of *Israel*, failing in power to performe his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitlesse Deserts. Yet as God is no lesse iust than mercifull, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire; the same being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand lesse heavy than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity, so by the measure of his glory (euermore ialous of neglect and derision) he suffered not the wicked to passe vnpunished; reseruing his compassion for the innocent: whom, because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleased to preferue, and in them to performe his promises, which haue neuer bene frustrated.

Num. 14. 20.

Num. 14. 22.

Num. 12. 3.

§. III.

40 *Of their unwillingnesse to returne: with the punishment thereof, and of diuers accidents in the returne.*

NOW when *Moses* had reuealed the purposes of God to the people, and made them know his heavy displeasure towards them, they began to bewaile themselves, though ouer-late: the times of grace and mens repentance, hauing also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his mercifull sufferings, they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt: and make offer to enter the Land contrary againe to the aduice of *Moses*; who assured them, that God was
50 not among them; and that the Arke of his couenant should not moue, but by His direction, who could not erre; and that the enemies sword which God had hitherto benedicted and rebated, was now left no lesse sharpe than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites*, and *Canaanites* no lesse cruell. But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwayes follow those counsels which carry them to their owne destructions: so the *Hebrewes*, after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered: and might then haue entered *Judea* before their enemies were prepared and ioyned; did afterward, contrary to Gods commandement, vndertake the enterprize of themselves; and ranne head-long and without aduice into the mountaines of *Idumea*. There the

the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being ioyned, and attending their advantage, set on them, brake them: and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victory and pursuite, consumed them all the way of their flight, euen vnto *Harmah*: the *Amalekites* in reuenge of their former losse, and overthrow at *Kaphidim*: the *Canaanites* to prevent their displantation and destruction threatened. Of which powerfull assembly of those two Nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings ioyned together for their common safetie) it pleased God to forewarne *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to returne by those painefull passages of the Deserts, through which they had formerly trauelled, till they found the bankes of the red Sea againe: in which retraite before they came backe to passe ouer *Jordan*, there were consumed 38. yeeres; and the whole number of the 600. and oddethousand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moses*, *Iosua*, and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wildernesse, the stubborne and carelesse generations were wholly worne out, and the promised Land bestowed on their children; which were increased to 600000. and more. For besides the double fault both of refusing to enter the Land vpon the returne of their discoverers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping *Moloch*, and the Host of Heauen. For although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as also that the *Israelites* worshipped the Sunne and Moone in after times, it is proued out of sundry other places.

Amos 5. 25.
A.R. 7. 42.
2 Kin. 17. 16.
& cap. 11. v. 3.
& c. 23. v. 4. 5.
11.
2 Chron. 33. 3.
Hierem. 6. 19.
v. 13. & c.

Num. 33.

Now after the broken Companies were returned to the Campe at *Cades*, *Moses* according to the commandement receiued from God, departed towards the South from whence hee came, to recouer the shoares of the *Red Sea*. And so from *Cades* or *Rithma* hee remoued to *Remmonparez*, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found and diuided among them. From whence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankensse there found. From *Libnah* he crost the Valley, and fate downe at *Kessa*, neere the foote of the mountaine. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at *Ceelata*; where one of the *Hebrewes*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses* alwayes keeping the Valley, betwene two great ledges of mountaines, (those which bound the Desert of *Sinne*, and those of *Pharan*) crost the same from *Ceelata*, and marched Eastward to the mountaine of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*: this making the Twentieth mansion. From thence hee passed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceloth*; and then to *Thahab*, and so to *Thara* or *Thare*; the foure and twentieth mansion. Where *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, & *Abiram*; who for their contempt of God & his Ministers, were some of them swallowed vp aliue, and by the Earth opening her mouth deuoured; others, euen two hundred and fifty which offered incense with *Korah*, were consumed with fire from Heauen; and 14700. of their party, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest maruailes and iudgements of God, that hath been shewed in all the time of *Moses* his gouernment, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-men who would haue vsurped Ecclesiasticall authority, were suddenly swallowed vp aliue into the Earth with their families and goods; euen while they sought to ouerthrow the Order, Discipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the High Priest and Magistrate, to whom God had committed the gouernment both of his Church, and Common-weale of his people. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirme them, it pleased him in this place also to approue by miracle the former election of his seruant *Aaron*, by the twelue rods giuen in by the Heads of the twelue Tribes; of which *Moses* receiued one of euery Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and dried Wands, and on euery rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aarons* on that of *Leui*, it pleased God, that the rod of *Aaron* receiued by his power a vegetable spirit, and hauing laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, before the *Arke* one night, had on it both Buddes, Blossomes, and ripe Almonds.

From *Tharah* the whole Army remoued to *Methra*; and thence to *Esmona*; and thence to *Moseroth*, (or *Masuris*, after *Saint Hierome*) and from *Moseroth* to *Beneicacan*; and so to *Gadgad*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Ietabata*, the thirtieth Mansion; where from certaine fountaines of water gathered in one, *Adrichomius* maketh a Riuer, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, betwene *Madian* and *Afiongaber*.

Now

Now although it be very probable, that at *Afiongaber*, where *Salomon* furnished his Fleets for the East India, there was store of fresh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great Riuer in Arabia the stonie, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (saith he) the inhabitants conueigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which deuice the King of Arabia receiued the Army of *Cambyses*: yet *Adrichomius* greatly deceiued; as many times he is, in finding these Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Ietabata*, being the nine and twentieth of thirtie Mansions. For it was at *Punon*, that those Springs are spoken of; which in *Deuteronomy* the tenth, and the tenth Verse, is also called *Schabai* or *Sababai*; a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the Riuer *Zeredah*; the next adioyning. And that these Springs should fall into the *Red Sea*, at *Afiongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot beleue, for the way thither is very long. And this I finde in *Belonius*, that there are diuers Fontaines of fresh water in those parts of Arabia: which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunke vp by the hot and thirsty sand, before they can recouer the bankes of the *Red Sea*.

From *Ietabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and incamped at *Hebron*, and from thence to *Efiongaber*: which City in *Iosephus* time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hieromes*, *Efion*. From thence, keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, hee turned towards the North, as hee was by God commanded to goe: *Efiongaber* being the farthest place towards the South East; that *Moses* traileth in that passage.

It seemeth that *Efiongaber*, or *Afiongaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. That it is said, that the Lord spake vnto *Moses* and *Aaron* in the Mount *Hor*, neere the East of the Land of *Edom*, to as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Edom*. And if *Efiongaber*, and the other places neere the *Red Sea*, had at this present beene subiect vnto the *Edomites*, *Moses* would also haue demanded a free passage through them: It is true, that in the future the *Edomites* obtained those places; for it is said, *And they arose out of *Madian*, and came to *Paran*; and took men with them; which were those companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idubaa*, vnto *Egypt*, when he fled from *Isaac*. Likewise it is said of *Salomon*, that hee made a Nauy of shippes in *Efiongaber* besides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*.*

6. V. The Lord spake vnto *Moses* and *Aaron* in the Mount *Hor*, neere the East of the Land of *Edom*.

Of *Moses* arrivall at *Zin Kades*, and of the accident while that they were there.

From *Efiongaber* hee turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the wilderness of *Zin*, which is *Kades*; or in *Beroth* of the children of *Isaac*; where they fate downe in the first Moneth of the fortieth yeere; after they were in *Egypt*. For at the next Mansion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeere: the nine and thirtieth yeere taking end at *Efiongaber*. And at this City of *Cades* (for so it was thought to be) or neere it, died *Miriam*, or *Mary*, *Moses* sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seene in *Saint Hieromes* time, as himselfe auoweth. From hence ere they departed to the Mountaine *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcity of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heauen; by being deuoured and swallowed vp by the earth; by the sudden pestilence, which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the loue or wrath of God, could preuaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in euery of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for helpe and reliefe at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting vngratefully on *Moses* all their misaduentures; yea, though they well knew that their owne Fathers had left their bodies in the Deserts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeere, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in the sight of the Land promised, they againe as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of

Hier. 3.

Deut. 2.

Num. c. 10.

v. 13.

1 Kings 11. 18.

Num. 20. 1.

Num. 20. 3.

C c

God

GOD are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded Moses to strike a Rocke adioyning with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattell were satisfied. Neuertheless, because God perceiued a kinde of diffidence both in Moses and Aaron, at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might inuite them. But it pleased him to end the trauailes of Aaron at the Mountaine Hor, being the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of Hor, Aaron was depoyled of the garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on Eleazar his sonne, as God had commanded. Which done, Moses and Eleazar descended the Mountaine; but GOD receiued Aaron on the top thereof, and he was no more scene: hee.

Of this Mountaine called Hor, otherwise Mosera, as in Deuteronomy 10. Verse 6. those Horites tooke name, which the Idumeans had formerly vanquished. Somewhere are which make Mosera, which was the seauen and twentieth Mansion; and Mosera which they write Moseroth for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called Hor, to be two distinct places: because Moses in passing from Cadesbarne towards Esongaber, incamped at Mosera, after hee departed from Hesmona, and before he came to Beniamin. And this Mosera, which is also called Hor, he came vnto after he left Cades, wherè Miriam, Moses sister dyed, the first being the seauen and twentieth, and the second being the foure and thirtieth Mansion. But for Hor, which is also called Mosera, it should haue bene written, Hor iuxta Mosera; Hor neere Mosera: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, diuided into diuers tops, as Sinai and Horeb are: Whereof the West part Moses calleth Mosera, and the East part Horeb. By the West part Moses encamped, as hee past towards the Red Sea, on his left hand; by the East part, as hee went backe againe North-wards towards Moab: as in the description of Moses his passage through Arabia, the Reader may perceiue.

Now it was from Cades, before they came to Hor, because Hor belonged to Edom, that Moses sent messengers to the Prince of Idumaea, praying him that he might passe with the people of Israel through his Territory into the Land of Canaan, which bordered it. For it was the neerest way of all other from the City of Kadesh, where Moses then encamped, whereas otherwise taking his journey by the Riuers of Zared, Arnon, and Jordan, he might haue runne into many hazards in the passage of those Riuers, the farre way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now the better to perswade the Prince of Idumaea hereunto, Moses remembered him, that hee was of the same race and family with Israel: calling him by the name of brother, because both the Edomites and Israelites were the sonnes of one father, to wit, Isaac; inferring thereby that hee had more reason to fauour and respect them, than hee had to assist the Canaanites, against whom Esau his Ancestor had made warre, and driuen out the Horites (who were of their ancient races descended of Cham) out of the Region of Seir, calling it by his owne name Edom, or Edumaea. He also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promises; assured Edom, or the King thereof, that hee would not way offend his people, or waste his Countrey, but that hee would restraints his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high wayes, paying money for whatsoeuer he vsed, yea, euen for the water, which themselves or their Cattell should drinke. For Moses was commanded by God, not to prouoke the children of Esau. But the King of Edumaea knowing the strength of his owne Countrey, the same being neere Canaan, rampard with high and sharpe mountaines: and withall suspecting, as a naturall wise man, that 600000. strangers being once entred his Countrey, it would rest in their wills to giue him law, resolutely refused them passage, and deliuered this answer to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible meanes. And not knowing whether such a deniall might satisfie or exasperate, hee gathered the strength of his Countrey together, and shewed himselfe prepared to defend their passage. For, as it is written; Then Edom came out against him (to wit, Moses) with much people, and with a mighty power. Whereupon Moses considering, that the end of his enterprize was not the conquest of Seir or Edumaea, and that the Land promised was that of Canaan: like vnto himselfe who was of naturall vnderstanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of warre that the world had, hee

hee refused to aduenture the Army of Israel against a Nation, which being ouercome, gaue but a passage to inuade others; and which by reason of the feate of their mountainous Countrey, could not but haue endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of Israel, and rendred them lesse able, if not altogether powerlesse, to haue conquered the rest.

§. VI.

Of their compassing Idumaea, and traouelling to Arnon, the border of Moab.

10 Therefore leauing the way of Idumaea, turned himselfe towards the East, and marched towards the Deserts of Moab. Which when Arad King of the Canaanites vnderstood, and that Moses had blanced the way of Idumaea; and knowing that it was Canaan, and not Edom, which Israel aimed at, he thought it safest, rather to finde his enemies in his neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his owne: which he might haue done with a farre greater hope of victory, had Moses beene enforst first to haue made his way by the Sword through Idumaea, and thereby though victorious, greatly haue lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than Arad hoped for, yet being resolutely to make triall, what courage the Israelites brought with them out of Egypt, before they came neerer his owne home; leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Desert, he set vpon some part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great space, and for the many herds of Cattell that they draue with them, could not encampe so neere together, but that some quarter or other was euermore subiect to surpris. By which aduantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance v unexpected, he slew some few of the Israelites, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this Canaanite, or his Predecessour, which ioynd his forces with the Amalekites, and gaue an ouerthrow to those mutinous Israelites, which without direction from God by Moses, would haue entred Canaan from Cadesbarne. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that Army were of the Canaanites, because in the first of Deuteronomy, 44. the Amorites are named alone without the Amalekites, and are said to haue beaten the Israelites at that time. And this Arad, if he were the same that had a victory ouer Israel, neere Cadesbarne; or if it were his Predecessour that then preuailed, this man finding that Moses was returned from the Red Sea; and in his way towards Canaan, and that the South part of Canaan was first to be inuaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of Moses purpose to compass Moab, determined while he was yet in the Desert, to trie the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the twelfth Chapter of Numbers, that the Israelites utterly destroyed the Canaanites and their Cities, they are much mistaken that thinke, that this destruction was presently performed by the Israelites. But it is to be vnderstood, to haue bene done in the future, to wit, in the time of Iosua. For had Moses at this time entred Canaan in the pursuit of Arad, he would not haue fallen backe againe into the Deserts of Arad and Moab, and haue fetcht a wearisome and needlesse compass, by the Riuers of Zared and Arnon.

Neither is their coniecture to be valued at any thing, which affirme, that Arad did not inhabite any part of Canaan it selfe, but that his Territory lay without it, and neere the Mountaine Hor. For Hor and Zin Cades were the South borders of Edom, and not of Canaan. And it was in the South of the Land of Canaan, that Arad dwelt: which South part of Canaan was the North part of Edom.

Again, Horma (for so farre the Israelites after their victory pursued the Canaanites) is seated in the South of Idumaea. There is also a City of that name in Simoon. But there is no such place to the South of Edom. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed presently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to proue, that the same was obtained in the future, and in Iosua his time, and not at the instant of Arads assault. For had the Israelites at this time sackt the Cities of Arad, they would nor the next day haue complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also water and bread. But it was in the time of Iosua, that the Israelites tooke their reuenge, and after they had past Jordan: Iosua then gouerning them; who in the twelfth Chapter and foureteenth Verse, nameth this Arad by the name of his

Citie so called; and with him the King of *Horma*: to which place the Israelites pursued the Canaanites. And he nameth them amongst those Kings, which he vanquished, and put to death.

Now after this assault and surprize by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, he led the people Eastward to compass *Idumaea* and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the *Plaines of Moab*, at that time in the possession of the Amorites. But the Israelites, to whom the very name of a Desert was terrible, began againe to rebell against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the byring of Serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentifull grace, cured them againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement set vp.

From the *Mount Hor*, *Moses* leaving the ordinary way which lyeth betweene the *Red Sea*, and *Calosyrta*, encamped at *Zalmona*: and thence hee remoued to *Phunon*, where hee erected the Brazen Serpent; making these journeys by the edge of *Idumaea*, but without it. For *Phunon* was sometime a principall City of the Edomites. Now where it is written in *Numbers* 21. *Verse* 4. *This from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved the people*, it was not thereby meant that the Israelites turned back towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonseca*) *per viam que habet à latere mare rubrum*; By the way that sided the *Red Sea*, but indeed they crost, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Traconitis*, and the Countreys of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Esiogaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*: which way, as it lay North and South, so *Israel* to shunne the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmost East part of *Moab*, crost the common way towards the East, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they entered the Territory of *Moab*, adioyning to the Land of *Suph*, a Countrey bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, where the Mountaines so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East border of *Moab*; From thence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the Riuer of *Zared*, which riseth in the mountaines of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not farre from *Petra* the Metropolis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And hauing past that Riuer, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremie* the Prophet *Chap.* 48. *Verse* 22. calleth the *House of Diblathaim*, the same which afterward was destroyed among the rest by *Nabuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the Riuer of *Arnon*, and encamped in the mountaines of *Abarim*: though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moses* doth not remember *Helmondiblathaim*, but speaketh of his remouue from the Riuer of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, betweene them and the Amorites: speaking, as he found the state of the Countrey at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the Moabites, by *Sehon*, King of the Amorites: euen from the Predecessour of *Bilac Peor* then reigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moses* sent messengers to *Sehon*, King of the Amorites, to desire a passage through his Countrey: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to giue a reason to the neighbour Nations, of the warre he undertooke. And though *Edom* had refused him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending messengers to *Sehon*, obserued the same precept, which he left to his posterity and successours, for a law of the warre; namely in *Deut.* 20. *Verse* 10. in these words, *When thou comest neere vnto a Citie to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of and open vnto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries vnto thee, and serue thee; but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite all the males thereof with the edge of the sword*. Which ordinance all commanders of Armies haue obserued to this day, or ought to haue done.

§. VII.

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture, which are lost.

Num. c. 21. v. 14.

Now concerning the Warre betweene *Israel* and *Sehon*, *Moses* seemeth to referre a great part of this Story to that Booke intituled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; The booke of Gods battailes: and therefore passeth ouer many encounters, and other things memorat.

memorable, with greater breuiaty in this place. His words after the *Genesis* Translation are these: *wherefore it shall be spoken in the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Riuers of Arnon*. The *Vulgar* copie differeth not in sense from this: But the *Greeke Septuagint* vary. For the *Greeke* writes it to this effect; *For thus it is said in the Booke: The warre of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoph, and the brookes of Arnon*. Iunius for the *Red Sea*, which is in the *Genueian* and *Vulgar Edition*, names the Region of * *Suph*, a Countrey bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the East, as he comethureth. The

Text he readeth thus. *Idcirco dicit solet in recessione bellorum Ichoua, contra Vahebum in Regione Suph: & contra flumina, flumina Arnonis*. Therefore is it spoken in repeating of the battailes of *Ichoua*, against *Valgeb*, in the Countrey of *Suph*; and against the Riuers, the Riuers of *Arnon*. In which words he vnderstands, that amongst the warres which the Lord disposed for the good of the Israelites, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the warre of *Sehon* against *Vaheb*, the King of the Moabites, and of his winning the Countrey neere *Arnon*, out of the possession of the Moabites. For this *Vaheb* was the immediate predecessor of *Balac*, who liued with *Moses*: though it be written that this *Balac* was the son of *Zippor*, and not of *Vaheb*. For it seemes (as it is plaine in the succession of the Edomites) that these Kingdomes were elective, and not successiue. And as Iunius in this Translation vnderstandeth no speciall Booke of the battailes of the Lord: so others, as *Varatilis* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this

place any speciall Booke be meant: and if any, whether it be not a prediction of warres in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the Book of *Judges*, *Syrachides* c. 46. tells vs plainly, that those battailes of the Lord were fought by *Iosua*; *Whowis there* (saith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord*. But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe ouer matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Bookes, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable; that such a Booke as this there was; wherein the severall victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the Israelites, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with diuine discourse, haue perished in the long race of time, or haue beene destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the Bookes of *Henech*, how soeuer they haue beene in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembered in an Epistle of *Thaddew*, and cited by *Origen*, and *Tertullian*.

That worke also of the Patriarch *Abraham*, of *Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Bookes remembered by *Iosua* c. 10. v. 13. and in the second of *Samuel*, c. 1. v. 18. called the Booke of *Iasher*, or *Iustorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sunne and Moone in the midst of the Heauens is recorded, and how they stood still till *Israel* had auenged themselves of their enemies: out of which also *Danid* took the precept, of teaching the children of *Juda*, to exercise their bowes against their enemies.

Somethinkethis to be the Booke of eternall Predestination, in which the iust are written, according vnto the sixty and ninth *Psalm*, *Verse* 28. where it is said, *Let them bee put out of the Booke of Life, neither let them bee written with the righteous*. *Hierome* thinkes, that *Danid* by this Booke vnderstood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Salomon*, that the Bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the iust *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses*, are written; Others, that it was the Booke of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a Commentary vpon *Iosua*, by an vknowne Author.

The Booke of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasse*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* 33. v. 18. & 16. Of this booke, also lost, *Hierome* conceiues that the Prophet *Isay* was the Author.

The same mischance came aswell to the Story of *Salomon*, written by *Ahiu*; *Salomon*, who met with *Ieroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdome of *Israel* from the sonne of *Salomon*; as to the bookes of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Iedoth* the Seer, remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 9. v. 29. With these haue the bookes of *Shephaniah* and of *Idde*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 12. v. 23. perished; and that of *Iehon* the sonne of *Hananis*, of the acts of *Iehosaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron.* c. 20. v. 34. Also that booke of *Salomon* which the Hebrewes write *Hastorim*, of 5000. verses,

of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum*, onely remaineth, 1. *Kings* 4. 32. and with this diuers others of *Salomons* works haue perished, as his Booke of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1. *Kings* 4. 33. with the rest remembered by *Origen*, *Iosephus*, *Hierome*, *Cedrenius*, *Ciccius Asculanius*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of these and other Bookes many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nabuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Iherusalem*. But let vs returne thither where wee left.

§. VIII.

Of *Moses* his sparing the issue of *Lot*; and of the *Giants* in those parts; and of *Sehon* and *Og*.

When *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposite to the City of *Nebo*, leaving the City of *Midian* on the left hand, & attempting nothing vpon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabite on the South-side of *Arnon*, hauing lost all his ancient and best Territory, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to prouoke them to battaile, God hauing giuen that Land to the children of *Lot*; the same which was anciently possessed by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those *Giants* called *Anakims*, or the sonnes of *Anac*.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence those *Giants*, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Jordan*, euen to the Desert of *Arabia*, as well on the West, as on the East-side of the Mountaines of *Gilead*, was inhabited by *Giants*. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time passe those Mountaines to the East of *Basan*, but left their Country to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many *Giants* both before and after the flood: so these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it selfe, had among them many Families of *Giant*-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the City of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Iosua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also beene *Giants* in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chiefe City was *Aroer* or *Ar*, neere the River of *Arnon*. To the *Giants* of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gaue the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the same ancient *Canaanites*: and their chiefe City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelpia*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti*, *horrendi*, *Gigantes*, *Strong men*, and *fearfull Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the same Prouince, and not farre to the North of *Aroer*.

Now *Moses* hauing past *Arnon*, and being encamped at *Abarim*; and hauing (as before) sent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his Country, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conquest vpon *Reheb* the *Moabite*; which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as strangers and vsurpers, (themselues being of the sonnes of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withall prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* encamped in the Country of his new conquests, to wit, the *Plaines* of *Moab*, the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which *Moses* wasted with the multitude of his people, and cattell. Towards him therefore hauing himselfe, they encountered each other at *Iabac*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited; and the victory so pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. He also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Essebon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basan* also were: and descended of *Emoreus* or *Amoreus*: for *Moses* calleth the *Basanites* also *Amorites*. And although *Israel* might now haue taken a ready way and passage into *Iudea*: being at this time, and after this victory at the banks of *Jordan*: yet he knew it to be perillous to leaue so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of *Basan* or *Tracanis*: and therefore he led on his Army to invade *Og*: a person of exceeding strength and stature: and the onely man of marke remaining of the ancient *Giants* of

Deut. 2. v. 9. & 10, 11, & 12.

Ios. 15. v. 13. c. 14. v. 15.

Deut. 1. v. 8.

of those parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defenced: lying betweene the Mountaine of *Hermom* (which Mountaine, saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*; and the *Amorites* *Shenir*) and the River of *Jordan*. And it befell vnto the King of *Basan* (who attended *Moses* coming at *Edrei*) as it did vnto *Sihon*: for he and his sonnes perished, and all his Cities were taken and posselt. After this, *Moses* with-drawing himselfe backe againe to the Mountaines of *Abarim*, left the prosecution of that warre vnto *Iair* the sonne of *Manasse*: who conquering the East parts of *Basan*, to wit, the Kingdome of *Argob*, euen vnto the Nations of the *Gessuri* and *Machati*, 60. walled Cities: called the same after his owne name *Huoth Iair*: of all which conquests afterward the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* posselt the North part as farre as *Edrei*, but the East part that belonged to *Sihon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountaines of *Gilead* adioyning, was giuen to *Reuben* and vnto *Gad*.

§. IX.

Of the troubles about the *Midianites*, and of *Moses* his death.

After these victories, and while *Israel* sojourned in the valley of *Moab*, the *Midianites* and *Moabites* (ouer both which Nations it seemeth that *Balaam* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chiefe) sought, according to the aduice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the Hebrewes to the loue of their daughters, and by perswading them to honour and serue their Idols, to diuide them both in Loue and Religion among themselues: thereby the better both to defend their owne interest against them, as also to beate them out of *Moab*, and the Countreys adioyning. The *Israelites* as they had euer beene inclined, so were they now easily perswaded to these euill courses, and thereby drew on themselues the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished 24000. persons: besides which punishment of God, the most of the offenders among the Hebrewes, were by his commandement put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the sonne of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi* a daughter of one of the chiefe of the *Midianites*, the plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appeased. For such was the loue and kindnesse of his all-powerfulnesse, respecting the ardent zeale of *Phineas* in persecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chiefe among the Hebrewes, became an Idolater) as he forgane the rest of *Israel*, and stayed his hand for his sake.

In this valley it was that *Moses* caused the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601730. of which as his last enterprise, he appointed 12000. to be chosen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the *Moabites* practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel*: and after that sought to allure them (as before remembered) from the worship of the true God, to the seruice of *Beth-Peor*: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatry. Ouer which companies of 12000. *Moses* gaue the charge to *Phineas*, the sonne of *Eleazar* the high Priest: who slew the siue Princes of the *Midianites*, which were, or had lately beene, the vassals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Iosuah*. These siue Princes of the *Midianites* slaine by *Eleazar*, were at this time but the vassals of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Eui*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba*, the Dukes of *Sehon* saith *Iosuah*. He slew also all the men, male-children, and women: sauing such as had not yett serued the company of men, but those they saued, and disperst them among the children of *Israel* to serue them.

And *Moses* hauing now liued 120. yeeres, making both his owne weakenesse of body knowne to the people, and his vnability to trauaile: and also that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God: from whom hee receiued a new commandement to ascend the Mountaines of *Abarim*, and thereon to render vp his life: He haltned to settle the Government in *Iosua*: whom hee perswaded with most liuely arguments to prosecute the conquest begun, assuring him of Gods fauour and assistance therein. And so hauing spent these his later dayes after the Conquest of *Og* and *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and exposition of the Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to Saint *Augustine*) vsing both arguments, prayers, and threats vnto the people: which he often repeated vnto them; thereby to confirme them in knowledge, loue, feare, and seruice, of the all-powerfull God: He blessed the twelue Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with seuerall and most comfortable blessings: praying the greatnesse and goodness

Num. 25. v. 9.

Num. 16. v. 51.

Num. 31. v. 8.

Ios. 13. v. 21.

Cap. 13. 21.

Deut. 31. v. 1.

Ddeut. 31. v. 21.

Aug. 1. 4. de Mirab. sacris.

Deut. 33.

nesse

nesses of him, vnto whom in his prayers he commended them: He also commanded the Priests to lay vpon the Booke of the Law, by the side of the Arke of God: The last that he indited was that Propheticall Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Heauens and I will speake, and let the Earth heare the words of my mouth:* and being called by God from the labours and sorrowes of this life, vnto that rest which neuer afterward hath disquiet, hee was buried in the Land of *Moab*, ouer against *Beth-Peor*: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day; which happened in the yeere of the World 2554.

§. X.

Observations out of the Story of Moses, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.

NOW let vs a little, for instruction, looke backe to the occasions of sundry of the great euents, which haue bene mentioned in this Story of the life of Moses, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promise, and fore-choise of this people) hee wrought in all things else by the medium of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And so we shall finde that the feare which *Pharaoh* had of the increase of the *Hebrewes*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cause of the sorrowes and losse, which befell himselfe, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he fought by cruell and vngodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the male-children of the *Hebrewes* to be slaine, God (whose prouidence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes preuented by all the foolish and saluage craft of mortall men) moued compassion in the heart of *Pharaoh's* owne daughter, to preferue that childe, which afterward became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and milde, the most excellently learned in all Diuine and Humane knowledge, to be the conductor and deliuerer of his oppressed brethren, and the ouerthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his Nation; euen then, when he fought by the strength of his men of Warre, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them vnder, and bury them in the dust. The griefe which *Moses* conceiued of the iniuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrewes* in his owne preference, moued him to take reuenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his owne Nation, by threatening him to discouer the slaughter of the *Egyptian*, moued him to flie into *Midian*: the contention betweene the Shepherds of that place, and *Jethro's* Daughters, made him knowne to their Father: who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of those Sisters: and in that solitary life of keeping of his Father in lawes sheepe, farre from the presse of the World, contenting himselfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poore Heardf-man, God found him out in that Desert, wherein he first suffered him to liue many yeeres, the better to know the wayes and passages through which he purposed that he should conduct his people, toward the Land promised: and therein appearing vnto him, he made him know his will and diuine pleasure for his returne into *Egypt*. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by Gods direction performed in the Story of *Israel* before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seeme vnto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence: but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many yeeres after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their coming out of Egypt; and of the men of renoune in other Nations, about the times of Moses and Iosua, with the summe of the History of Iosua.

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites were to haue warre, were diuers wayes, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.

IN like manner if we look to the quality of the Nations, with whom the Israelites, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to doe, either in the wilderness, or afterward: we shall finde them long before-hand, by the disposing prouidence of God, as it were prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Ham*: and the rest (as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, & Israelites) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: whereas the Israelites still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient iniuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diuersity in Religion, were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the Israelites: and so to serue for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, wee must vnderstand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountaines of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the same mountaines continued as farre as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East: by the way of *Egypt*, and the Red Sea, on the South: and by the Mediterran Sea on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the sonnes of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of *Sem*, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the Canaanites, the ancient Lords and possessors of those Territories, by procelle of time diuided into severall Families and names: whereof some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the Anakims, Zamizummins, or Zuzi, Emims, Horites, and others: These (as men most valiant and able commonly doe) did inhabit the viter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the rest were the Zidonians, Iebusites, Amorites, Henites, Herites, and others, who tooke name after the sonnes of *Canaan*, and after whom the Countrey in generall was still called.

As for the Hebrewes which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Familie, and strangers in that Countrey, especially the Israelites: and this was some cause that the Canaanites did not affect them, or indure them: no more than the Philistims did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himselfe being a stranger, was highly esteemed and honoured among them; especially by the Amorites inhabiting the West part of *Jordan*: yet now euen they which descended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the Israelites: as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the Canaanites, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity, than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is, that these Nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linked themselves and matched with the Canaanites and others, had to farre posselt themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to be equall in strength to the bordering Canaanites, if not superiour. For of *Lot* came those two great Families of the Moabites, & Ammonites: of *Esaue* the Idumaeans: of *Madian* the Madianites: of *Ismael* the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, came the Ismaelites, with whom are ioyned as of the same Nation, the Amalekites, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to haue bene a Tribe of *Edom*, because *Esaue* had a grand-childe of that name, yet manifest reason con-

* It seemeth also that *Hur*, the Sonne of *Nachor*, and *Buz* his Brother, planted themselves in the East side of *Jordan*, about *Babylon*: where they finde the Land of *Hudza* in which *Iob* dwelt as one of the issue of *Hur*, the Sonne of *Nachor*, and *Elihu*, his friend which is called a *Buzite*. See hereafter cha. 10. §. 7. Exod. 17. 16.

Deut. 1. 5.

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unceth it to haue beene otherwise. For the Israelites were forbidden to prouoke the Edomites, or doe them any wrong, whereas contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed, and enlesse warre decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere, Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Ismaels* eldest sonne *Naboth* sprung the *Arabians of Petra*, called *Nabathe*. Now euen as *Abraham* besought God to bleesse *Ismael*, so it pleased him both to promise and performe it. For of him those twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land betwene *Hanilah* vpon *Tigris*, and *Sur* which is the West part of the *Desert of Arabia Petra*. Yet howsoever the strength of these later named Nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great; it is not vnlikely, but that some reason which moued them not to fauour the entrance of the Israelites into *Canaan*, was in respect of feare: because to all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any stranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these Families before named, were not so vnited, in and among themselves, but that they had their ieaousies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood apart or vnited, they were taught by the care of their owne preservation, to ioyne themselves together against *Israel*: though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolutely as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumians* onely denied the Hebrewes a passage: which the *Moabites* durst not denie: because their Countrey lay more open; and because themselves had lately beene beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites*, their Countrey lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og* Kings of the *Amorites*, was interiacent: and besides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was strong, by reason of the mountains which diuided it from *Bashan*. Again, that which moued the *Moabites* in their owne reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate, was that the *Moabites* might hope after such time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recouer againe their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plaines lying betwene the mountaines of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as soone as *Sehon* was slaine, and that the King of *Moab*, *Balac*, perceiued that *Moses* allotted that valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*, he began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the daughters of *Midian* as afore said, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the *Moabites* by speciall occasion were more and more stirred vp to enmity against *Israel*. And as for diuers of the rest that were descended from *Abrahams* kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, betwene the Authors of their Petigrees, God permitted some enmities to be as it were prefaces of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incensed, by the memory of old grudges: and withall by some disdaine from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Ismaelites* being descended from the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldest sonne of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, being but a second sonne, of a second brother; those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses, being naturall men might scorne to giue place, much lesse to subiect themselves to their inferiours, as they tooke it: and for a more aggrauation, the issues of *Esaus* Princes of *Edum*, might keepe in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by *Jacobs* taking his aduantage, and that he was deceiued of his fathers blessing also by him: and that *Jacob* after reconciliation came not vnto him as he promised, into *Seir* or *Idum*.

Gen. 25.
Gen. 27.
Gen. 33. 14.

Gen. 36.

So also in the posterity of *Ismael*, it might remaine as a seed or pretence of enmity, that their fore-father was by the instigation of *Sara*, cast out into the *Desert*, with his mother *Hagar*; and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angell to relieue them. *Ismael* also had an Egyptian both to his mother and to his wife: and *Amalec* was also an Horite by his mother: which Horites were of the ancient *Canaanites*. The *Edumians* also, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternall line descended of the *Canaanites*. For *Esa* tooke two wiues of that Nation: one of them was *Adath*, the daughter of *Elon*, the Hittite, and the other *Abolishamah*, the grand-child of *Zibeon* the Hcuite, Lord of *Seir*, before the same was conquered by *Esa*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edum*.

Lastly, it appeareth that all those Families of the *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in proceffe of time corrupted, and drawne from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conuersion of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wiues of the *Canaanites* which they had married: onely a few of the *Kenites* and those *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof *Iethro* was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and euil-living God.

§. II.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the *Canaanites* and *Madianites*, mentioned in the ancient *Warrs* of the *Israelites*.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham*, (for *Melchizedek* may be thought to be of a better Petigree) we finde foure named by *Moses*: and one and thirty remembred by *Iosua*; though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities ouer which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territory adioyning, and no other Dominion. These *Canaanites* in a generall consideration are to be vnderstood for all those Nations, descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*; as the *Hittites*, *Iebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Henites*, &c. and so here we vnderstand this name in speaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the Countrey of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God hath appointed that the seuen principle Families should be rooted out: and that his owne people should inherite their Lands and Cities. But if we consider of the name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the East, and by the *Mediterranean* Sea on the West: in which narrow Countrey, and in the choysiest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemer*, of the *Henites*, whom *Simeon* and *Leui* slew, together with his sonne *Sichem*, in reuenge of their sisters rauishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures haue remembred, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the dead Sea; the same which surprised *Israel*, as they encamped in the wilderness in the edge of *Edum*.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Essebon*, who before *Moses* arrivall had beaten the *Moabites* out of the West part of *Arabia Petra* or *Nabathea*, and thrust them ouer *Arnon* into the *Deerts*, the same whom *Moses* ouerthrew in the plaines of *Moab*: at which time he tooke *Essebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*.

Presently after which victory, *Og* was also slaine by *Israel*, who commanded the North part of that Valley betwene the Mountaines *Tracon* or *Galaad* and *Jordan*, who was also a King of the *Amorites*.

The fift was *Adonizedek* King of the *Iebusites*, and of *Hierusalem*, with whom *Iosua* nameth foure other Kings.

Haham, King of *Hebron*.

Piram, King of *Iarmuth*.

Japia, King of *Lachis*: and

Deber, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites* ouerthrowne in battell: and hanged by *Iosua*.

After this ouerthrow *Iosua* nameth *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, and *Iobab*, King of *Maden*: whom he also slaughtered, and tooke his Cities: and this *Iabin* seemed to haue some dominion ouer the rest; for it is said in the Text, For *Hazor* be- fore timonius the head of all those Kingdomes.

After these *Adonibezek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feete of seuentie Kings, inforcing them to gather crummes vnder his Table: who, after *Iuda* and *Simeon* had vsed the same execution vpon himselfe, acknowledged it to be a iust reuenge of God: this King was carried to *Hierusalem* where he died.

The last King named is *Iabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Iosua*. For at such time as he employed *Sisara* against *Israel*, whom he oppressed twenty yeres, after the death of *Ehud*, He inhabited *Hazor*. This *Iabin*, *Barac* (encouraged by *Debra*) ouerthrew; and his Captaine *Sisara* had by *Iael*, the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a nail driuen into his head while he slept in her Tent: *Iabin* himselfe perishing afterward in that warre.

The *Madianites* had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathea*: to the South-east of the Dead Sea. They descended from *Madian*, *Abrahams* sonne, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* surnamed *Gesbegleus* or *Iethres*, saith *Iosephus*, called *Iethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Judges*, the sonne of *Dathan*, the grand-childe of *Iexanu*, or *Iokham*, the great grand-childe of *Abraham* by *Cethura*.

thura, was Priest or Prince of the *Madianites* by the Red Sea: whose Daughter or Neece, *Moses* married: and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Iethro* ~~who were not the same with Hobab~~, must be his father: and this *Hobab* had leauen daughters. He guided *Moses* in the *wildernesse*: and became one of the *Israelites*: of him descended the *Kenites*, so called of his father *Raguels* surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Israhel* the second, euen now remembered.

As for *Israhel*, as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites*, to *Israhel*, gaue them warning to separate themselves: and yet the *Kenites* had strong states, and lived in the mountaines of the Deserts.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named, were these:

1. *Homir* the *Kenite* of *Sichem*
2. *Arad* of the South parts
3. *Sehon* of *Essebon*
4. *Og* of *Basan*
5. *Adonizedek* the *Iebusite*, King of *Hiernsalem*
6. *Hobam* of *Hebron*
7. *Pirax* of *Jarmuth*
8. *Iapia* of *Lachis*
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*
10. *Iabin* of *Hazor*
11. *Iobab* of *Modon*
12. *Adanibezek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Iabin* the second King of *Hazor*.

Of the *Madianites* these:

Ehi or *Eni*.

* These five, which first all at one time, Kings of the small portions of the *Madianites*: flaine by *Phineas* and the 12000. which hee led against them: Num. 31. v. 8.

* These foure last were likewise at one time, flaine in the pursuit of *Gideons* victory: Jud. 7. v. 25 & cap 8. v. 12.

Rekam or *Rekem* who built *Petra* the Metropolis of *Petrea*, so called by the *Greekes*: and by *Esai* cap. 16. verse 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and so also it is called 2 Reg. 14. 7. where it is also called *Iokhsael*.

Zur
Hur and
Raba
* *Oreb*
Zeb
Zebah
Zalmunna.

After the death of *Barac*, Judge of *Israel*, the foure last named of these *Madianite* Kings, vexed *Israel* seuen yeeres: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and flaine by the *Ephraimites*, at the passage of *Jordan*, as in the 6. 7. and 8. of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterward in the pursuit of the rest, *Gideon* himselfe laide hands vpon *Zebah* and *Salmana*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being prisoners, in which expedition of *Gideon* there perished 120000. of the *Madianites* and their confederates. Of the *Idumeans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will speake hereafter in the description of their Territories.

§. III.

Of the *Amalekites*, and *Ismaelites*.

OF the Kings of the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*, I finde few that are named; and though of the *Ismaelites* there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according vnto the promise of God made vnto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midianites* were numbered among them, were more renowned in *Moses* time than the rest of the *Ismaelites*. So also were they when *Saul* gouerned *Israel*. For *Saul* pursued them from *Sur* vnto *Hauilah*, to wit, ouer a great part of *Arabia Petrea*, and the *Desert*. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelve Princes which came of *Israhel*, were content to leaue those barren Deserts of *Arabia Petrea*, called *Sur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the issue of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, that

that ioyned with them (for so seeme the *Amalekites* to haue been, and so were the *Madianites*) themselves taking possession of a better soyle in *Arabia the Happy*, and about the Mountaines of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petrea*. For *Nabaioth* the eldest of those twelve Princes planted that part of *Arabia Petrea*, which was very fruitfull though adioyning to the *Desert*, in which *Moses* wandred, afterward called *Nabathes*: the same which neighboureth *Iudea* on the East side. They also peopled a Prouince in *Arabia the Happy*, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathai* (B) changed into (P).

Kedar, the second of *Ismaels* sonnes, gaue his own name to the East part of *Basan*, or *Basanca*, which was afterward posselt by *Manasse*, so much thereof as lay within the mountaines *Traconi*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, & *Plinie* *Cedreans*. *Abdeel* late downe in the *Desert* *Arabia*, neere the Mountaines which diuide it from the *Happy*: and gaue name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

Misbam was the Parent of the *Masamancuses*, neere the Mountaine *Zamath*, in the same *Arabia the Happy*.

The *Raabens* were of *Misbma*: who ioyned to the *Orchens*, neere the *Arabian* gulfe, where *Ptolomy* setteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumeans*, betweene the *Adubens* and *Raabens*: where the Citie *Dumeth* sometimes stood.

Of *Massa* the *Massani*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar* the *Athrites*, who bordered the *Napathians* in the same *Happy Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountaines, where also the Citie of *Thema* is seated.

Of *Ietur* the *Itureans*, or *Chamathens*: of whom *Tobu* was King in *Dauids* time.

Of *Naphri* the *Nubeian* *Arabians*: inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: ouer whom *Adadecer* commanded, while *Dauid* ruled *Israel*. Plin. l. 6. c. 28.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of *Ismaels* sonnes, was the Ancestor of the *Cadmoneans*: who were afterward called *Asites*: because they worshipped the Fire with the *Babylonians*. Iunius.

The *Amalekites* gaue their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians* *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian* *Nabatheans* *Aretas*, as Names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the first that fought with *Moses*, after he past the Red Sea: when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished. Exod. 17.

Afterward they ioyned with the *Canaanites*, and beate the *Israelites* neere *Cadesbarne*. Num. 14.

After the gouernment of *Oshoniel*, they ioyned them with the *Moabites*: after *Barac* with the *Madianites*: and invaded *Israel*. God commanded that as soone as *Israel* had rest, they should roote out the name of the *Amalekites*: which *Saul* executed in part, when he wasted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Caldea*: from *Hauilah* to *Shur*.

In *Dauids* time they tooke *Siklag* in *Siameon*: but *Dauid* followed them, and surprised them, recouering his prisoners and spoiles. And yet, after *Dauid* became King, they againe vexed him, but to their owne losse. 1. Sam. 30.

In *Ezekiels* time as many of them as ioyned to *Edumaea* were wasted and displanted by the children of *Siameon*. 2. Sam. 8. 12.

§. IIII.

Of the insaturation of *Civility* in *Europe* about these times; and of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*.

Here liued at this time, and in the same age together with *Moses*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength, as in all sorts of learning. And as the World was but euen now enriched with the written Law of the liuing God, so did Art and *Civility* (bred and fostered farre off in the East, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to discover a passage into *Europe*, and into those parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Asia* and *Iudea*. For if *Pelasgus* besides his bodily strength, was chosen King of *Arcadia*, because he taught those people to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from raine and storme: and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of Acornes, who before liued for the most part, by Hearbes and Rootes: wee may thereby iudge how poore, and wretched those times were, and how falsly those Nations haue vaunted of thole their antiquities, accompanied not onely with ciuill learning, but with all other kindes of knowledge. And it was in this age of the World, as

both *Eusebius* and *Saint Augustine* haue obserued, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea seruant de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientie doctor fuisse perhibetur; Of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wisdom: and so Theophrastus expoundeth the inuention of fire ascribed to Prometheus, Ad inuenta sapientia pertinere; To haue reference to wise inuentions: and Aeschylus affirmeth, That by the stealing of Iupiters fire, was meant, that the knowledge of Fire, which reached to the Starres, and other celestiall bodies. Againe, it is written of him, that he had the art so to vse this fire, as thereby he gaue life to the Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom hee liued, had nothing else worthy of men, but externall forme and figure. By that fiction of Prometheus, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucasus*, his entrailes the while deuoured by an *Eagle*, was meant the inward care and restless desire he had to inuestigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heauenly bodies; for so it is said: *Ideo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno caelo quam longissimè astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret; That he ascended Caucasus, to the end that he might in a cleere skye discern a far off the settings and risings of the Starres*: though *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it other wise, and others diuersly.*

Of this Mans knowledge *Aeschylus* giues this testimonie.

*Ass agebant omnia
Vt fors ferebat: donec ipse repperi
Signorum obitus, ortusq; quimortalibus
Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium
His repperi: componere inde literas;
Mastremq; Musarum auxi ego Memoriam
Peruilem cunctis, &c.*

But Fortune govern'd all their workes, till when
I first found out how Starres did set and rise:
A profitable art to mortall men:
And others of like vse I did deuise:
As letters to compose in learned wise
I first did teach: and first did amplifie
The Mother of the *Muses* *Memorie*.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* farre more ancient, and but 94. yeeres after *Oxyges*. *Porphyrius* sayes that he liued at once with *Inachus*, who liued with *Isaac*.

There liued also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the sonnes of *Iapetus*, of whom though it bee said, that they were borne before *Moses* dayes, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date: yet the advantage of their long liues gaue them a part of other ages among men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these sonnes of *Iapetus*, *Aeschylus* findes two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the West, gaue name to the Evening, and so to the euening Starre. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Lybia*, or *Mauritania*, there were others which bare the same name: but of the *Lybian*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountaines which crosse *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco*, *Sas*, and *Hea*, with the Sea adioyning, tooke name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* bestowes on *Atlas*, the sonne of *Neptune*.

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions, affirmeth that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to expresse diuine knowledge. *Nec vero Atlas sustinere calump, nec Prometheus affixus Caucaso, nec stellatus Cepheus cum uxore tradetur, nisi diuina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ raduxisset; Neither should Atlas be said to beare up Heauen, nor Prometheus to be fastened to Caucasus, nor Cepheus with his wife to be stelled; unless their diuine knowledge had raised upon their names these erroneous fables.*

Orpheus sometime exprest Time by *Prometheus*, sometime he tooke him for *Saturnus*, as *Rheacomius* alme *Promethen*. But that the story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction:

a fiction: and that he liued about this time, the most approued Historians and Antiquaries, and among them *Eusebius* and *Saint Augustine* haue not doubted; For the great iudgement which *Atlas* had in *Astronomy*, faith *Saint Augustine*, were his daughters called by the names of constellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*; Others attribute vnto him the finding out of the Moones course, of which *Archeas* the sonne of *Orchomenus* challengeth the inuention. Of this *Archeas* *Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus* tooke name; and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone: *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be vnderstood, faith *Natalis Comes*, before there had been any obseruation of the Moones course: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that bestow the finding out thereof vpon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isacius Tzetzes*, a curious searcher of antiquities, gaue it *Atlas* of *Lybia*: who besides his gifts of minde, was a man of vnequaled and incomparable strength: from whom *Thales* the *Milesian*, as it is said, had the ground of his *Philosophy*.

§. V.

Of *Deucalion* and *Phaeton*.

And in this age of the World, and while *Moses* yet liued, *Deucalion* reigned in *Thessalie*, *Crotosus* then ruling the *Argives*. This *Deucalion* was the son of *Prometheus*, faith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gaue him *Pandora* for mother; the rest *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odyssees*, makes *Deucalion* the sonne of *Minos*: but hee must needs haue meant some other *Deucalion*; for else either *Vlysses* was mistaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Vlysses* after his returne from *Troy*, fained himselfe to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was sonne to this later *Deucalion*, the sonne of *Minos*: but this *Minos* liued but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* serued in that warre) and this *Deucalion* the sonne of *Prometheus*, who liued at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalions* time happened that great inundation in *Thessalie*: by which in effect euery soule, in those parts, perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrre* his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed that at the time of this flood in *Thessalie*, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractiue of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation for their foule finnes perish by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and cruelty of all man kinde drew on them that generall destruction by the flood vniuersall. Onely *Deucalion*, and *Pyrre* his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be louers of Vertue, of Iustice and of Religion. Of whom *Onid*:

*Non illa melior quisquam, nec amantior equi
Vir fuit: aut illa reuerentior vlla deorum.*

No man was better, nor more iust than he:
Nor any woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed that *Prometheus* fore-told his sonne *Deucalion* of this ouer-flowing; and aduised him to prouide for his safety: who hereupon prepared himselfe a kinde of Vessell, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue* of *Timon* calles *Ciborium*; and others *Larnax*. And because to these circumstances, they afterward adde the sending out of the Dove, to discover the waters fall and decrease, I should verily thinke that this Story had been but an imitation of *Noahs* flood deuised by the *Greekes*, did not the times so much differ, and *Saint Augustine* with others of the Fathers and reuerent Writers approue this Story of *Deucalion*. Among other his children *Deucalion* had these two of note, *Hellen* of whom *Greece* had first the name of *Hellas*, and *Melanthe*, on whom *Neptune* is said to haue begot *Delfus*, which gaue name to *Delfos*, so renowned among the Heathen for the Oracle of *Apollo* therein founded.

And that which was no lesse strange and maruailous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened vnder *Phaeton*; nor onely in *Ethiopia*, but in *Illyria*, a Region in *Italy*, and about *Cuma*, and the Mountaines of *Vesunius*: of both which the *Greekes*, after their manner, haue inuented many strange fables.

§. VI.

Of Hermes Trismegistus.

BVt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the most famous, and renowned; the same which was also called *Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus*, and of the Greekes, *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name; and how to distinguish, and set them in their owne times, both *S. Augustine* & *Lactantius* finde it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was esteemed the God of Theeues, the God of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the God of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same with that *Mercury*, of whose many workes some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, *Clement Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certaine of the Greekes reckon fūe *Mercuries*. Of which, two were famous in Egypt, and there worshipped; one, the sonne of *Nilus*, whose name the Egyptians feared to utter, as the Iewes did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other, that *Mercury*, which slew *Argus* in Greece, and flying into Egypt, is said to haue deliuered literature to the Egyptians, and to haue giuen them Lawes. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of Egypt into Greece: which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying; That letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which slew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercury*, otherwise *Themet*; whom *Philosophus* writeth *Taautus*; the Egyptians *Thoyth*; the Alexandrians *Thot*; & the Greekes (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiathe*, who liued about the war of Troy giues the inuention of letters. But *S. Augustine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both Egyptians, calles neither of them the son of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to haue slaine *Argus*. For he findes this *Mercury* the slayer of *Argus*, to be the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which liued while *Moses* was yet young. And yet *L. Vives* vpon *S. Augustine* seemes to vnderstand them to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest haue remembered. But that coniecture of theirs, that any *Græcian Mercury* brought letters into Egypt, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truth in prophane antiquitie) that all the knowledge which the Greekes had, was transported out of Egypt or Phœnicia, & not out of Greece, nor by any *Græcian* into Egypt. For they all confesse, that *Cadmus* brought letters first into Bœotia, either out of Egypt, or out of Phœnicia: it being true, that betweene *Mercurius*, that liued at once with *Moses*, and *Cadmus*, there were these descents cast; *Crotopus* King of the Argiues, with whom *Moses* liued, and in whose time about his tenth yeere *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus*, who reigned eleuen yeeres; after him *Danaus* fifty yeeres; after him *Linceus*: in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of Crete, this *Cadmus* arriued in Bœotia. And therefore it cannot be true that any *Mercurius* about *Moses* his time, flying out of Greece for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of Greece into Egypt. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of Egypt, whom *Saint Augustine* remembreth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of Greece. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moses* found out Letters and taught the vse of them to the Iewes; of whom the Phœnicians their neighbors receiued them; & the Greeks of the Phœnicians by *Cadmus*. But this inuention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembered; that is, because the Iewes & the Phœnicians had them first from him. For euery Nation gaue vnto those men the honour of first Inuentors, from whom they receiued the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, vpon part of whose workes hee Commenteth, to haue bene foure descents after *Moses*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who calles *Atlas*, that liued with *Moses*; the maternall grand-father of the first famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counsailler and Instrueter of that renowned *Isis*, wife of *Osiris*. But *Ficinus* giueth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elden *Mercury* instructed *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that such an inscription was found on a pillar erected on the Tombe of *Isis*. *Lod. Vives* vpon the fixe and twentieth Chapter of the eight Booke of *Saint Augustine*, de *Ciuitate Dei*, conceiueth, that this *Mercury*, whose workes are extant, was not the first which was entituled *Ter maximus*; but his Nephew or grand-child, **Sanconiathe*, an ancient Phœnician, who liued shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the *Scribe of Saturne*, and called by the Phœnicians *Taautus*; and by the Egyptians *Thoth*, or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many yeeres which he is said

Lod. Vives out of *Cicero* l. i. *Aug. de Ciuit. Dei*. l. 8. c. 26.

Ensb. l. i. c. 6. de P. ap. Ensb.

Virg. l. 4. Aeneid.

Ficinus Praefat. de Mand. Mercurii Trismegisti.

* Or *Sanconiathe* See *Ensb. l. i. c. 6. de P. ap. Ensb.*

said to haue liued, to wit, three hundred yeeres, gaue occasion to some Writers to finde him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those who haue collected the grounds of the Egyptian Philosophie and Diuinitie, he is found more ancient than *Moses*: because the Inuentor of the Egyptian wisdom, wherein it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

It is true, that although this *Mercurius* or *Hermes* doth in his Diuinitie differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images, which *Moses* of all things most detested: yet whofoeuer shall reade him with an eueng iudgement, will rather resolue, that these workes which are now extant, were by the Greekes and Egyptian Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and spirit deuised. For there is no man of vnderstanding, and master of his owne wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Tract, those things which are directly contrary in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (*Moses* excepted) there was neuer any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a stile more reuerend and diuine, vnto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two Treatises, now among vs; the one conuerted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had bene found in all things like themselves: I thinke it had not bene perillous to haue thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moses* himselfe; and that the Egyptian Theologie hereafter written, was deuised by the first, and more ancient *Mercurius*, which others haue thought to haue bene *Ioseph*, the son of *Jacob*: whom, after the exposition of *Pharaohs* dreames, they called *Saphanetphane*, which is as much to say, as *absconditorum reparator*; A finder out of hidden things. But these are ouer-venturous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Enuy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worne out the certaine knowledge of him: of whom, whofoeuer he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this sort: *Hic scripsit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem diuinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Maximas summi ac singularis Dei asserit, & idemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; Hec hath written many bookes belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of diuine things, in which he affirmeth the Majesty of the most high and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which wee doe.* The same Father also seareth not to number him among the *Sybls* and *Prophets*. And so contrary are these his acknowledgements to those Idolatrous fictions of the Egyptians and Græcians, as for my selfe I am perswaded, that whatfoeuer is found in him contrary thereto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much himselfe confesseth: *Deum in unum Dominum, & Patrem, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & spiritus; & omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex eiu esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & generator & opifex, &c. God (saith he) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde, and spirit: and all things are in him and vnder him. For his word out of himselfe proceeding, most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling vpon fruitfull nature, made it also fruitfull and producing.* And hee was therefore (saith *Suydas*) called *Ter maximus*, quia de Trinitate loquutus est: in Trinitate vnum esse Deum asserens; Because hee spake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity: *Hic ruinam (saith Ficinus) praedixit praece Religionis, incertum nouae fidei, hic aduentum Christi, hic futurum iudicium, resurrectionem saeculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This in Praef. Mercurii foresaw the ruine of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the coming of Christ, the future iudgement, the resurrection, the glory of the Blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.*

To this I will onely add: his two last speeches reported by *Calcidius* the Platonist, and by *Polteran* out of *Suydas*. *Haëtenus filii pulsus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto: cumq; post paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote me quasi mortuum lugentis: Nam ad illam optimam beatamq; Ciuitatem regredior, ad quam vniuersi cives mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namq; solus Deus est summus Princeps: qui cives suos replet suauitate mirifica: ad quam hac, quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita; Hitherto, O Sonne being driven from my Country, I haue liued a stranger and banished man: but now I am repaired home-ward againe in safety. And when I shall after a few dayes (or in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and bloud depart from you, see that you doe not bewaile me as a man dead, for I doe but returne to that best and blessed Citie, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) shall repaire. Therein is the only God, the most high and chiefe Prince, who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with sweetnesse more than manuellous:*

marvellous: in regard whereof; shewbrang, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life. The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense but not in words with *Suydas*: *O calum magni Dei sapiens opus, teq O vox patris quam ille primam emisit, quando vniuersum constituit mundum*; *indiviso per vniuersum eius verbum, & Spiritum cuncta comprehendente, miseremini mei, I aduere thee O beuam, shou wise worke of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he first vnderred, when he framed the whole world, by his only begotten word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, Haue mercy vpon me.*

But *Suydas* hath his inuocation in these words: *Obsecro te vocem Patris quam loquutus est primum, cum omnem mundum firmasset, obsecro te per vniuersum Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto, I beseech thee O beuam, wise worke of the great God, I beseech thee O voyce of the Father, which he spake first when he established all the world, I beseech thee by the only begotten word containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.*

§. VII.

Of Iannes and Iambres, and some other that liued about those times.

L. Pines. in l. 8.
August. de Civ.
Dei. c. 16.

Exod. 9. 11.

Here were also in this age both *Asculapius*, which after his death became the God of Physicians, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Vines* thinks in his Commentary vpon *Augustine*, de *Ciuitate Dei*. lib. 8. and also those two notorious Sorcerers, *Iannes* and *Iambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that euer had been heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himselfe doth not charge them with any familiar with Diuels, or ill Spirits: words indeed that seldome came out of his mouth; howeuer by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophiste* or *Venefici* and *Incantatores*, *Sophists* Poysoners and Inchanters: by *Hierome*, *sapientes & malefici*; Wise men, and euill doers: and so by *Katablus*, who also vseth the word *Magi*. The Greeke it selfe seemes to attribute somewhat of what they did to naturall Magick: calling them, *magi*, *magi*, *workers by drugs*. The *Genemian*, Sorcerers and Inchanters: *Iunius*, *Sapientes praestigatores & Magi*. Magicians and Wise men here by him are taken in one sense: and Prestigiatours are such as dazzle mens eyes, and make them seeme to see what they see not: as false colours, and false shapes. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (Religion and superstition hauing one face and countenance) so did the workes and workings of *Moses*, and of *Pharao*s Sorceres appeare in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the Diuell changeth himselfe into an Angell of light: and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrary euery worke which surmounteth the wisdom of most men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the helpe or ministry of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath giuen to naturall things, are such as where he also bestoweth the knowledge to vnderstand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought to passe, which seeme altogether impossible, and aboue nature or art: which two speculations of workes of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names, *Opus de Beresith*, & *opus de mercana*: the one they call *Sapientiam naturae*, The wisdom of nature: the other *Sapientiam diuinitatis*, The wisdom of diuinity: the one *Iacob* practised in breeding the pied Lambes in *Mesopotamia*, the other *Moses* exercised in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*, hauing receiued from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other so farre as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he vsed to his glory that gaue them: assuming to himselfe nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also Saint *Augustine* noroth, that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Ioshua*, diuers other famous men liued in the World, who after their deaths for their eminent vertues and inuentions, were numbered among the Gods: as *Dionysius*, otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Grecians* the vse of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were instituted Muscally playes to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regaine his fauour, who brought barrenesse and scarcity vpon that part of *Greece*, because they resisted not the attempts of *Damianus*, who spoiled his Temple and set it on fire: so did *Erichthonius* institute the like games

to

to *Minerva*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of *Oyle*, in memory of her that first prest it out of the *Oliue*.

In this age also *Xanthus* rauished *Europa*: and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon* and *Minos*, which three are also giuen to *Iupiter* by other Historians. To these Saint *Augustine* addeth *Hercules*, the same to whom the twelue labours are ascribed, natiue of *Tyrinthia* a City of *Peloponnesus*: (or as others say, only nursed and brought vp there) who came into *Italy*, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phoenicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philistratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian*: Manifestum est; non *Thebanum* *Herculem*, sed *Aegyptium* ad *Gades* peruenisse, & ibi finem statuisse terra (saith *Philostratus*;) It is manifest that it was the *Egyptian Hercules*, and not the *Theban*, which traualled as farre as the streights of *Gades*, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also while *Moses* wandered in the Deserts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

But whosoever they were, or how worthy soeuer they were that liued in the dayes and age of *Moses*, there was neuer any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to worke greater things; whom he fauoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared; neuer any man more familiar and conuerfant with Angels; neuer any more learned both in Diuine and Humane knowledge; neuer a greater Prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that receiued and deliuered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World vniuersall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of Idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Syracides calleth *Moses* the beloued of God and Men; whose remembrance is blessed. Hee made him (saith the same Author) like to the glorious Saints; and magnified him by the feare of his enemies, made him glorious in the sight of Kings, shewed him his glory, caused him to heare his voyce, sanctified him with faithfulnesse and meeknesse, and chose him out of all men.

Hee is remembred among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripaterick*; by *Megasthenes*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long liues which the *Patriarchs* enjoyed before the flood, remembred by *Moses*, *Estiens*, *Hieronymus* *Egyptius*, *Hecateus*, *Elanicus*, *Acusilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander the Historian*, confirme. The vniuersall flood which God reuealed vnto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, and others haue testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Estiens*, and *Sybilla* haue appoued. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecateus* wrote a Booke of him. *Damascenus* before cited, speaketh of *Abrahams* passage from *Damascus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the Bookes of *Moses*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very same of *Abraham*, which *Moses* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the ouerthrow thereof by diuine power, he saith that *Abraham*, borne in the tenth generation, in the City called *Camerina*, or *Vrien*, excelled all men in wisdom: and by whom the Astrologie of the *Caldeans* was inuented. *Is* *in iustitia pietateq; sua* (saith *Eusebius* out of the same Author) *sic Deo gratus fuit, ut diuino praecepto in Phanicem venerit, ibiq; habitauerit*; For his iustice and piety he was so pleasing vnto God, as by his commandment he came into *Phanicia*, and dwelt there. Likewise *Diodorus Siculus*, in his second Booke and fift Chapter, speaketh reuerently of *Moses*: There are many other among prophane Authors, which doe confirme the Bookes of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Gospel*. Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words. *Moses enim affirmauit, docebatq; Aegyptios non recte sentire, qui bestiarum*

pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemq; Afros & Græcos, qui Dys hominum figuram asfinxerunt: id verò solum esse Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod cælum & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cuius profectò imaginem, nemo sane mentis, alicuius earum rerum, quæ penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effigione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum: Moses affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amisse, which attributed vnto God the Images of beasts and cattell: Also that the Africans and Greeks greatly erred in giuing vnto their Gods the shapes of men: whereas that onely is God indeed, which containeth both vs, the Earth and Sea, which we call Heauen, the World, and the nature of all things, whose image,

image, doubtlesse, no wise man will dare to fashion out vnto the likenes of those things, which are amongst vs: That therefore (all deuising of Idols cast aside) a worthy Temple and place of prayer was to be erected vnto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.

All. 7. v. 21.

Now concerning the Egyptian wisdom, for which the Martyr Stephen commended Moses, saying, That Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in his works and words; the same is corrected (how truly I know not) by Diodorus, Diogenes, Lactantius, Iamblicus Philo Iudeus, and Eusebius Caesariensis, and diuided into foure parts, viz. Mathematicall, Naturall, Diuine, and Morall.

In the Mathematicall part, which is distinguish't into *Geometrie*, *Astronomie*, *Arithmeticke*, and *Musick*; the ancient Egyptians excelled all others. For *Geometrie* which is by interpretation measuring of grounds, was vnto them: because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yeerely overflowne and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged vnto him.

For the second part, to wit, *Astronomie*, the site of the Country being a lenell and spacious Plaine, free and cleere from the clouds, yeelded them delight with ease, in obseruing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Starres.

Arithmeticke also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied; because without it, in *Geometrie* and *Astronomie*, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of *Musicke* they made no other account, nor desired farthar knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serue and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wisdom, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of naturall things, differs little from *Peripateticall Philosophie*; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies & liuing creatures haue their being; that Heauen is round like a Globe, that all Starres haue a certain founte heate, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceed and be from mutations in the ayre; that the Planets haue their proper soules, &c.

The Diuine part of this wisdom, which is called *Theologie*, teacheth and beleeueth that the world had a beginning, and shall perishe; that men had their first originall in *Egypt*; partly by meanes of the temperatenesse of that Country, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heate are offensive; and partly through the fertility, that *Nilus* giueth in those places; That the soule is immortall, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osirn* and *Isis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and diuers Images, because the true similitudes of the Gods is not known; that many of the Gods haue bene in the estate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefites bestowed on mankind, haue bene Deified; that those beasts, whose Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victory, were adored for Gods: because vnder those Ensignes they preuailed ouer their enemies. Moreover the Egyptian Diuines had a peculiar kinde of writing, mysticall and secrete, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

Clem. Strom. 1. 5.

Clemens distributed the whole summe of this later Egyptian learning into three severall sorts, viz. *Epistolary*, which is vsed in writing common Epistles; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their Priests; and *Sacred*, which Sacred contained Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which it expressed by letters Alphabetically in obscure and figurative words; as for example, where it is written: The *Ibu* by the Horner participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moone doth by the Sunne borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of Diuine beauty; the other symbolically, or by signatures, which is threefold, viz. Imitatiue, Tropical, and Anygmaticall: Imitatiue, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified, as by a Circle the Sun; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it selfe: Tropical or transferent, which applies the diuers formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to signifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods, and of men. So with the Egyptian Diuines, the Image of an Hawke signifieth God, the figure of the Horner signifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird *Ibu* signifieth the Moone: by

by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skilfulnesse: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse, Libertie: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fish, Hatred is to be vnderstood: *Anigmaticall* is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sense, the monstrous Image of a Lions body hauing a Mans head, was grauen on their Temples and Altars, to signifie, that to men all diuine things are *Anigmaticall* and obscure. So the Image of the Sun set on the head of a Crocodile, (which liueth aswell in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth that the Sun nourisheth Meteors in the Aire, aswell from the Waters as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top wherof is made an Eye, and an Eare, signifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and governing all things. The Scythians are thought to haue been delighted with this kinde of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* sending letters, threatened *Idanthura*, King of the Scythians, with ruine & destruction of his Kingdom, unless he would acknowledge subiection: *Idanthura* returned to him a Mouse, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-share: which *Orontopages*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to signifie, that by the mouse, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their ayre: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their landes: were signified to bee ready to be deliuered to *Darius*, as their Soueraigne Lord. But *Xyphodres* made another construction, viz. that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his men did hasten away, as a Bird through the Ayre, or creep into holes as a mouse, or runne into the waters which they had passed as a Frog, they should not escape his armes, but either be slaine, or being made Captiues; Till his grounds. The same History is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*.

Herod. 1. 9.

The fourth and last part, which is Morall and Politique, doth containe especially the Lawes, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus* deuised: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of *Pimander* & *Aleclepius*, hath written so many things of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) of the Trinity, and of the coming of *Christ*, as of the last and fearefull day of Iudgement: that (as saith the same Author, the opinion being also ancient) he is not onely to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Bookes of Mysteries of the Egyptians, taking two very ancient Historians for his Authors, to wit, *Seleucus* & *Menasius*, affirmeth that this *Mercury* was not onely the Inuentor of the Egyptian Philosophy, but of all other learning, called, the Wisdom of the Egyptians before remembred: and that he wrote of that subiect 365 Books, or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Books; of Aereall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestiall a thousand; which because they were out of the Egyptians language conuerted by certaine learned Philosophers into the naturall *Graeke*, they seemed to haue bene first written in that Tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the Bookes of *Hermes*, to wit, of the Wisdom of the Egyptians, there were extant in his time 36. of *Physick* fixe Bookes; of the orders of Priests ten; and of *Astrology* foure.

Clem. Strom. 1. 6.

§. VIII.

A Brieve of the History of *Iosua*; and of the space between him and *Othoniel*: and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to *Iosua*: and of the breach of Faith.

After the death of *Moses*, and in the one and fortieth yeere of the Egression, in the first moneth called *Nisan*, or *March*, *Iosua* the son of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wisdom, tooke on him the government of Israel: God giuing him comfort, and encouraging him to passe the River of *Iordan*, and to possesse, and diuide among the Israelites the Land promised.

The beginning of *Iosua's* rule, *Saint Anqustine* dates with the raigne of *Amynat*, the eighteenth King in *Assyria*; with *Corax* the sixteenth King in *Sicyonia*, when *Danaus* gouerned the *Argiues*; and *Erichonius*, *Athens*.

Lib. 18. de ci. uit Dei. 11.

Iosua imitating in all things his Predecessor, sent ouer *Iordan* certaine discouerers to view the seate and strength of *Jerico*, the next City vnto him on the other side of the River, which hee was to passe ouer. Which discouerers being taued, and sent back by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a Tauerne or Viding-house, made *Iosua* know that the inhabitants of *Jerico*, and those of the Countrey about it, hearing of the approach

Ios. 2. 11.

of

Iof. 2. 11. of *Israel*, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the returne of the Spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth yeere after the Egression, *Iosua* remoued from Sitim in the plaines of Moab, and drew down his Army to the bankes of the Riuer Iordan; and gaue them commandement to put themselves in order to follow the *Arke of God*, when the Leuites tooke it vp, and moued towards the Riuer; giuing them withall this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselves of his fauour and presence who is Lord of all the world, when the Riuer of Iordan should be cut off and diuided, and the waters comming from aboue should stand still in a heape, whereby those below towards the *Dead Sea* wanting supply, they might passe ouer into the land of Canaan with dry feet.

Iof. 1. 1. Hee also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, to prepare themselves (according to their Couenant made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and as we call it in this age, to leade in the Vanguard, which through all the Deserts of Arabia, from the Mount Sinai to this place, those of the Tribe of Iuda had performed. For these Tribes being already prouided of their habitations, and Countrie and Cities of the Amorites, by the helpe of the rest, conquered for them: It agreed with iustice and equallity, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe of *Manasse* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

Iof. 4. 19. On the bankes of Iordan they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first moneth *Nisan*, or *March*, they past ouer to the other side, taking with them twelue stones from the drie ground in the middle of the Riuer: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they set vp at Gilgal, on the East side of the Citie of Ierico, where they encamped the first night. At which place *Iosua* gaue commandement, that all born in the last fortieth yeere in the Deserts should be circumcised, which ceremonie to that day had bene omitted. Of the neglect whereof *S. Augustine* giueth for cause, The peoples contempt of their superiours. *Thomas* excuseth it in this sort; That the Israelites knew not the certaine time of their remouing from one place to another: *Damasceus*, That it was not needfull by circumcision to distinguish them from other Nations, at such time as they liued by themselves, and a-part from all Nations.

Iof. 5. 10. On the fourteenth day of the same Moneth, the children of Israel celebrated the *Passover* now the third time; first, at their leauing Egypt; secondly, at Mount Sinai; and now at Gilgal. After which being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Countrie, and hauing, as it were, surfered on *Mann*, they parched of the Corne of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and are thereof.

Iof. 14. 3. And as *Moses* began to distribute those Regions beyond Iordan, to wit, the Lands of the Amorites, which *Og* of *Basan*, and *Sehon* held, so did *Iosua* performe the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, hee gaue to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three severall times; first, by *Moses* to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, of the Lands ouer Iordan; Secondly, by *Iosua*, to the Tribe of *Iuda*, *Ephraim*, and the other halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, about the fift yeere of his gouernment; proued in the 14. of *Iosua*, v. 10. and a third diuision was made to the other seuen Tribes, at Shilo, where *Iosua* seated the *Tabernacle* of the Congregation.

Iof. 1. 8. The victories of *Iosua* against the Kings of the Canaanites, are so particularly set down in his own bookes, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose storie I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the warre, those little Kings or *Regali* of the Canaanites, had not so much vnderstanding, as to vnite themselves together against the Israelites; but according to the custome of those estates, from whose Gouernours God hath taken away all wisdom and fore-sight, they left those of their owne Nation, which were next the inuaders, to themselves, and to their owne defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat farre off, might againe haue been quenched, ere it could spread it selfe so farre as their owne Territories and Cities. But after such time as Ierico and Ai were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed; five of those 31. Kings (all which at length perished in that warre) ioyned themselves together, first attempting the Gibeonites, who had rendered themselves to *Iosua*. Onely five (the rest looking on to the successe) namely, the King of the Iebusites, in Iebus, or Hierusalem, the Kings of Hebron, *Iamoth*, *Lachis*, & *Eglon*, addrest themselves for resistance: whose Armie being by *Iosua* surpris'd and broken, themselves despairing to escape by flight,

flight, and hopelesse of mercy by submission, creeping into a Caue vnder ground, were thence by *Iosua* drawne forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which victory he also tooke *Makkedah*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the reliefe whereof *Hiram* King of *Gexar* hastened, and perished. After which *Iosua* posselt himselfe of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countreies were posselt, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made dust: the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the overlate counsailes of necessitie, vnited themselves, to make one grosse strength and body of an Armie: which *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, praetised and gathered together, by *Iosua* discovered, as the same rested neere the Lake of *Merom*, he vsed such diligence, as he came on them vnawarres; and obtaining absolute victory ouer them, he prosecuted the same to the vtmost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* only, reseruing the rest for *Israel* to inhabite and enioy.

Secondly, I note, that *Iosua* shewed himselfe a skillfull man of Warre, for that in those ancient times he vsed the stratagem of an ambush in taking of *Ai*; and in that hee broke the Armies of the first five Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by surprise. For hee marched all night from his campe at *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day; when he ouerthrew *Iabin* and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victory, he assaulted the great Citie of *Hazor*.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this waire, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the Riuer *Iordan* at the Springs, so as the Armie of *Israel* past it with a drie foote; the fall of *Ierico* by the sound of the Hornes; the showres of Haile-stones, which fell vpon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them perished than by the sword of *Israel*: againe, the arrest of the Sunne in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lightened, as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those which fled after the ouerthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a worke only proper to the all-powerfull God.

Fourthly, out of the passage betwene *Iosua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all euasion, it admitteth no inuention, nor leaueth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousnes, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Equiuocation*. For, notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Leuites*, expressly and by name, by the commandement of God to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceiuers, and counterfeits; and that they did over-reach, and as it were, deride *Iosua*, and the Princes of *Israel*, by faining to bee sent as Embassadors from a farre Countrey, in which traualle their clothes were worne, their bread mouldie, which they aowed to haue been warme for newnesse when they first set it out; their barrels and bottels of wine broken; their shoes parcht; and their sacks rent and ragged: Yet *Iosua* hauing sworn vnto them by the Lord God of *Israel*, hee durst not, though urged by the multitude of the people, to laie violent hands on them; but hee spared both their Liues, and the Cities of their inheritance.

Now if euer man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promise made, *Iosua* had it: For first, the commandement which he receiued from God to roote out this Nation among the rest, preceded by farre the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, he might iustly haue put these men to the sword, and haue sackt their Cities; if there be any euasion from a promise made, whereof the liuing God is called to witness. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* hee gaue peace, because hee knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the *Heuites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that he gaue faith, & to a Nation which came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Israel* had done in *Egypt* and ouer *Iordan*, sought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Israel* made with these crafty *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the *Israelites* accepted their tale, that is, beleeued what they had said, and counsailed not with the mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, these men who were knowne Idolaters, and serued those Puppets of the Heathen, men of an Apish Religion, as all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witness of the true God, in whom they beleeued not. I say therefore, that if euer man might haue serued himselfe by any euasion or distinction, *Iosua* might iustly haue done it. For hee needed not

not in this case the helpe of *Aquiuocation* or *Mentall Reseruation*. For what he swaie, he swaie in good Faith, but he swaie nothing, nor made any promise at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithlesse subtiltie of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises hee made in the name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying Man, hee held them firme, and inuolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom he had sworne it, were worshippers of the Deuill.

For it is not, as faithlesse men take it, that he which sweareth to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the name of the living Lord, and in his presence, That this promise (if it bee broken) is broken to a man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a Prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God, that we therein neglect: we therein professe that we feare him not, and that we set him at naught and defie him. If he that without Reseruation of honour giueth a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point of Honour giue the lie to the King himselte, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he breake Faith with God, that giueth Faith in the presence of God, promiseth in his name, and makes him a witness of the Couenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Sonne to breake the Promise, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdome, to breake those Contracts which haue beene made in former times, and confirmed by publike faith. For though it were 400 yeeres after *Iosua*, that *Saul*, euen out of deuotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God, who forgot not what the Predecessors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Israelites* had sworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appeased, till seuen of *Sauls* sonnes were deliuered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged vp.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equiuocation, to sweare one thing by the name of the living God, and to reserue in silence a contrary intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of Subjects to Kings, of Seruants to their Masters, of Vassals to their Lords, of Wiues to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trialls of right, will not only be made vncertaine, but all the chaines wherby free men are tied in the world, be torne asunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot passe) that wee enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that warres take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it or ought it to bee that makes an oath thus powerfull, but this; That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witness, and in whose presence he that taketh the oath hath promised: I am not ignorant of their poore euasions, which play with the seuerity of Gods commandements in this kinde: But this indeed is the best answer, That hee breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For whosoever hath faith and the feare of God, dares not doe it.

The *Christians* in the *Holy Land* when they were at the greatest, and had brought the *Caliph of Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not onely lose it againe, but were soone after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it selfe: by reason (saith *William of Tyre*, a reuerend Bishop which wrote that storie) that *Almerick* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadeth*, and his Vicegerent. The *Soldan Samar*, who being suddenly inuaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turke Syracon* to their aide: whose Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his owne, beat the *Christians* out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden Crosse (the very Crosse, say they, that Christ died on) giue them victorie ouer *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge: seeing they had forsworne themselves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the holy Ghost, That he that speaketh lies shall be destroyed, and that the mouth which uttereth them, slaieth the soule: how much more perillous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the soule) to sweare a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perswaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungarie* after his great victory ouer *Amurath* the *Turk*, & when the said King had compelled him to peace, the most aduantageous that euer was made for the *Christians*, to breake his Faith, and to prouoke the *Turke* to renew the warre. And though the said King was farre stronger in the field than euer; yet hee lost the battaile with 30000 *Christians*, and his owne life. But I will stay my hand: For this first

psal. 56.
Wid. 1. 11.

volume

volume will not hold the repetition of Gods iudgements vpon faith-breakers; bee it against Infidels; Turks, or Christians of diuers Religions. Unquestionable it is, that the taking of oathes now-a-dayes, is rather made a matter of custome than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable; That it pleased God to leaue so many Cities of the *Canaanites* vnconquered by *Israel*, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatric, and as it is said in the scriptures, To be Thornes in their eyes to proue them, and to teach them to make warre. For these Cities hereafter named did not only remaine in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Iosua*; but soone after his death the Children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and enforst to inhabite the Mountaines, and places of hardest access. And those of *Iuda* were notable to be Masters of their owne Vallies; because, as it is written in the *Iudges*, The *Canaanites* had Chariots of Iron. And those principall Cities which stood on the Sea-side; adioyning vnto *Iuda*, were still held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philistims*: as *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Aldod*, out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembered in *Samuel*.

Neither did the children of *Manasse* ouer Iordan expell the *Geshurites*, nor the *Maachathites*: which inhabited the North parts of *Basan*, afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Nephilims* possesse themselves of *Bethshemish*, nor of *Bethanab*; but they inforst those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Ashtore* expell the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlab*, *Achzib*, *Heblah*, *Aphike*, & *Rehob*, nor inforce them to tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enioy *Kitron*, and *Nahalol*, but receiued tribute from them. Also the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims*: and among the children of *Manasse*, on the West of Iordan, the *Canaanites* held *Bethshean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megaddo*; yea, *Hierusalem* it selfe did the *Iebulites* defend aboute foure hundred yeeres, euen till *Danids* time.

Now *Iosua* liued one hundred and ten yeeres, eightene of which he gouerned *Israel*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which causeth diuers to coniecture diuersly of the continuance. *Iosephus* giues him fife and twenty yeeres: *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Authors of the *Hebrew Chronologie* eight and twentie; and *Masseus* sixe and twentie: *Maimonius* cited by *Massius*, foure and twentie: *Ioannes Lucidus*, seuentene: *Caictanus* ten: *Eusebius* giueth him seuen & twentie: and so doth *S. Augustine*: *Melancthon*, two and thirtie: *Codeman*, fife and twentie. But whereas there passed 480. yeeres from the deliuey of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, vnto the building of the Temple; it is necessary that wee allow to *Iosua* onely eightene of them; as finding the rest supplied other wise, which to mee seemes the most likely, and as I thinke, a well approued opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480. yeeres from the departure out of *Egypt* vnto the building of the Temple, continueth of error, such as haue inserted yeeres betweene *Iosua* and *Othoniel*, of whom *Eusebius* findes eight yeeres, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which hee giueth his reason in his foure and twentieth and last Chapter vpon *Iosua*: Runtig reckone it nine yeeres: *Bucholzer* and *Reusner* but one; *Codoman* twentie, and *Nicophorus* no lesse than three and thirtie: whereas following the sure direction of these 480. yeeres, there can be no void yeeres found betweene *Iosua*, and *Othoniel*, vnlesse they be taken out of those eightene ascribed vnto *Iosua* by the account already specified. The prayles and acts of *Iosua* are briefly written in the sixe and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where among many other things it is said of him, who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battels of the Lord?

That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last Chapter of *Exodus*, And *Iosua* wrote these words in the booke of the Law of God, which seemeth rather to haue bene meant by the couenant which *Iosua* made with *Israel* in *Sichem*, where they all promised to serue & obey the Lord: which promise *Iosua* caused to be written in the booke of the Law: and of this opinion were *Caictan* and *Abdenfis*: *Theodoras* doth likewise coniecture that the booke of *Iosua* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled *Libellus Iustorum*, remembered by *Iosua* himselte; and others, that it was the work of *Samaritan*: but whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion vpon these words of the 26. verse, And *Iosua* wrote these words, &c. this place hath nothing in it to proue it: for when the people had answered *Iosua*, The Lord our God will we serue, and his voice will we obey; it followeth that *Iosua* made a couenant with the people, and wrote the same in the booke of the Law of God.

E c

There

10. 23.
Iud. 1. &
Iud. 3. v. 22.

Iud. 1. v. 34.
Iud. 1. v. 19.

Ios. 1. v. 19.

Sam. 1. 174.

Ios. 13. v. 13.

Iud. 1. v. 31.

Ios. 16. v. 10.

Iud. 2. v. 27.

Euseb. Prep.
Euseb.

1. 10. 13.

5. last 2. v. 4. v. 26.

There liued at once with *Iosua*, *Eriethonius* in Attica, who taught that Nation to yoke beasts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speed : And about the same time the fiftie Daughters of *Danai* (as it is said) slew the fiftie Sonnes of *Aegyptus*, all but *Lyncus*, who succeeded *Danai*, if the tale be true. There liued also with *Iosua*, *Phœnix*, and *Cadmus*, and neere the end of *Iosua*'s life, *Iupiter* is said to haue rauished *Europa* the Daughter of *Phœnix*, (afterward married to *Asterius* King of Creta) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpædon*. But *S. Augusline* reports this rauishment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of *Iupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was father to *Deucalion*, & *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the warre of Troy, and *Sarpædon* was in person a young or strong man at the same Troian war. And so doth *Nestor* reckon vp in the Councell of the Greeks, *Theseus* and *Perithous* for men of Antiquitie, and of Ages past : *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of these. But hereof else where.

Lib. 18. c. 12.
De Ciuit. Dei

Homer. Odyss.
& Illid.

Hom. Illid. 1.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of *Israell*, that were planted in the borders of *Phœnicia*, with sundrie Stories depending vpon those places.

§. I.

The Proæme to the description of the whole Land of *Canaan*, with an Exposition of the name of *Syria*.



THE story of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Iosua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the *Iewes* was gouerned by Kings, of which so many of them as ruled the tenne Tribes, shall be remembered when we come to the description of *Samarita* : but because the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greatest part of the Story past, with that which followeth, hath beene acted, I thinke it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a *Geographical* description of those Regions : that all things therein performed by the places knowne, may the better be vnderstood, and conceiued. To which purpose (besides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I haue bestowed on euery Tribe his proper portion : and doe shew what Cities and Places of strength were by the *Iewes* obtained : and what numbers it pleased God to leaue vnconquered ; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when vngratefull for his many graces, they at sundry times forgot or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deafe and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Diuina bonitas* (saith *Augusline*) *ideo maxime irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro : & misericorditer temporalem adhibet seueritatem, ne aeternam iussu inferat ultionem ; The Diuine goodnesse is especially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come, and doth mercifully vse temporall seuerity, that it may not iustly bring vpon vs eternall vengeance.*

To the Cities herein described, I haue added a short Story of the beginnings and ends of diuers Kingdomes and common-wealths : and to helpe my selfe herein, I haue perused diuers of the best Authors vpon this subiect : among whom, because I finde so great disagreement in many particulars, I haue rather in such cases aduentured to follow mine owne reason, than to borrow any one of their old patternes.

And because *Canaan*, with *Palestina* of the *Philistines*, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sebon* Kings of *Basun*, and the Arabian Amorites, were but small Prouinces of *Syria* : it shall be necessarie, first to diuide and bound the generall, and so to defend to this particular, now called the holy Land.

Syria, now *Soria*, according to the largest description, and as it was anciently taken, embraced all those Regions from the Euxine Sea, to the Red Sea : and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which look into *Pontus*, called *Leucosyrians* or white *Syrians*. But taking it shorter,

Proth. Alla.
tab. 4.
Ptol. 5.

shorter, and from the coast of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, vnto *Idumæa* towards the South, *Tigris* towards the Sunne rising, and the *Mediterran Sea* Westward : it then containeth besides *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, *Arabia the Desert*, & *Arabia Petræa*, that Region also which the *Greekes* call *Mesopotamia*, the *Hebrewes* *Syria*, of the two Riuers, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for so *Aran Nabairajm* is expounded : also *Padan Aram* ; that is, *Inum Syria*, because the two Riuers goe along in it as it were in a yoke.

Edeffa, sometime *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the Metropolis of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria* taken largely, there were many small Prouinces, as *Cœlesyria* which the *Latines* call *Syria Cana*, because it lay in that fruitfull Valley betweene the Mountaines of *Lybanus*, and *Antilibanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others were seated. Then *Damascena*, or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the Citie *Damascus*, and the Mountaines of *Lybanus*, the Regall seate of the *Adades*, the first Kings of *Syria*. Adioyning to it was the Prouince of *Sophene*, or *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobah* : ouer which *Adadexer* commanded in *Salomons* time. Then *Phœnicia* and the people *Syrphœnicies* : and lastly *Syria Palæstina* bordering *Egypt* : of which *Ptolomie* maketh *Iudæa* also a part : and to that Prouince which *Moses* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giueth the name of *Syria Iudæa*.

Aruegill. 11.

Herod in P.

lym. Diab. 27.

Ptol. Asie.
tab. 4.

§. II.

Of the bounds of the Land of *Canaan*, and of the promises touching this Land.



UT that Land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phœnicia*, and stretcheth from behinde *Lybanus* to the great *Deserts* betweene *Idumæa* and *Egypt* : bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the West, and the Mountaines of *Hermion* ; *Galaad* and *Arnon* towards the East : the same Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi* or *Tracônitis*, and *Ptolomie* *Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the sonne of *Cham*, & lingua appellata fuit *Canaan* ; The language was also called *Canaan*, saith *Montanus* : and after *Hebræa* of the *Hebrewes* : who tooke name from *Heber*, the sonne of *Sale*, according to *S. Augusline*. But *Arias Montanus* not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of *Noahs* Sonnes, which past ouer *Euphrates* towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, saith hee, is as much as *transiens* or *transmittens*, of going, or passing ouer. And because the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certaine abiding : therefore as he thinkes, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebrai*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of *Eusebius* long before them both. It had also the name of *Iudæa* from *Iuda* ; and then afterwards intituled the holy Land, because therein our *Sauour Christ* was borne and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was againe diuided into foure ; namely, into *Edom*, (otherwise *Sier*, or *Edumæa*) *Galilee*, *Samarita*, and *Iudæa*. *Galilee* is double, the superior called *Gentium*, and the inferiour : and that *Galilee* and *Iudæa* are distinguished, it is plaine in the *Euangelists*, though both of them belong to *Phœnicia*.

Strab. l. 10.

Caleb. f. 62.

Euseb. Præp.
Euang. l. 7. c. 3.

Marl.
Liber 2.
Iohn 4.

Now besides these Prouinces of *Phœnicia*, and *Palestina* (both which the River of *Jordan* boundeth ; sauing that *Phœnicia* stretcheth a little more Easterly towards *Damascus*) that part also to the East of *Jordan*, and within the Mountaines of *Hermion* *Gilead*, and *Arnon*, otherwise *Traconi*, fell to the possession of halfe *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* also : as well because anciently possesed by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enioyed by the *Israelites*, which Eastermost parts are againe diuided into *Bisan* or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midiam*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Macbari*, *Gessari*, *Argobe*, *Has*. They are knowne to the latter *Cosmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in generall : and by the names of *Tracônitis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, &c. of which I will speake in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, hee maketh no mention of the later Prouinces, which fell to *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, for these be his words, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, and thou comest to Gezar vntill Azzab* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the Countrey North and South : then it followeth in the Text ; *And as thou goest vnto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboim, euen vnto Lasba* : by which words *Moses* setteth downe the breadth, to wit, from the Dead Sea to the *Mediterran*. But in *Deuteronomie* it seemeth to be far more large : For it is therein written ; *All the places wherein the sole of your feet shall tread, shall bee yours* : *Deut. 11. 24.*

your coast shall be from the wilderness, and from Libanon, and from the River Perab, unto the uttermost Sea. Now for the length of the Countrey North and South, this description agreeth with the former: only Libanon is put for Zidon: and the wilderness for Gerar and Azab, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if Perab be taken for Euphrates: then the Land promised stretcheth it selfe both ouer Arabia Petrea, and the Desert, as farre as the border of Babylon: which the Israelites neuer possesse; nor at any time did so much as inuade or attempt. And therefore Vadianus doth conceiue, that by the River Perab, was meant Jordan, and not Euphrates: taking light from this place of Iosua: Behold, I haue diuided vnto you by lot these Nations, that remaine to bee an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Jordan with all the Nations that I haue destroyed, euen vnto the great Sea westward.

And though it be true that David greatly enlarged the Territorie of the Holy Land: yet as Vadianus well noteth, if Perab in the former place be taken for Euphrates: then was it put per gentes in amicitiam receptas. For David did not at any time enter so farre to the East as Assyria, or Babylonia. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries giue advantage to those that would make any irreligious cauil, as touching the promise of God to the Israelites vnperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and seruice, it pleased him not onely to inclose them within that Territorie, which was for so many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elsewhere to subiect them vnto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish gods themselves also serued and obeyed. And sure the promise by which the Hebrewes claimed the inheritance of Canaan, and the lasting inioying thereof, to wit, as long as the heauens were about the earth, was tied to those condicions, both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent; which the Israelites neuer performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankind could or can expect; who knew that all sorts of comforts from the mercifull goodnesse of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we perseuere in his loue, seruice, and obedience. So in the eight Verse of the eleuenth of Deuteronomy, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a condition ioyned to the prosperity of Israel. For therein it is written, Therefore shall ye keepe all the Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and goe in, and possesse the Land, whither yee goe to possesse it. Also that you may prolong your dayes in the Land which the Lord swaue vnto your Fathers, &c.

The like condition was also annexed to the enioying of the Land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the heauens were about the earth. For if yee keepe diligently, saith he, all these commandements, which I command you to doe, that is, to loue the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you, and yee shall possesse great Nations, & mightier than you. And here, though it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandements, and their falling away from the worship of his all-powerfull Maistie, to the Idolatry of the Heathen, the conditionall promises of God were absolutely void, as depending vpon obedience vnperformed: yet I cannot mislike that exposition of Melancthon: For, saith he, Offendit promissionem precipuam non esse de hoc Politico regno; He sheweth that his chiefe promise is not of a ciuill Kingdome. To which agrees that answer which S. Hierome made to a certaine Heretique in his Epistle ad Dardanum, who accused S. Hierome, that he quethrew the reputation of the Iewes Storice, & brought the truth thereof in question; by drawing it altogether into an Allegorie, and ad illam duxerat vinculum terram que in caelestis; (that is) Onely to that Land of the liuing which is in Heauen. Quoniam tota Iudaeorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat 160. milliarum, latitudinem vero 40. & in his citiam regiones, loca, vrbes & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam Iudaei occupata, sed tantum diuina pollicitatione promissa; Because the whole Countrey of the Iewes is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath 160. miles in length, & 40. miles in breadth, and in these are Countreies, places, Cities, & many Townes, which the Iewes neuer possesse, but were onely granted by diuine promise. In like manner the same Father speaketh vpon Esai touching the blessings promised vnto Hierusalem: where hee hath these words: De quo distans Hierusalem nequaquam in Palestina Regione pendendam: quae totius Prouinciae deterrimae est: & saxa montibus asperatur, & penuriam patitur sitis: ita ut caelestibus uisitatibus pluuies, & caritatem fontium intermaris extruccionem faciat: sed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur, festinanunt structores eius; From whence, saith he, we learne, that Hierusalem is not to be sought in that region of Palestina, which is the worst of the whole Prouince, & ragged with

with craggie Mountaines, and suffereth the penurie of shirsh: so as it preserveth raine water, and supplieth the scarcitie of wells by building of Cesternes; but this Hierusalem is in Gods hands, & which it is said, Thy builders haue hastened: so farre S. Hierome, where also to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himselfe. Neg, hoc dico in suggillationem terrae Iudaeae, ut hereticus Syccophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam historia veritatem: qua fundamentum est intelligentiae spiritualis, sed ut decutiam supercilium Iudaeorum: qui Synagoga angustias latitudini Ecclesiae praeferrunt. Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum uiuificantem: ostendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem; Neither (saith hee) say I this to disgrace the Land of Iudaea (as the Hereticall Syccophant doth belie me) or to take away the truth of the Historie, which is the foundation of spirituall vnderstanding, but to beat down the pride of the Iewes, which enlarge the straits of the Synagogue farther than the breadth of the Church: for if they follow onely the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them shew the Land of promise, flowing with milke and honey.

By this it may also be gathered, how fouler it be vnlikely (seeing the West-bound in the place, Deut. 11. 24. had his truth in the literall sense, that Euphrates or Perab, which is made the East-bound, should be taken onely in a spirituall sense) yet neuertheless that Hieronis opinion inclineth to this, as if this Perab were not to be vnderstood for Euphrates, and that the promise it selfe was neuer so large: much lesse the plantation and conquest of Israel.

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because Asber, Nephthalim, and Zabulon, held the Northernmost part, and were seated in Phania, I will begin with these three, taking Asber for the first: of which Tribe yet before I speake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names by reason of the diuers fancies of Translators, are diuersly expressed, so that to the vnskillfull they may seeme diuers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diuersitie (as by those learned in the Hebrew I am taught) is, partly because the ancient Editions of the Hebrew want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the Hebrew Editions haue; and partly because the Ancient expressed or omitted diuers consonants, otherwise than the latter doe so thinke fit.

§. III. THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

†. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asber.

The Asberites descended of Asber the Sonne of Iacob by Zelpha, the handmaid of Lea, were increased while they abode in Egypt, to the number of 41500. and odde persons, all men about twenty yeeres of age, and able to beare armes, at the time when they were mustered by Moses at Mount Sinai: all which number perishing in the Deserts, there remained of their issues, besides women and children 53400. bodies fit for the warres: which past the Riuer of Arnon, into the Plaines of Moab, and after the Conquest of Canaan, had for their portion that part of Phania, from Zidon and the fields of Libanus, vnto Ptolomais Acon alongst the Seacoast: containing thirtie English miles or thereabout: and from the Mid-land sea to the East border some twelue miles: though Antoninus makes it somewhat larger. This part of Canaan was very fruitfull, abounding in Wine, Oyle, and Wheate, besides the Balsamm, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that Prophecie, Asber pinguis panis: Concerning Asber, his bread shall bee fat: And hee shall giue pleasures for a King.

†. II.

Of Zidon.

The first City seated on the North border of the Territorie of Asber, was Zidon, which Iosua calleth the great Zidon, both for strength and magnitude. The Greekes and Ec 3 Q. Curtius

Latin, L.S.

Uch, 10 Iefeph.

7622, Hier.
4th Feb. 23.
6252, Z. 1. 1.

Palest. Scig. f.
19. P. ad. m.
Petr. f. 178.
Strab. l. 16.

Strab. l. 16.
Z. h. 9, v. 2.
Hered. l. 5.

* It seems that even in 10th-century times they practiced glass-making, whence *Tunja* for *Myphorbium*, which *adverbis* is as much as to *influxu* in *aquas*, reader *solus* et *intrinsecus* 131, 11, 18. As it seems, because these forces were where there was store of water, either by the force of the water, or for other necessary uses. But there are others that take them for salt jars, & other arguement for hotbaths. The forme of *Alatze* for *Alatze* seemeth to have beene a theep, for *Alatze* 7. 1. 2. the word in the plural number; signifieth theep; & this may confirm our conjecture in opinion, that *Alatze* was *Tuna*: for the forme of her husband *Tupia* (yet it *unus*) was a Ram.

Q. Carthus make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Iusline* deriues the name from the abundance of fish found on those shores: whereof it hath beene called *Zidona*. But that it was farre more ancient, *Moses*, *Iosua*, and *Iosephus* witnesse, the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaan*s Sonnes: and so strong it was in *Iosua*s time, as neither did himselfe attempt it, neither could the *Asserites*, or any of their successors master it: but it continued all the time of the *Iudges* and *Kings*, euen vnto the comming of *Christ*; a Citie interchangeably gouerned, by their owne Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, *Esay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and *Zacharie*, it was often afflicted both by the enemies sword, and by the pestilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wash of the Phœnician Sea, which is a part of the Mediterranean or Mid-land Sea. It lieth to the North the Citie of *Berythus*, and the River *Leontis* : and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat* : which standeth betweene it and *Tyre*, the distance betweene which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14. thousand paces, saith *Seiglerius* : but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *weissinburie* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo* : which two hundred furlongs make five and twentie miles. This difference of distance as well betweene these two knowne Cities, as all the rest, make it ouer-difficult to deuise any new scale to the Mappe and description of the holy Land.

What Kings it had till *Aggers* time there is no memorie : The story which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a Zidonian, wrote thereof, being by time confum'd and lost. It seemeth to bee more ancient than *Tyre* ; which was also built by the Zidonians. For as *Strabo* north, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memorie of *Tyre*, because it was but a member of *Zidon*, and a City subiect to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacie, and became farre more renowned, opulent, and strong : From *Zidon* had *Salomon* and *Zerobabel* their principall workemen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other Mechanicall Arts or Trades : the Prophet *Zacharie* calling them the wise Zidonians. The Citie was both by nature & Art exceeding strong, having a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing vpon an vnaccessible Rocke, and compass'd by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order : and another Castle it hath on the South side by the Port of *Egypt*, which the Templers guarded. It also sent many other Colonies beside that of *Tyre*, into places remote : as vnto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, Cities of *Baotia* in Greece. *Strabo* and *Plinie* giue the Zidonians the inuention of * Glasse, which they vsed to make of those sands which are taken out of the Riuer *Belus*, falling into the Mediterranean Sea, neere *Protonais* or *Acon* : and from whence the Venetians fetch the matter of those cleere Glasses which they make at *Murano* : of which *S. Hierome* and *Plinie* : Zidon insignis artificer vitri : Zidon vitrarie officinis Nobilis ; Zidon a famous Glassemaker, or a skilfull worker in Glasse houses.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the Canaanites) worshippers of *Baal* and *Astarte*: which Idols though common to the other of the issue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of *1. Sam.* 31. 10. and *Judg.* 10. 6.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the Gods of the Zidonians: as appears *1. Kings* 11. 5. in the story of *Salomons* Idolatrie: where *Astarte* is called the God of the Zidonians: and *1. Reg.* 16. 33. in the story of *Achish*, the chiefe worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said that hee marrying *Iezabel* the Daughter of the King of the Zidonians, worshipped their *Baal*. Diuers *Baals* & diuers *Astartes* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appears by the plurall names of *Baalim* and *Astartoth*, *1. Sam.* 12. 10. and elsewhere: for euen the name *Astarte*, as I am informed by a skilfull *Hebristian*, is plurall: the singular being *Astarte*: whence *Judg.* 2. 13. the *Septuagint* reads *ἐκείνησαν τοὺς ἀστέρας*: They worshipped the *Astartes*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals*, & *Astartes*, may be diuersly vnderstood: either in respect of the diuersitie of the formes of the Images, or of the worship in diuers places, or of the stories depending vpon them: which (as tables vfe to be) were doubtlesse in diuers Cities diuers. *Angustine quest.* 19. in *Judg.* thinks *Baal* and *Astarte* to be *Iupiter* and *Iuno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Iuno* by such a name as *Astarte*. *Tullie lib.* 3. de *Nat. D. orum*, making diuers Goddesses of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to bee *Astarte*: whom hee makes to bee borne of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to haue beene the Wife of *Adonis*: as also *Macrobi.* 2. *Saturn.* cap. 21. saies that *Adonis* was with great veneration

veneration commonly worshipped of the Assyrians: and Hierome vpon Ezek. 8. 44. notes
 that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) is the name of
Adonis among the Syrians. So that it may seeme that in the worship of *Astarte* or *Venus*,
 they did bewaile her Husband *Adonis*: as also the Grecians did in their songs of *Adonis*:
Mourne for Adonis the faire, dead is Adonis the faire. Howbeit others in that place of E-
 zekiel not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to bee the
 mourning for *Osiris* in the sacrifice of *Isis*: whose losse of her Husband *Osiru*, was as fa-
 mous in the Egyptian Idolatrie, as with the Grecians, *Venus* losse of *Adonis*. And to this a-
 greeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iside & Osiride*; that *Osiru* with the Egyptians is cal-
 led *Amniuz*: which word may seeme to be the same with *Ezekiels Thammuz*. But how-
 soeuer these Zidonians were thus anciently fostered with the milke of Idolatry: yet they
 were more apt to receiue the Doctrine and Gospell of *Christ* after his Ascension, than
 the Iewes: who had beene taught by *Moses* and the *Prophets* so many yeeres, whereof our
 Saviour in *Mathew* and *Luke*: woe be to thee *Corazin*, &c. for if the great works which were
 done in thee, had beene done in *Tyrrus* and *Zidon*, they had repented long agoe, &c. but I say vn-
 to you, it shall be easier for *Tyrrus* and *Zidon*, at the day of Iudgement, than for you.

It received a *Christian* Bishop with the first : who was afterward of the Diocesse of *Tyre*. But in the yeere of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the Saracens: and continued in their possession till *Baldwinus* the first, then King of *Hierusalem*: in the yeere 1111. by the helpe of the Danes and Norwaies, who came with a Fleet to visite the holy Land, and tooke Port at *Ioppa*, it was againe recovered, the commandement thereof being giuen to *Eustase Gremer*, a Noble man of that Countrey. And againe in the yeere 1250. it was reedified and strengthened by *Lodowicke* the French King : while hee spent foure yeere in the Warre of the holy Land: Lastly, in the yeere 1289. it was reconquered by the Saracens : and is now in possession of the Turke, and hath the name of *Zaf*.

Tyrr. 11. Bell.
S. 4. c. 14.
Vulgar. c. 27.
Niger Poellus.

†. III.

Of Sarepta, with a brief History of Tyre in the same Coast.

Sarepta, or after the Hebrew, Sarphath, is the next City Southward from Zidon, between it and the Riuer called Naar, or *Fons horrorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards Tyre, a City very famous for the excellent wine growing neere it: of which *Sidonius* :

*Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna.
Quæq. Sareptano palmitis missa bib.us.*

40 I haue no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* wine,
Nor any for the drinking of *Sarepta's* vine.

This City had also a *Bishop*, of the Diocese of *Tyre*: after it came to the Saracens and Turkes, as the rest: and is now called *Saphet*, faith *Postellus*.

Not farre from *Sarepta* was situate that sometime famous City of *Tyre*, whose fleets of shippes commanded, and gaue the law ouer all the *Mediterran Sea*, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatnesse and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Vtica*, *Leptus*, and *Carthage* in *Affrica*, of which *Virgil*, *Urbs antiqua fuit*, *Tyrū tenuere Coloni*, *Carthago*. And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quasi Phœnium*, a Colonie of the *Phœnicians*. In *Spain*e they founded *Gades*, now *Calix*. In *Italie*, *Nola*: in *Asia* the lesse, *Dromos*. *Aschillia*, which Citie the *Scholias*t of *Apollonius* placeth nere the Riuer *Phyllis*, in *Bythinia*.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and so it is written in *Iofua* the 19. taking name from the situation; because built on a high Rocke, sharpe at one end. The *Latines*, as it seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*; for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Ostrum Sarra* *Gellius* 4. c. 6. *rannus*, by wiche name *Innocent* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it vpon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day; the place being still knowne by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and because it was a *Colonic* of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet

Cap. 23.

Esay calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*, which *Trogus* also confirmeth, though *Herodotus* by affinity of name makes *Thirus* the sonne of *Iaphet* to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient (for so much the Prophet *Esay* also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious Citie, whose antiquity is of ancient dayes?*) yet, that *Thirus* is the sonne of *Iaphet* set himselfe in the bosome of the *Canaanites* who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region: I see nothing to perswade me.

Justin. 1. 18.

Cicero. 1. 1.

Eusebius. 1. 1.

Josephus. 1. 1.

Cicero. 1. 1.

But that new *Tyre* in after-times so renowned, seemeth to bee the worke of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was *Curtius*, and *Iosephus*, and *Eusebius* make this City elder than *Solomons* Temple 240. yeeres: *Cedrenus* 361. who also addeth that *Tyris* the wife of *Agenor* gaue it her name: but of *Agenor* I will speake more at large in the story of their Kings.

Ezek. 28. 2. 7.

verse 3.

Esa. 23. 3.

27. 8.

For strength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receiue Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Island, 700. paces from the continent; and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the midst of the Sea, as some read, or as others in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence he calleth it *situate at the entry of the Sea*, as also the same Prophet calleth it *the Mart of the people for many Iles*: and *Esay*, *a Mart of the Nations*: and so Proude, Wealthy, and Magnificent was this City, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World.

It excelled both in learning, and in manufacture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, saith *Julius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules* Dogge, who passing along the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*: the haire of his lippes became of that colour. It worshipped the same Idols that *Zidon* did: sauing that *Hercules* became their Patron in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* presented him with a Crowne of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remaine his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defender of their City, and the Ancestor of the Macedonians Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountaine of old *Tyre*: where he might performe that ceremony. But this auailed not: For *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious; he desired to enter the Towne, which being denied, he as one whom no perill could feare, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ships as he could, and brought from *Libanus* so great a number of Cedars, and so many weighty stones, from the old City of *Tyre* adioyning, as notwithstanding that his materials were often waist away with the strength of the Sea and the Tydes, yet he neuer rested, till hee had made a foote passage from the Continent to the Island: and hauing once approached their Walls, he ouer-topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (hauing filled the body of force with the violent mouing spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that resisted; after which, he caused 2000. more to be hung vp in a ranke all alongst the Sea-shore: which execution vpon cold blood hee performed (as some Authours affirme) vpon the issues of those slaues which had formerly slaine all their Masters, taking their Wiues, Children, Riches, and power of Government to themselves. This victory of *Alexander* ouer the *Tyrians*, *Iosephus* remembreth: and how *Sanaballat* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Souldiers: who was the last *Satrapa* or Prouinciall Gouvernour, which *Darius* seated in *Samaria*: the same who hauing married his Daughter to *Manasse*, brother to *Jaddus* the high Priest of *Hierusalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a Temple might be built on the Mountaine *Gabriel* ouer *Samaria*: that the forces of the Iewes being diuided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which Priesthood hee bestowed on his son in law *Manasse*, whom the Iewes oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a Gentile: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom *Guil. Tyrius* calleth *Sanabula*, died.

Iosephus. 1. 1.

de bell. 1. 1.

de bell. 1. 1.

1. 1. 3.

Ioseph. Ant. lib. 9. cap. 14.

Long before this desolation of *Tyre* by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanasser* the *Assyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became enuious of the beauty, riches, and power of that City. He besieged it both on the Land-side, and with threescore shippes of Warre held the Port: to the end that neither any victuals nor any supply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelue saile scattered that fleet, and tooke 500. prisonets of the *Assyrians*: notwithstanding, the *Assyrian* continued his resolution, and lay before

before it by his Lieutenants sixe yeeres, but with ill successe. And this siege *Menander Euphratesius*, cited by *Iosephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as hee found the Story among the *Annalls* of the *Tyrians* (which the said *Menander* conuerted into *Greece*) adding, that *Eluleus*, whom *Tyrius* calleth *Helisus*, was then King of *Tyre*, hauing gouerned the same sixe and twenty yeeres. Soone after this repulse of *Salmanasser*, and about 200. yeeres before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonosor* at such time as he destroyed *Hierusalem* with the Temple, came before this City: who indeed gaue to *Alexander* the example of that despairfull worke, of ioyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonosor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same cawsey and passage was againe broken downe, and demolished.

Against *Nabuchodonosor*, for many yeeres, the *Tyrians* defended themselves: for so long did those *Babylonians* continue before it, *As every head was made bald, and every shoul- der made bare*, saith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Esay* had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proude place. In the end and after thirteene yeeres siege or more, the *Tyrians* despoiled of all their hopes, and remembring ouer-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, hauing prepared a conuenient number of shippes, abandoned their City, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained: and with their wiues, children, and portable riches, sayled thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritime Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to satisfie so many labours and perils, or any person vpon whom to auenge themselves for the losse of so many bodies in that Warre: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this resolution, as in a worke of his owne) to make *Nabuchodonosor* victorious ouer the *Egyptians*: and gaue him that Kingdome and the spoile thereof, as it were in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint *Hierome* noteth, that God leaueh not the good deeds of the Heathen vnewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attaine vnto that eternall happinesse referred for his Seruants and Saints: yet such is the boundlesse goodnesse of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporall blessings.

Now of this enterprise of *Nabuchodonosors* against *Tyre*, prophane Historians haue not bene silent. For both *Diocles*, and *Philostratus* (as *Iosephus* citeth them) the one in his second Booke, the other in his *Phanician* Histories, remember it.

After these two great *Vassations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*: this City of *Tyre* repaired and recovered it selfe againe: and continued in great glory about 300. yeers, euent to the coming of our Saniour *Christ*: and after him flourished in the *Christian* Faith neere 600. yeeres: the Archbishop whereof gaue place to none but to the Patriarke of *Hierusalem* onely, who within his owne Diocese and foureteene great Cities, with their Bishops and suffragans: namely *Caipha*, otherwise *Porphiria*, *Acon*, or *Pelomade*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Casarea*, *Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Eyblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthosia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus*, or *Tortosa*, and *Maraclea*. But in the yeere 636. it was with the rest of that beaustifull Region of *Phanicia* and *Palestina*, subiect to the cruell and faithlesse *Saracen*. Vnder the burthen and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered, with the other *Palestine* Cities, 488. yeeres.

In the yeere 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hierusalem*: but in vaine: yet in the yeere 1124. by *Guaremonde*, Patriarke of *Hierusalem*, Vicegerent to *Baldwine* the second, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, and their fleet of Gallies, it was againe recovered, and subiect to the Kings of *Hierusalem*, and so it remained 165. yeeres.

Finally, in the yeere 1189. *Saladine* hauing first taken *Hierusalem*, removed his whole Army and sate downe before *Tyre*: drawing his fleet of shippes and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port, this City as then onely remaining in the *Christian* power. The Citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fiered, burnt; and brake the *Saracens* fleet, and sallyed out resolutely vpon his Army, slew so great numbers of them, and followed their victory with such fury, as that the *Saracens* forsaking their Trenches and Tents, remoued in great disorder and dishonour. Two yeeres after which victory the body of that famous *Fredericke Barbarosse* who by the lamentable accident of following the *Christians* enemies ouer a Riuer vntoordable, perished by the weight of his armour therein, was brought and interred in the Cathedrall Church of *Tyre*, neere vnto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and grauen with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. yeeres before

Et. ont. Ap. 1. Guil. Tyrius de bell. sacr. 13. 4. Ioseph. Ant. lib. 9. cap. 15.

Ezek. 29. 18. 10. 23. 6. 6.

Ezek. 29. 19.

Ioseph. Ant. 1. 10. 1. 3.

Guil. Tyrius de bell. sacr. 17.

before therein buried: but in the yeere 1289. the Saracens againe attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subiect to the Turkes.

t. III.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

The third City alongst the coast of the Sea, which the Asserites could not obtaine, on the South bound of Asser was Acho, which was the ancient name thereof after Hierome, though other good Authours affirme that it tooke name from Acon the brother of Ptolomy. Plinie calleth it Ace: and otherwise the Colonie of Claudius. It had also the name of Coth, or Cod, and by Zeiglerus it is called Haçtipos.

But lastly, it was intituled Ptolomais after the name of one of the Egyptian Ptolomies: which City also as it is, 1 Mac. 11. another of the Ptolomies, infideliouly wrested from his sonne in law Alexander, which called himselfe the sonne of Antiochus Epiphanes: the same Alexander hauing married Cleopatra daughter of the said Ptolome not long before. Therein also was Ionathan Machabeus treacherously surprisid and slaine, as it is 1 Mac. 12. 48. by the perfidiousnesse of Tryphon, whom soone after Antiochus pursued, as it is in the Story ensuing: and by like reason about the same time was the aforesaid Alexander in the warre against Demetrius, one of the sonnes of Antiochus the great with whom Ptolome ioyned, ouerthrowne & treacherously murdered by Zabdiel the Arabian: to whom he fled for succour: and his head presented vnto his father in law Ptolome: who enioyed not the glory of his victory and treason about three dayes, for God stricke him by death.

For the beauty and strength of this City, this Alexander made it his regall seate; two parts of the same being inuironed by the Sea, and the port for safety and capacity not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This Citie is distant from Hierusalem some foure and thirty miles: foure miles to the North from the Mountaine Carmel, and as much to the South from Castrum Lamberti: from Tyre, Antonius maketh it two and thirty Italian miles. In the midst of the City there was a Tower of great strength, sometime the Temple of Bel-zebub: and therefore called the Castle of Flies, on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetuall light, like vnto that called Pharos in Egypt: to giue comfort in the night to those shippes, which came neere and sought that part. It had in it a Bishops seate, of the Diocesse of Tyre, after it became Christian: but in the yeere 636. (a farall yeere to the Christians in those parts) it was forced and taken by Haomaruis the Saracen. In the yeere 1104. it was regained by Baldwin the first, by the helpe of the Gallies of Genoa: to whom a third of the reuenew was giuen in recompence. Again, in the yeere of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred fourescore and seuen, Saladine King of Egypt, and Syria, became Lord thereof. In the yeere of Christ, one thousand one hundred ninety and one, by Richard King of England, and Philip King of France, it was repossessed and redeliuered to the Christians. Lastly, in the yeere 1291. it was by the fury of the Saracens besieged with an Army of 150000. entred, sackt, and vterly demolished: though in some sort afterward reedified, and it is now Turkish.

t. V.

Of the Castle of Saint George.

Foue miles from Ptolomais towards the East, is the Castle of Saint George seated, in which he was borne: the Valley adioyning bearing the same name. And though for the credit of Saint Georges killing the Dragon, I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe: yet I cannot but thinke, that if the Kings of England had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which Edward the third founded, and which his Successours royally haue continued, should haue borne his name, seeing the World had not that scarcity of Saints in those dayes, as that the English were driuen to make such an erection vpon a fable, or person fained. The place is described by Adrichomius in his description of Asser, to haue bene in the fieldes of Libanus: betweene the Riuer Adonis, and Zidon: his owne words are these:

these: Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longe à Beryto, memorant inclitum Christi Militem D. Georgium, Regis filium ab immanissimo Dracone asseruasse: eam, maculata bestia parenti restituisse. In cuius rei memoriam Ecclesia postmodum fuit edificata. In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called Cappadocia, not far from Berytus, men say that the famous Knight of Christ, Saint George, did rescue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: and hauing killed the beast, deliuered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a Church was after built there: Thus farre Adrichomius. His Authours he citeth Lodouicus Roman, Patrie. Navigationum l. 1. c. 3. and Bridenbach Itin. 5. The Valley vnder this Castle sometime called Asser, was afterward called the Valley of Saint George. If this authority suffice not, we may rather make the Story allegoricall, figuring the victory of Christ, than except of George the Arrian Bishop, mentioned by Am. Marcellinus.

t. VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

Betweene Ptolomais and Tyre alongst the Sea coast, was the strong City of Acziba, or Achazib, which Saint Hierome calleth Achziph, and Iosephus Ecdippas, Plinie Ecdippa, one of those which defended it selfe against the Asserites. Belforrest findes Acziba and Sandalium, or the Castle of Alexander to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelue searchers of the Land which Moses sent from Cadesbarne, trauailed as far to the North as Roob, or Rechob, in the Tribe of Asser, which Rechob, as also Berothas which by Ezekiel cap. 47. verse 16. is placed in these North borders, belonged in Dauids time to the King Hadarbezer, as it may be gathered out of the second of Samuel the 8. chap. and 8. verse, and cap. 10. verse 6. and it defended it selfe against the Asserites, as Zidon, Tyre, Achziph, Ptolomais, Alab, Helbah, and Aphck did.

This Aphck it was, whose wall falling downe, slew seuen and twenty thousand of Benhadads Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had bene slaughtered by the Israelites, vnder the conduct of Ahab. Here Iunius findes that the Philistims encamped a little before the battaile at Gilboa, though in his note vpon the first of Samuel, the 9. and 1. he takes Aphck there mentioned (at which battaile the Arke was taken) to haue bene in Iuda. Of which Ios. 15. and 53. and in the second of Kings 13. 17. he reade, Fortiter, for, in Aphck. Where others conuert it, Percutiens Syros in Aphck.

The next place alongst the coast is Sandalium, first called Schandalium of Schander, which we call Alexander, for Alexander Macedon built it, when he besieged Tyre: and set it on a point of Land which extendeth it selfe into the Sea, betweene Acziba and Tyre: which Castle Baldwin the first rebuilt and fortified; in the yeere of Christ 1157. when he vndertooke the recovery of Tyre.

Not much about a mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentifull Spring of water, which Salomon remembreth, called the Well of liuing waters: from whence not onely all the fields and plaines about Tyre are made fruitfull by large pipes hence drawn: but the same Spring, which hath not about a bow-shot of ground to trauaile till it recover the Sea, driueth sixe great Milles in that short passage, saith Brochard.

Within the Land, and to the east of Acziba, and Sandalium, standeth Hofa: and beyond it, vnder the Mountaines of Tyre, the City of Achlaph, or Axab, or after Saint Hierome Acilap, a City of great strength, whose King amongst the rest was slaine by Iosua, at the waters of Merom.

t. VII.

Of Thoron, Gifala, and some other places.

Further into the Land towards Iordan, was seated the Castle of Thoron, which Hugo de Sancto Abdemare built on the Eastermost Hills of Tyre, in the yeere 1107. thereby to restrain the excursions of the Saracens, while they held Tyre against the Christians: the place adioyning being very fruitfull, and exceeding pleasant. From this Castle the Elords of Thoron, famous in the Story of the Warres for the recovery of the Holy Land, deriue their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappell, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, in which Hunfrey of Thoron, Constable to Baldwin the 3. King of Hierusalem, lyeth buried: There were fiue Castles besides this within the Territory of Asser: where-

whereof foure are seated almost of equall distance from each other: to wit, Castrum, Lampert, Montfort, Indin (or *Saron*) Castrum Regium, and Belfort; The first neere the Sea vnder the Hills of *Saron*: the next three, to wit, Indin, Montfort, and Regium, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and fellowship of the *Tenonici*, or *Dutch Knights* by which they defended themselves, and gaue succour to other Christians at such time as the Saracens possessed the best part of the vpper Galilee: the chiefe of which Order was in Ptolomais Achon. The first fortress was for bearry, and strength called Belfort, seated in the high ground vpon the Riuer Naar, neere the Citie Rama: of which in this Tribe *Levi* 22. 29. 101. which the Vulgar reads *Horma*: making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels: from the siege of this Castle of Belfort, the great *Saladine* King of Syria and Egypt, was by the Christians Army raised, and with great losse and dishonour repulsed.

To the East of Belfort, is the strong City of Alab (or Achlab) which Saint *Hierome* calleth Chabal, one of those that defended themselves against *Affer*, as Roob (or Rechob) not farre thence did.

Towards the South from Roob, they place Gabala (which *Herod* surnamed the *Afcalone* rebuilt) making it of the Territory of *Chabol*, *Quod Syrorum lingua dispicere significat* (saith *Weissenburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of Tyre was ill pleased with those twenty Cities, seated hereabout, which *Salomon* presented vnto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others think this Chabol (or Cabul) containing a circuit of those twenty Cities given to *Hiram*, to haue beene without the compass of the holy Land: though bordering *Affer* on the North side: as it is said, *1 Reg. 9. 11*. That they were in *Regione limitis*: that is, *in limite Regionis*, in the border of the Countrey: for it was not lawfull, say they, to giue to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the Israelites: howsoever, that after *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by the Israelites: it appears, *2 Chron. 8. 14*. And it seemes they were conquered by *Dauid* from the *Syri Rechabees*, whose City Roob, or Rechob, was in these parts.

Almost of equall distance from the Castle of Thoron, they place the Cities of Giscala, and Gadara: of which Gadara is rather to be placed ouer Jordan: Giscala was made famous by *Iohn* the sonne of *Lami*, who from a meane estate gathering together foure hundred *Tibecues*, greatly troubled all the vpper Galilee: at such time as the Romans attempted the conquest of Iudæa: by whose practice *Iosephus*, who then commanded in the vpper Galilee, was greatly endangered: whereof himselfe hath written at large, in his second Booke of those Warres. This *Iohn* betraying in all hee could the City of Giscala (whereof he was native) to the Roman State: and finding a resistance in the City, gaue opportunity, during the contention, to the Tyrians and Gadarims, to surprize it: who at the same time fort it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Iosephus* authority rebuilt, it was afterward rendered to *Titus* by composition. They finde also the Cities of Cana Maior, and *S. Cades*, (or Gades) of the first was that *Syro-phœnician*, whose Daughter Christ deliuered of the euill spirit. Nere the other, they say, it was that *tonathis* *Atachabens* overthrew the Army of *Demetrius*.

There are besides these statenamed Cities within the Tribe of *Affer*, diuers others: as on the south border, and neere the Sea, *Mcfall*, or *Misheal*: within the Land, *a* *Befara*, *Berhadagon*, and *Buthamea*, standing on the south border betweene *Affer* and *Zabulon*: on the North side appoyning to *Syro-phœnicia* is the City of *Herthalon*, or *Chethlon*, the vtmost of the holy Land that way: vnder which towards the Sea is *Chali*, and then *c* *Enoch* supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his sonne *Enoch*, but without probability, as I haue formerly proued. There are others also besides these, as *Ammon* or *Chammon*, of which *Ios. 19. 28*, where also we reade of *Nehiel*, *Rama*, *Alamelec*, and *Beiton*: the Cities of *Alcaeth*, or *Chiefaeth*, *Haddon*, and *Rechob*, and *Misheal*, which we haue already mentioned, were by the *Afferines* giuen to the *Leuites*. Of others held by the *Cananians*, *Amorites*, *Idumeans*, *Edomites*, to which one of *Ios. 13* we may adde *Babou*, *Amthad*, and others, on which no more dependeth: and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

CHAP. 7. S. 3. f. 8. of the History of the World.

THe Riuer to the North of *Affer* are *Adonis*, afterward *Canth*, to which *Ziegler* ioyner *Lycus*, *Ptolomy*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea neere *Berytus*, which *Riuer* of *Leontis*, *Montanus* drawes neere vnto *Zidon*: finding his head norwithstanding, where *Ptolomy* doth, betweene *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath also a Riuer called *sons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Brechar* intriveth *Eleutherus*: for which he also citeth *Plinie*, and the first of *Machabees* the 11. Chapter, but neither of those authorities proue *Eleutherus* to be in *Affer*: for this Riuer falleth into the Sea at the Ile of *Aradus*: not farre from *Balanea*, witnesse *Ptolomy*: and therefore *Plinie* calleth it *Palania*, and *Postellus* *Velana*: which Riuer boundeth *Phœnicia* on the North-side: to which *Strabo* also agreeth: but this principall Riuer of *Affer*, *Arius Montanus* calleth *Gabatas*. *Christianus* *Cbrot* out of the mouth and Papers of *Peter Laiclan* (which *Laiclan* in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land) calleth the maine Riuer *Fons hortorum Libani*: and one of the *Greames* which runneth into it from the North-side, *Naar*, and another from the South-west, *Chabal*, of the City adioyning of the same name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is also another Riuer described by *Adrichome*, named *Iephael*, which I finde in no other Author, and for which he citeth the nineteenth of *Iosua*, but the word *Ghe* which is added thereto *Iephael*, is not taken for a Riuer, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the *Vulgar*, the *Geneua*, and *Arius Montanus* turne it. There is also found in *Affer*, the Riuer of *Belus*, remembered by *Iosephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, saith *Plinie*: out of the sands of this Riuer are made the best Glasse, which sometime the *Zidonians* prouided: and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arius Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedumim*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is knowne to flow from out the Lake *Cendonia*, as all *Cosmographers*, both Ancient and Moderne, and the later Trauailers into those parts, witnesse. It is true that the Riuer of *Chifon* taketh water from *Chedumim*: but not in that fashion which *Montanus* hath described it: neither doth it find the Sea at *Ptolomais* *Accon*, according to *Montanus*: but farther to the south betweene *Caiphas* and *Sicaminum*, witnesse *Ziegler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Sabrot*.

Besides these Riuers there are diuers famous Springs and Fountaines, as that of living waters adioyning to *Tyre*: and *a* *Maserephot*, or after Saint *Hierome*, *Maserephotmains*, whose Well filled by the flood of the Sea adioyning, (they say) the Inhabitants by seething the water make salt thereof, as at *Nantwich*.

The Mountaines which bound *Affer* on the North, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Calefrya*: two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, extend themselves farre into the Land East-ward: foure hundred stadia or furlongs according to *Strabo*: for that length he giueth to the Valley of *Calefrya*: which those Mountaines inclose: but *Plinie* giues them 1500. furlongs in length from the West (where they begin at *Theiophen*, or *Dei facies*, neere *Tripolis*) to the Mountaines of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus*: where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the South. These ledges where they begin to part *Traconitis* and *Basan*, from the Desert *Arabia*, are called *Hermom*: which *Moses* also nameth *Sion*, the *Phœnicians* *Syrian*, and the *Amorites* *Sanir*, neither is this any one Mountaine apart; but a continuation of Hills: which running farther southerly, is in the Scriptures called *Galaad* or *Gilead*: the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet *Ieremy* proueth: *Galaad tumidi caput Libani*: noting that this *Galaad* is the highest of those Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knowes them by the name of *Traconitis*: and *Ptolomy* by *Hippus*. *Arius Montanus* calleth these Mountaines bordering *Affer*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other *Cosmographers*; but he giueth no reason of his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, because according to *Tacitus*, the highest of them are couered with Snow all the Summer: the Hebrew word *Libanos* (saith *Weissenburg*) signifieth whitenesse. Others call them by that name of the Frankincence which those Trees yeeld: because *Libani* is also the Greeke word for that Gumme.

Niger out of *Aphrodisens* affirmeth; that on *Libanus* there falleth a kinde of hony dew, which is by the Sunne congealed into hard sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Saccar*, from whence came the Latine word *Saccarum*.

The Riuer which *Libanus* bestoweth on the neighbour Regions, are, *Chrysorrheus*, *Jordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The rest of the Mountaines of *Asser*, are those Hills about *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitfull: but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Nebo*, or the Mountaine of *Abarim* in *Reuben*, *Moses* beheld *Libanus* threefcore miles distant.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF NEPH TALIM.

¶ I.

Of the bounds of *Nephtalim*, and of *Heliopolis*, and *Abila*.

THe next Portion of the Land of *Canaan* bordering *Asser*, was the vpper *Galilee*, the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the sonne of *Iacob* by *Billa*, the hand-maide of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Egypt*, were increased to the number of 53400. persons, able men to beare armes, numbered at Mount *Sinai*: all which leauing their bodies in the Deserts, there entred the Holy Land of their sonnes 45400. besides Infants, Women, and Children, vnder twenty yeares of age. The Land of *Nephtalim* tooke beginning on the North part, from the Fountaines of *Jordan*, and the Hills of *Libanus* adioyning, as farre South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the West by *Asser*, and on the East and South-east by *Jordan*.

On the North-side of *Libanus*, and adioyning to this Territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) also inhabite, in which Tract and vnder *Libanus*, was the City of *Heliopolis*: which the height of the Mountaines adioyning shadowed from the Sunne, the better part of the day. *Postellus* calls it *Balbec*; *Niger*, *Marbech*, and *Leonclanius*; *Beallebeca*.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great Cities in *Egypt*: the first called *On*, by the *Hebrewes*, and the *Chaldean* Paraphrast, otherwise *Bethsemes*, or after the *Latines*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*; The City of the Sunne: into which, faith *Vlpian*, *Seuerus* the Roman Emperour sent a Colonie: the other *Gestelinus* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* also findeth a City in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is also in the same Valley adioyning to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis*, of whom the Region towards *Palmirena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, ouer which *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Brenice* the Queene commanded.

Abila also gaue name to the Region adioyning, of which *Lysanius* the sonne of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or *Gouernour*: whereof *Ptolomie* gaue it the addition of *Lysani*, and called it *Abila Lysani*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which he notes that one *Diogenes*, a famous *Sophister*, was natieue, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Aphileus*, not *Abileus*. After that this City of *Abila* or *Aphila*, had receiued the *Christian* Faith, *Priscillianus* became the Bishop thereof: slaine afterward by our Brittish *Maximus* at *Treuer*. For distinction of this Citie (if it be northe same, as it may be thought to be the same) it is to be remembred, that in the Tribe of *Manasse*, ioyning vpon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another City of the same name, sauing that it is written with an (E) for an (I) and called *Abela*, remembred in the 20. Chapter of the second of *Samuel*. The same *Iosephus* calls *Abelmacha*, and *Hierome* *Bethmacha*. In the place of *Samuel*, the wife of *Maacir*, the sonne of *Manasse*, the Father of *Gilead* in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majim*. This City *Isaiah* belieged: because *Seba* the sonne of *Bichri*, who rebelled against *Dauid*, fled thereinto for succour: but a certaine wise woman of the Citie perswading the people to cast *Seba* his head ouer the wall, *Isaiah* retired his Army. The same Citie was afterward taken by the King of *Damascus*, *Benadad*: and after a while by *Teglatphalasar*.

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signifie bewailing, or a plaine ground; and therefore no maruell that many Townes (with some addition for distinction sake) were thus called: for euen of bewailing, many places tooke name; as *Bochim*, *Iudg.* 2. 4.

and

and so doubtlesse * *Abel-Misraim*, *Gen.* 50. 11. and yet *Iunius* in his notes vpon *Nam.* 33. * And *Abel* 49. thinks that *Abel-Sittim* was so called, rather by reason of the plaine ground there (to wit, in the Land of *Moab*), and so perhaps *Abel-Meholah* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*: the Towne of *Elisba* the Prophet: also *Abel-Vincarum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Iephtha* pursued them.

¶ II.
Of *Hazor*.

IN the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, was that famous City of *Iabin*, in *Iosua's* time called *Afor* (or after the *Chaldean* Paraphrast, *Hafzor*) by *Iosephus*, *Afora*; by *Iunius* * *Chatzor*: which *Laisian* names *Hefron*; the Regall City, and Metropolis of *Canaan*: seated in the West part of *Nephtalim*, towards *Asser*. In this City was that great Renduous, and assembly of those foure and twenty Kings against *Iosua*: who being all ouerthrowen, slain, and scattered, this their powerfull City was by *Iosua* taken and burnt to dust. But in processe of time the same being rebuilt by the *Canaanites*, a second King *Iabin*, 137. yeares after the death of this first *Iabin*, inuaded the *Israelites*: and being ordained of God to punish their Idolatry, he preuailed against them, and held them in a miserable seruitude twenty yeares: till *Debora* the Prophetesse ouerthrew *Sisera*, *Iabins* Lieutenant, and his 20 Army, neere the Mountaine *Tabor*. This City *Salomon* restored at such time as hee also reedified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharao* of *Egypt*, with * *Megiddo*, *Bethoron*, and other Cities; but about 260. yeares after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalasar*, King of the *Assyrians*. It is now, faith *Adrichomius*, called *Antiochia*: it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*. There is another Citie of this name in the Territory of *Beniamin*, seated on the confines of *Ascalon*, called the new *Hazor*, * faith *Hierome*.

Nam. 34. 8. also in *Shimon*, *Chafar-Susima*, of which, 1 *Chron.* 4. 3. which also is called *Chafar-Susa*, and *Chafar-Gadde*, and lastly *Chafar-Sbulch*, another City of *Shimon*. *Ios.* 19. 3. 2 1 *Kings* 9. b *Itieron.* loc. *Itier.* 1. 4. out of *Nehem.* 11. 33. as it seemes.

¶ II.
Of *Cesarea Philippi*.

THere was also on the border, and within the Territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned City of *Lais*, or *Lajisch*, as *Iunius* writes it, or *Leshem*; which City the children of *Dan* (being straitned in their Territory vnder *Iuda*) inuaded and mastered; and gaue it the name of their owne parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Genesis* the foureteenth, at which place *Abraham* surprized *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates, and followed his victory as farre as *Sobah*, formerly remembred in the diuision of *Syria*, otherwise called *Sappena*. And after the possession of the *Danites*, it had the ioynt name of *Leshem-Dan*. *Weissenburg* writes it *Lais*, the *Genena* *Lajsch*, *Iosephus*, *Dana*; *Beniamin*, *Balina*; *Breidenbach*, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witnesseth *Neubrigenis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Bréhard* the *Monke*, and *Postellus*: who also taketh this City to be the same, which in *Mathew* the 15. verse 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the *Greeke* Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in *Saint Marke* speaking of the same fort, *Dalmianus*. At such time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free City, of the alliance & confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or else subiect vnto the Kings thereof; for it is written in the eighteenth of *Judges*, And there was none to helpe, because *Lais* was farre from *Zidon*: and they had no businesse with other men, for it was about thirty English miles from the *Mediterran* Sea, and from *Zidon*.

In after-times when these Regions became subiect to the state of *Rome*, it had the name of *Paneas*, from a Fountaine adioyning so called: and therefore *Ptolomie* calls it *Cesarea Panie*. *Hegeffippus* calls it *Parnium*, faith *Weissenburg*: but hee had read it in a corrupt copy: for in *Hegeffippus* set out by *Badius*, it is written *Paneum* without an (R): and at such time as *Philip* the sonne of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became *Gouernour* of *Trachonitis*, sometime *Basani*; this City was by him amplified and fortified; and both to giue memory to his owne name, and to flatter *Tiberius Cesar*, he called it * *Cesarea Philippi*: and so it became the Metropolis, and head City of *Trachonitis*: and one of the first Cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the succeeding age greatly adorned: by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as

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nothing

Of the fact
see Nephthim
Zabulon.
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a. Iosephus in
the booke of
the Jewish
war, 18. faith,
that Philip the
Tetrarch cast
chasse into a
Fountain called
Phiala, dis-
tance 120. Sta-
dia North-east
from Cesarea,
which chaffe
being carried
vnder ground
was cast up a-
gainst at Panili
or Dan, where-
by it is conie-
ctured that the
first Spring of
Jordan is from
this Fountaine
called Phiala,
from whence
Ior and Dan
receiue their
waters.

nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: so in Saint Hieromes time the Citizens remembred their former *Paneus*, and so recalled it, with the Territory adioyning by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom *Christ* healed of a bloody issue, by touching the hemme of his Garment with a constant Faith: who afterward, as shee was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindfull of Gods goodnesse, and no lesse gratefull for the same, as *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused two Statues to be cast in pure Copper: the one representing *Christ*, as neere as it could be moulded: the other made like her selfe, kneeling at his feet, and holding vp her hands towards him. These three mounted vpon two great Bases or Pedestals of the same Mettall, which shee placed by a Fountaine neere her owne house: both which (saith *Eusebius*) remained in their first perfection, euen to his owne time: which himselfe had seene, who liued in the Raigne of *Constantine* the Great. But in the yeare after *Christ* 363. that Monster *Iulian Apostata*, caused that worthy Monument to be cast downe, and defaced: setting vp the like of his owne in the same place: which Image of his was with fire from Heauen broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts, lundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time liuing. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminus*, in his fift booke and twentieth Chapter.

This City built by the *Danites*, was neere the ioyning together of those two Riuer, which arising from the springs of *Ior* and *Dan*, the two apparant Fountaines of *Jordan*: in a soyle exceeding fruitfull, and pleasant; for, as it is written, *Iudges* 18. it is a place which doth want nothing that is in the world. In the fields belonging to this Citie it was that Saint *Peter* acknowledged *Christ* to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was answered, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this City receiued the *Christian* Faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate: and it ranne the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Christians*: vnder *Ench* the fourth King of *Hierusalem*, and after the death of *Golfrey of Bullion*, the King of *Damascus* wrested it from the *Christians*; and shortly after by them againe it was recouered. Lastly, now it remaineth with all that part of the World subiect to the *Turke*.

†. IIII.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

AMong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Capernaum* is not the least: so often remembred by the *Euangelists*. This City had the honour of *Christs* preface three yeares: who for that time was a Citizen thereof; in which he first preached and taught the doctrine of our saluation: according to that notable Prophecy of *Esaie*, *The people that walked in darknesse, haue seene a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the shadow of death, vpon them hath the light shined.*

Capernaum was seated on *Jordan*, euen where it entreth into the Sea of *Galilee*: in an excellent and rich soyle: of whose destruction *Christ* himselfe prophesied in these words, *And thou Capernaum which art lifted vp into Heauen, shalt be brought downe to Hell, &c.* which shewed the pride and greatnesse of that Citie: for it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*, and the Metropolis of *Galilee*. And although there were some markes of this Cities magnificence in Saint *Hieromes* time, as himselfe confesseth; it being then a reasonable Burge or Towne: yet those that haue since, and long since seene it, as *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Saliniac* affirme, that it then consisted but of six poore Fisher-mens houfes.

The Region of ten principall Cities called *Decapolitana* or *Decapolis*, is in this description often mentioned, and in Saint *Mathew*, *Marke* and *Luke* also remembred, but I finde no agreement among the *Cosmographers*, what proper limits it had: and so *Plinie* himselfe confesseth, for *Marius Niger*, speaking from others, bounds it on the North by the mountaine *Casius* in *Casiotis*: and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which description it imbraceth *Phoenicia*, a part of *Calesyria*, all *Palestina*, and *Iudea*.

Plinie also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, hee numbred four of them to be situated towards *Arabia*: to wit, first these three, *Damascus*, *Opatos*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphia* (which was first called *Amara*, saith *Stephanus*, or as *Ighesse* *Amara* rather, because it was the chiefe City of the *Ammonites*, knowne by the name of *Rabbab*, before *Prolo*. *Philadelphus* gaue it this later and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, sometime

Math. 4.
Marke 7.
Luke 8.
Niger. comment.
Asia 4. f. 503.

Plin. l. 5. c. 18.
Opatos a City
standing in the
Valley of Ca-
lesyria, watered
by chrysoroi-
as *Damascus* is.
Plin. l. 5.

sometime *Nisa*, built (as is said) by *Bacchus*, in memory of his Nurse, who died therein, anciently knowne by the name of *Bethsan*; for the sixth he setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Calesyria*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Seleucia*:*) but it is *Gadara* in *Basan*, which *Plinie* in this place meaneth, seated on an high hill, neere the Riuer of *Hieromaix*. This Riuer *Ortelius* takes to be the Riuer *Iaboc*: which boundeth *Gad* and *Manasseh* ouer *Jordan*: but he mistaketh it; for *Hieromaix* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, betwene *Hippas* and *Gerasa*, whereas *Iaboc* entreth the same Sea betwene *Ephron* and *Phannel*. For the seventh he nameth * *Hippas*, or *Hippion*, a City so called of a *Colonia* of *Horsmen* there gar-
risoned by *Iherbd*, on the East-side of the *Galilean* Sea, described hereafter in the Tribe of
10 *Manasse* ouer *Jordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is also called *Butis*, and *Berénice*, seated in the South border of the Region ouer *Jordan*, called *Perea*. For the ninth *Gelasa*, which
Iosephus takes to be *Gerasa*: and *Gerasa* is found in *Calesyria* by *Iosephus*, *Hegesippus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Ptolomie* (whom I rather follow) in *Phoenicia*. The tenth and last, *Plinie* takes them for two
Canatha, and so doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*, but *Hegesippus* rightly *Camala*, a City in the Region of *Basan* ouer *Jordan*, so called, because those ten Hills on which it is seated, haue the shape of a Camell. But the collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Saliniac*, which makes them to be these; *Casarea Philippi*, and *Asor*, before remembred, *Cedes* *Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capharnaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Iotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other Authours disagree herein, and giue no reason for their opinion. One place of the *Euangelist* Saint *Mathew* makes it manifest, that this Region called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract betwene *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: *And he departed againe from the coasts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came vnto the Sea of Galilee, through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis*: so that it was bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the North: by the *Phenician* Sea, betwene *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the West: by the Hills of *Gelbo* and *Bethsan* on the South: and by the Mountaines *Tracones*, otherwife *Herman*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the East: which is from East to West the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, neere the same distance, which may be each way forty English miles.

†. V.

Of Hamath.

BVt to looke backe againe towards *Libanus*, there is seated neere the foot thereof the City of * *Hamath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the Countrey adioyning taketh name: the same which *Iosephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathensis*: * *Iacobus* *Zeigler*, *Ituraea*. *Ituraea* Regio tenet borealia tribus *Nephtalis*, per montem *Libanum* usq; *Trachones*. The Countrey of *Ituraea*, faith hee, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nephtali*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Sirabo*, who calls *Trachonitis* *Ituraea*, hee mistakes the seate of this Region: and so doth *Mercator*. For indeed were *Ituraea* (which *Hegesippus* calls *Perea*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccar*) the same with *Trachonitis*, yet *Trachonitis* it selfe is farre more to the East than *Hamath* in *Nephtalim*: for *Trachonitis* lyeth betwene *Casaria Philippi*, and the Mountaines *Trachones*: which the Hebrewes call *Gilead*: and this *Hamath* or *Chammath* is seated vnder *Casarea*, towards the Sea West-ward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Calesyria*, beyond the Mountaines *Trachones*, which *Hierome* vpon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*, with
50 *Hamath* or *Hamath* the lesser in *Phenicia*, and *Nephtalim*, which hee calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hamath*, or in our Translation *Hamath*, (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. is set farre from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembred in *Numbers* 34. verse 8. and *Numbers* 13. ver. 22. and in *Ezekiel* 47. 16. In the first of which places it bordereth the Land of promise, these being the words: *From Mount Hor you shall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *untill it come to Hamath*: In
from the other in *Nephtalim*, though *Matt. Beroaldus* receiuing *Hierome*, rather follow the opinion of *Zeigler* about mentioned, as indeed it cannot easily bee iustified, that either one or other of these is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphania*, howbeit that the same City which *Iosua* 19. 35. is called *Chammath*, and placed in *Nephtalim*, was also called *Hamath* (whence the word *Hamath* and *Emath*, were framed) it may bee gathered partly because the other *Hamath*, 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. for distinction is called *Chammath Tseba*, as this (as it may seeme by *Ios.* 21. 32.) was *Chammath Dor*.

Ezek. 47. and *Aroseth gentium*, neere the waters of *Macrom* or *Samochonitu*, the Citie of *Sifra* Lieutenant of the Army of the second *Tabin*: from whence not farre off towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrehi*, a strong Citie: besides many others, whereof I finde no particular storie of importance: as *Ser* in *Iosua* 6. 19. v. 35. called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the first of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Affedim* & *Ser*. Then *Adami*, which they call *Edama*: also *Ilion* which they call *Abion*, of which in the Bookes of *Kings*. When the strong Citie of *Cinnereth* after called *Gennezareth*, whence we read of the Land and Lake of *Gennezareth*, the same Lake which is also called the Sea of *Tiberius*. In the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border: of which * *Mac* 1. 9. 2. also diuers others named, *Iof* 19. as *Vcuca* or *Chukkot Horem* and *Azanosh-laber* (which they place towards the East parts) and out of the same place of *Iosua*, *Ierzon*, *Lakkum Ipnach*, *Heleb*, and * *Raccath*, which two last they place neere *Casarea Philippi*: To these they adde out of *Iosua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*: for which two *Iunius* readeth *Foffa* *Adami*, making it no Towne but a Ditch cast by some of *Adameth*, as it seemes; or at least the custodie of which March or Limit belonging to the Towne. To these out of *Nu* 3. 4. 10. they adde *Sephana*, which 1 *Sam*. 30. 21. seemes to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tichon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek*. 47. 16. and the later out of *Iosua* 19. 33. it may appeare by *Iunius* his Translation, that neither are to be taken for Cities: for the former hee readeth *Mediana*, and for the later *Querquetum*. The Citie of * *Nephthali* which they make the native place of *Tobie*, and *Naasson* neere vnto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* Translation, *Tob*. 7. 7. but in the *Greeke* Text there is no signe, neither of the one nor of the other.

* This place of the *Mac* hab. warrants no *G* *Gal* *in* *Neph* *th* *li*, but may well be vnderstood of *Gal* *in* *Neph* *th* *li* *in* *Sam* *30* *21*. k. This *Re* *cal* *or* *Re* *th* *li* *us* *thinks* *that* *is* *the* *same* *with* *Neph* *th* *li* *one* *of* *these* *being* *made* *of* *the* *o* *ther* *by* *Trans* *position* *of* *letters* *of* *which* *Kathan* *we* *haue* *noted* *alreidy*, *that* *it* *is* *also* *called* *Kipri* *thaim*. 1. In the place, 1 *Reg*. 4. it is, which also they bring to proue that there was a Citie called *Nephthali*, as it is euident by the following Verles: the Tribe of *Nephthali* is mean, and not any Citie of that name.

§. V.

THE TRIBE OF ZABULON.

Zabulon or Zebulon, another of the sonnes of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were mustered at Mount *Sinai*, 57400. able men, besides women, children, and aged vnable persons: all which dying in the Deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their issues 65000. fit to beare armes: who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Asber* to the River *Chifon* Southward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterran*, East and West.

The Cities within this Tribe which border *Asber*, are *Sicaminum* on the Sea shore, of which *Ioseph*. *Ant*. 1. 13. c. 19. *Debbaset* of * which *Iof*. 19. 11. *Iekonam* or *Iokneham* (whose King was * slaine by *Iosua*, and the Citie was giuen to the *Leuites*:) and *Gaba* after called the Citie of *Hoiemen*, of a Regiment there garrisoned by *Herod*. Then the City which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the Citie of *men*, exceeding ancient and magnificent, ⁴⁰ burnt to the ground by *Cestius*, Lieutenant of the *Romane* Armie. *Adrichomius* makes it the birth-Citie of * *Elon* Iudge of *Israel*, because he is called *Zabulonita*: not marking that in the same place, he is said to be buried at *Aialon*.

To the East of this City of *Zabulon* is *Cesteth*, of which *Iof*. 19. 15. on the border of *Asber*: and beyond it the lesser * *Cana* of *Galilee*, where *Christ* conuered Water into Wine: the native Citie of *Nathaniel*, and as it is thought, of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the Mountaines of *Zabulon*: and then the Citie of *Cethron* (in *Zeigler*, *Chilsron*) which defended it selfe against *Zabulon*. Then *Bersabe* which standeth in the partition of the vpper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Ioseph* against the *Romanes*. Not farre from hence standeth *Shimron* of *Aeron*, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*.

Then *Dimna* or *Dimna*, a Citie of the *Leuites*: then *Noa* or rather *Neba*, of which *Iof*. 19. 13. Then *Dothan* or *Dothaim*, where *Ioseph* found his brethren feeding their flocks: the same wherein *Elizans* besieged by the *Syrians*, strooke them all blinde.

Beyond it towards the East they imagine * *Amthar* or *Amathar*: then *Remmon* of the *Leuites*. The last of the Cities on the north border of *Zabulon* is *Bethsaida*, one of the ten Cities of *Decapolis*, situate on the *Galilean* Sea, and watered by the springs of *Capharnaim*, the native Citie of the Apostles, *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*. Herein *Christ* did manie miracles, but these people being no lesse incredulous than the *Capharnaïms*, and others,

thers, receiued the same Curse of threatened Mieries, as, *Woe bee vnto thee Bethsaida*, &c.

Alongst the West border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethsaida*, was the strong Castle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Marie Magdalen*, not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high feared Citie of *Totapata*: fortified by *Iosephus* in the *Roman* Warre: but in the end after a long siege surpris'd by *Vespasian*, who slaughtered many thousand of the Citizens, and held 1200. prisoners, whereof *Iosephus* the Historian was one.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that * Sea, and the Lake of *Gennezareth* within ¹⁰ *Zabulon*, was that of *Tiberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilean* Sea also changed name, and was called the Sea of the Citie *Tiberias*, so named in the honour of *Tiberius Cesar*; and was one of the ten Cities, and the Metropolis of the Region *Decapolitan*, and the greatest and last of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our Sauiour called *Matthew*, from the toll or custome house, to be an Apostle, and neere vnto it raised the daughter of *Tairus* from death: it was built (as *Iosephus* reports) by *Herod* the Tetrarch, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the raigne of *Tiberius Cesar*, in the most fruitfull part of *Galilee*; but in a ground full of Sepulchers: *Quam iuxta nostras leges* (saith hee) *ad septem dies impurus habetur, qui in talibus locis habet*; whereas by our law hee should be seuen daies held as vn-cleane, who inhabited in such a place: by which words, and by the whole place of *Iosephus* ¹⁰ it appeares, that this *Tiberias* is not (as some haue thought) the same as the old *Cinnereth*, which was seated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nephthali*.

Neere vnto this *Tiberias*, at *Emaus*, there were hot baths, where *Vespasian* the Emperour encamped against *Tiberias*. More into the Land toward the South-west is *Bethulia*, seated on a very high Hill, and of great strength, famous by the storie of *Holofernes* and *Iudith*, such as it is. Neere which standeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adioyning vnto it *Capharath*, fortified by *Iosephus* against the *Romans*: and *Iapha* an exceeding strong place, afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in furie slew 15000. of the Citizens; and carried away about two thousand prisoners.

On the South side are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Leuites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Iosephus* in his owne life, then *Iasie* according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Iof*. 19. 12.) for hee thinks that it is not that *Iapha* of which wee spake but now out of *Iosephus*. *Ideala*, of which *Iof*. 19. 15. *Hierome* calls it *Iadela*: vnder it Westward, *Legio*, (afterward a Bishop's seat) and the Citie *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembred *Iudith* 7. 3. otherwise *Chelma*. Betweene *Legio* and *Nazeret* is the Citie *Saffa* or *Saffra*, the birth-Citie of *Zebedeus*, *Alpheus*, *James* and *Iohn*: Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Iosephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brochard*: which afterward, saith *Hegeippus* and *Hierome*, was called *Diocesarea*; the Citie of *Ioachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Mary*; it was called by *Herod* the Tetrarch, and by him, as *Iosephus* speaks, made the head and defence of *Galilee*: in another place he saith, *Vrbium Galilearum maxima* *Sephoris* & *Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Vespasian* ere he wanne it. *Herod Antipas* when he made it the Regall seat of the nether *Galilee*, and surrounded it with a strong wall, called it *Austrotoridai*, which is as much to say as Imperiall, saith *Iosephus*; and it is now but a Castle called *Zaphet*.

To the South-west of this *Sephoris* or *Diocesarea* was that blessed place of *Nazareth*, the Citie of *Mary* the Mother of *Christ*; in which hee himselfe was conceived; it standeth betweene Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran* Sea. In this Citie hee abode chiefly foure and twenty yeares, and was therefore called a *Nazarite*, as the *Christians* afterward were for many yeares. It was erected into an *Archbishoprick* in the following age. Neere vnto it are the Cities *Buria* (afterward well defended against the *Turkes*) and *Nahalal*, of which *Iof*. 19. 15. and *Iud*. 1. 30. where it is called *Nahalal*: and *Iof*. 2. 1. 35. where it is a Citie of the *Leuites*, neere the Sea; adioyning to the River of *Chifon* is *Sarid*, noted in *Iosua* for the vttermost of *Zabulon*.

In this Territorie of *Zabulon* there are diuers small Mountaines: but *Tabor* is the most renowned, by the Aparition of *Moses* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of *Christ* in the preface of *Peter*, *James*, and *Iohn*: vnto whom *Moses* and *Elias* appeared; in memorie whereof on the top of the Mountaine, the Emperesse *Helen* built a sumptuous Chappell.

The chiefe Riuer of *Zabulon* is *Chifon*, which rising out of *Tabor*, runneth with one streame

* The names of the Citie Cities feat: 1 about this Sea, or lake throw which *Tord* *in* *runneth*, where *cafer* *am*, *Tiberias*, *Bethsaida*, *Magdala*, *Tanher*, and they adde *Cinnereth*, which in foretmes gaue name to the Lake and Countree. *Math* 3. *Luc* 4. *Iof*. *Ant*. 183. *Ioseph*. 10. 15. *Adrich*. in *Zab*.

Iosua 21. 35. *o* *therwise* *Rif* *both* *in* *Gal* *or* *as* *Iunius* *thinks* *upon* *Iof*. 1. 12. whence *I* *cho* *6* *77* *it* *is* *call* *1* *in* *ber*.

Ioh *an*, *de* *N* *on* *ten* *til* *us* *6* *4* *20*.

Ioseph *ant*. 18. 34 *in* *tit* *us*.

stream Eastward to the Sea of Galilee, and with another stream Westward into the great Sea. This River of *Chifon* where it riseth, and so farre as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedumim* or *Cadumim*: and for mine owne opinion, I take it to be the same which *Ptolomie* calleth *Chorfeus*: though others distinguish them, and set *Chorfeus* by *Casaria Palestina*. There is a second Torrent or Brooke that riseth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of Galilee by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a river rising out of the Fountaines of *Capharnaum*, which falleth also into the same Sea, and neere *Magdalum*; which Torrent they call *Dotham*, from the name of the Citie, from which it passeth Eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so ioyning with *Jordanis parvus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Iepthael*, which *Iofua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*, it endeth in the Sea of Galilee.

See Iustian:
Map in Ortelius.
10th p. 14.

§. VI.

THE TRIBE OF ISACHAR.

THe next adioyning Territory to *Zabulon*, to the South and Southwest, was *Isachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increased in *Egypt*, as appeared by their musters at Mount *Sinai*, 54400. able and warlike men, who leauing their bodies with the rest in the Deserts, there entered the Holy Land, 64300.

Tarichea in
Sueton.

The first Citie of this Tribe neere the Sea of Galilee, was *Tarichea*, distant from *Tiberius* eight English miles, or somewhat more; a City wherein the *Iewes* (by the practice of a certaine mutinous vpstart, *Iohn* the sonne of *Lemi*) tooke armes against *Iosephus* the Historian, then Gouvernour of both *Galilees*. This Citie was first taken by *Cassius*, and 3000. *Iewes* carried thence captiue; and afterward with great difficultie by *Vespasian*, who entered it by the Sea side, hauing first beaten the *Iewes* in a sea-fight vpon the Lake or Sea of Galilee; he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages: sauing that his furie being quenched with the Riuer of blood running through euery street, he referred the remainder for slaues and bond-men.

Iof. 21. 18. *Ni-
sion*, which
1 Chr. 6. 72. 18
called *Re-dijb*.

Iofua 19.
1 Sam. 4. 1.
1 Sam. 3. 19.
1 Kings 20. 26.
In the latter
two places *Am-
mon* makes *A-
phce* in *Afer*,
according to
Iof. 19. 30. in
the first hee
placeth it in
Adad, out of
Iof. 15. 33.
1 Kings 20.

1 Kings 20. 23.

Judith 1. p. &
7. 3.
1 Chron. 6. 73.
Iof. 21. 29.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Cefion*, or *Cifion*, of the *Leuites*, and then *Isachar*, remembred in the first of *Kings* c. 4. v. 17. then *Abes* or *Ebets*, Iof. 19. 20. and *Remeth*, of which Iof. 19. 21. otherwise *Ramoth*, 1 Chron. 6. 73. or *Iarmuth*, Iof. 21. 29. this also was a City of the *Leuites*, from whose Territorie the Mountaines of *Gilboe* take beginning: and range themelues to the *Mediterran* sea, and towards the West as farre as the Citie of *Iezreth*, between which and *Ramoth*, are the Cities of *Bethpheses*, or *Bethpases*, according to *Zigler*; and *Enadda*, or *Hen chadda*, neere which *Saul* slew himselfe: vnder those, *Aphce* or *Aphca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Isachar*: betweene which and *Suna*, hee saith, that the *Philistims* incamped against *Israel*, & afterward against *Saul*: a Land thirstie of blood, for herein also, saith he, the *Syrians* with two and thirty *Regals* assisting *Benhadad*, incoun-tered *Achab*: and were ouerthrowne and slaughtered: to whom the King of *Israel* made a most memorable answer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victory: which was, Tell *Benhadad*, Let not him that girdeth his harness, boast himselfe as he that putteth it off: meaning, that glorie followed after victorie, but ought not to precede it. In the yeere following, in the fields, as they say, adioyning to this Citie, was the same vaine-glorious *Syrian* utterly broken and discomfited by *Achab*: and 100000. footmen of the *Aramites* or *Syrians* slaine: before which ouerthrow the seruants and Counsaillers of *Benhadad* (in derision of the God of *Israel*) told him, That the Gods of *Israel* were Gods of the Mountaines: and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines, they should ouercome them.

Vnder *Aphce* towards the Sea they set the Citie of *Esdrelon*; in the plaines of Galilee, so called also the great field of *Esdrelon*, and *Magedo*: in the border whereof are the ruines of *Aphce* to be scene, saith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*. After these are the Cities of *Casiloth*, of which, 1 *Machab*, 9. 2. *Adnem* or *Hen-Gannim* of the *Leuites*, and *Seesima* or *Shahatsima*, the West border of *Isachar*, of which Iof. 19. 22. From hence ranging the Sea coast, there is found the Castle of *Pilgrims*: a strong Castle inuironed with the Sea, sometime the store-house and Magasine of the *Christians*, and built by the Earle of *S. Giles* or *Tolouse*.

From the Castle of *Pilgrims* the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermost

farthermost shore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not farre from the River *Chifon*, where *Elijah* assembled all the Prophets and Priests of *Baal*, and prayed King *Achab* and the people assembled, to make triall whether the God of *Israel*, or the Idoll of *Baal* were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Priests of *Baal* prayed, and cut their owne flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in derision told them that their God was either in pursuit of his enemies, was as *Icy-fare*, or perchance a sleeper, &c. but at the prayer of *Elijah* his fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many Vessells of water thereon: by which miracle the people incensed, slew all those Idolaters on the banks of *Chifon*, adioyning.

At the foot of this Mountaine to the North standeth *Caipha*, built, as they say, by *Caiphas* the high Priest. It is also knowne by the name of *Porcina* and *Porphyria*, sometime a Suffragane Bishop's seate. Returning againe from the Sea-coast towards *Tiberias* by the banks of *Chifon*, there are found the City of *Hapharaim* or *Aphraim*, and the Castles of *Mezra*, and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the River *Chifon*: a beautifull Citie while it stood, in the Gates whereof *Christ* raised from death the widowes onely sonne.

Luk. 7.

Then *Seon* or *Shion* named, Iof. 19. betweene the two Hills of *Hermon*, in *Isachar*: beyond it standeth *Endor*, famous by reason of the Inchantresse that vnderooke to raise vp the body of *Samuel* at the instigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it stands *Anaharath* and *Rabbith*, named Iof. c. 19. v. 19. 20. Then *Dabarath*, as it is named, Iof. 21. 28. or *Dibratha*, as it is named, 1 Chron. 6. 71. This Citie (which stretcheth it selfe ouer *Chifon*) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the *Leuites*.

Next to *Dabarath* is *Arbela* situate, neere the Caues of those two Thecues which so greatly molested *Galilee* in *Herods* time. It ioyneth on one side to the Mountaine of *Isachar* or *Hermon*, and on the other to the Valley of *Israel*: which valley continueth it selfe from *Bethan* or *Scythopolis*, the East border of *Isachar*, euen to the *Mediterran* Sea: two parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountaines of *Gilboe* on the South, and by *Hermon*, and the River *Chifon* on the North. In these plaines *Gideon* ouerthrew the *Midianites*, and herein, they thinke, *Saul* fought against the *Philistims*: *Achab* against the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* against the *Saracens*.

* Called came-
tus Magnus.
1 Mac. 12. 49.
and *Haybatba*
for *Harbatba*.
1 Mac. 5. 23.
& 9. 2.
Judg. 6.
1 Sam. 31.
1 King. 20.

§. VII.

THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE
OF MANASSE.

†. I.

Of the bounds of this halfe Tribe: and of *Scythopolis*, *Salem*, *Thersa*, and others.

THe next Tribe which ioyneth it selfe to *Isachar* towards the South, is the halfe of *Manasse*, on the West side of *Jordan*. *Manasses* was the first begotten of *Ioseph*, the eleuenth sonne of *Iacob*. His mother was an Egyptian, the daughter of *Putiphar*, Priest and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manasses*, with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Iacob*, were by adoption numbred amongst the sonnes of *Iacob*, and made vp the number of the twelue Patriarkes.

Of *Manasse* there were increased in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 32200. able men: all which being consumed in the Deserts, there entered of their illues, 52700. bearing armes. The Territory which fell on this one halfe of *Manasse*, was bounded by *Jordan*, on the East, and *Dora* vpon the *Mediterran* Sea on the West, *Israel* on the North, and *Machmas* is the South border.

The first and principall Citie which stood in this Territorie was *Bethsan*, sometime *Nysa*, saith *Plinie*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of the same name, which *Solinus* confirmes. Afterward when the *Scythians* inuaded *Asia* the lesse, and pierc'd into the South, to the vtermost of *Calosyria*, they built this Citie a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the Citie of *Scythians* giuen by the *Greekes*.

These barbarous Northren people constrained the *Iewes* to fight against their owne Nation

Nation had kindred, by whose hands when they had obtained victory, they themselves set on the Jews which served them, and slew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the utmost towards the South of *Cosd Syria* and *Strabo* joynes it to *Galilee*. It is seated betwene *Jordan* and the Hills of *Gilboe*; in *ultra montes arabisena*, *Isaiah Zeigler*. But I finde it in the East part of the Valley of *Israhel* neere *Jordan*: (after that, *Jordan* strengtheneth it selfe againe into a River, leaveth the Sea or Lake *Geneareth*. Notwithstanding, *Montanus* describeth it farre to the West, and towards the *Mediterran Sea*; neere *Endor*, contrary to *Stella*, *Uicflam*, *Marioham*; and all other the best Authors. This Citie was the greatest of all those of *Decapolis*: but the children of *Manasse* could not expell the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it *Sane* an enemy, or *Beth-san*, the house of an enemy.

1. Jud. 1. 10. 17.
2. Eccl. 1. 1.

Over the walls of this *Bethsan* the *Philistims* hung the body of *Saul*, and his sonnes *Joine* at *Gilboe*. It had, while the Christian religion flourished in those parts, an Archbishop, who had nine other Bishops of his Diocese, numbred by *Tyrim*, in his 14. Booke and 12. Chapter: but the same was afterward translated to *Nazareth*. The later traualers in those parts affirme, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that Citie, goodly pillars and other pieces of excellent Marble, which witnesse the stately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poore and desolate Village.

1. Hier. 3. 4. Epist.
ad Euseb. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

From *Bethsan* keeping the way by *Jordan*, they finde an ancient Citie called *Salem*, which Citie the ancient Rabbines, saith *Hierome*, doe not finde to be the same with *Hierusalem*: there being in the time of *Hierome* and since, a towne of that name, neere *Scythopolis* before remembered, which is the place of Scripture, *Gen. 13. 18.* doe not confirme, where the Vulgar readeth *transiit in Scythopolim* (for which others read *venit in columis ad Cisitatem Schemam*, making the word *Shalem* not to be a proper name, but an adiective) yet the place *Iohn 3. 13.* where it is said, that *Iohn* was baptizing in *Anon* neere *Salem*, may somewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this *Salem* of which *S. Iohn* speaketh, is but contracted of *Shahalm*, of which in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *1 Sam. 9. 4.* This word *Iunius* maketh to bee the plurall of *Shuhai*: of which wee read, *1 Sam. 13. 17.* for as for that which is added out of *Canticles 6. 12.* of *Shulamitis*, as if it had beene as much as a Woman of this *Saleim*, neere *Anon*, hath no probability.

This City Be-
get by the
place, *Jud. 13.*
seemeth to
have beene in
Juda.
Ios. ant. 6. c. 5.
1 Sam. c. 11.

Not farre from thence where they place *Salem*, they finde *Bezech* the City of *Adonibezec*, *Iosephus* calls it *Bala*: here it was that *Saul* assembled the strength of *Israhel* and *Juda*, to the number of 330000. when he meant to relieue *Labeth Gilead*, against *Nabsh* the Ammonite: who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to suffer their right eyes to be thrust out. Neere *Bezech* is the City of *Bethbera* or rather *Beth-bara*, of which *Jud. 7. 24.* in the storie of *Gideon*: and then *Ephra* or *Hophra*, wherein *Gideon* inhabited: in the border whereof stood an Altar consecrated to *Baal*, which hee pulled downe and defaced, and neere it that stone, on which *Abimelech* the *Bastard* slew his 70. brothers: a Heathenish cruell way, practised by the Turke to this day; and not farre hence, betwene the Village of *Alophon* and *Jordan*, *Ptolomeus Lathurius* ouerthrew *Alexander* King of the *Jewes*, and slaughtered, as *Iosephus* numbred them, 3000. but according to *Timagenes* 15000. after which victory, as *Ptolomeus* saith by the Villages of the *Iewes*, he slew all their women, and caused the young children to be sod in great Caldrons, that the rest of the *Jewes* might thereby thinke that the Egyptians were growne to be men-eaters, and strike them with the greater terror.

Ios. 13. c. 11.
ant.

Towards the West and on the border of *Isachar*, they place the Cities of * *Anat* of the *Leuites*, and *Abel-Mehola*, which *Iunius*, *Judg. 7. 22.* placeth in *Ephraim*, it was the habitation of *Hellseus* the Prophet, numbred among those places, *1 Reg. 4. 12.* which were giuen in charge to *Baana* by *Salomon*, to whose charge also *Tahanac* belonging, a place of great strength, which at the first resisted *Iosua*, though their King was afterward hanged, and their Citie giuen to the *Leuites*.

* This in
Iunius upon
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
makes to bee
the same with
Tahanac, of
which *os. 21.*
2. 5. *the same*
names it from
Aver the Con-
federate of *A-*
br. 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1.

In the body of this Territory of *Manasse*, but somewhat neerer *Jordan* than to the *Mediterran Sea*, were three great Cities, to wit, *Thersa*, whose King was one of those that *Iosua* slew; which the Kings of *Israhel* vsed for their Regall seate, till such time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Ieroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her sons health: who knowing her, though she were disguised, told her of her sonnes death.

The second was *Thebes* neere *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Egypt*, and *Greece*,

Greece, *Ios. 6. 1.* in the assault of the Tower of *Sion*, whereinto the Citizens retired, the *Bastard Abimelech* was wounded by a mighty stone, throwne by a Woman over the Wall; who despairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to slay him outright, because it should not be said that hee perished by the stroke of a Woman. But others say this Citie in *Israhel* neere *2. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.*

The third is *Arabata*, of which the Territory adjoining is called *Arabata*, one of the ten *Teparachies* or Governments in *Israhel*: for *Hierome*, *1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.* reads *Mra. harena*: but in the *Greek* it is *Morabata*, *1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.* edit. *Arabat*. This Citie had one of the largest Territories of all *Israhel*, being giuen to the Gouverneur thereof, *Iosephus* remembreth it often, as in his second Booke of the *Jewes* Warres, *c. 13. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.*

The difference betwene a *Teparachia* and a *Teparachia*, was, that the first was taken for a Province, and the other for a City with some lesser Territory adjoining; and a *Teparach* is the same with *Præf. in Latine*, and *Præf. in English*; being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdome: and thereof so called *Plinie* nameth seuenteen *Teparachies* in *Syria*: *Plin. 1. 5.* the Holy Land had foure, and so hath the Kingdome of *Ireland* to this day, *Lemster*, *Ulster*, *Connah*, and *Mounster*.

Luc. 1. in chron.

To the South-west of *Arabata* they place the Cities of *Balaam* or *Bilham*, & *Gethremmon* of the *Leuites*: but *Iunius* out of *1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.* and *1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.* gathers that these two are but one: and that *Bilham*, *Ios. 16. 11.* is another name of the same Citie.

Then is *Iezael* a Regall Citie, set at the foot of the Mountaines of *Gilboe*, towards the South-west: herein *Iozabel* by a false accusation caused *Naboth* to be stoned, to the end she might possesse his Vineyard adjoining to the Citie; which *Naboth* refused to sell, because it was his inheritance from his Father.

Ioram also, was cast vnburied into the same field: for which his Mother *Iezabel* murdered *Naboth*.

2. King. c. 18.

Toward the Sea from *Iezael* is the Citie which they call *Gaber*: in whose ascent as *Ahaziah* King of *Juda* fled from *Iehu*, when he had slaine *Ioram*, he was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound he died at *Mageddo* adjoining. The Scripture calls this Citie of *Gaber*, *Gen. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.*

2. King. 9. 27.

Then *Adadremmon*, neere vnto which the good King *Iosias* was slaine by *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, in a Warre valiantly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Affria* against the King thereof; by the commandment of God: whom *Iosias* thought to resist in his passage: It was afterward called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour City to *Adadremmon* was *Mageddo*, often remembered in the Scriptures; whose King was slaine among the rest by *Iosua*: yet they defended their Citie for a long time against *Manasse*. The River which passeth by the Towne, may perhaps be the same which *Ptolomeus* calleth *Chorsens*: and not that of which we haue spoken in *Zabulon*. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that haue described the Holy Land, delineate no such River. *Morone* only sets it downe in his *Geographie* of the twelve tribes: but the River which passeth by *Mageddo*, he vnderstandeth to bee but a branch, falling thereinto. *Laislam* and *Schros* make a great confluence of waters in this place, agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Judges*: Then fought the Kings of *Canaan* in *Taanac* by the waters of *Mageddo*. But these Authors, and with them *Stella*, giue it no other name than the Torrent so called.

Jud. 1. c. 5.
Ios. 12. 17.

But seeing that ancient *Cosmographers* stretch out the bounds of *Phanicia*, euen to *Sabste* or *Samaria*; and *Strabo* farre beyond it on the Sea-coast: And *Iosephus* calls *Cesaria Palestina* a Citie of *Phanicia*, yea *Laurentius Gerninus*, extendeth *Phanicia* as farre as *Gexa*: seeing also *Ptolomeus* sets downe *Chorsens* for the partition of *Phanicia* and *Iudea*, this River running East and West parallel with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent so called *Mageddo*, after the name of the Citie, which it watereth, is the same which *Ptolomeus* in his fourth Table of *Asia*, calleth *Chorsens*. The later traualers of the holy Land call *Mageddo* *Subimbre* at this day.

Strab. 1. 16.
Ios. 1. c. 5.
1. 1. 1. 1.

†. II.

Of *Cesaria Palestina*, and some other Townes.

FROM *Mageddo* toward the West, and neere the *Mediterran Sea*, was that glorious Citie of *Cesaria Palestina*: first, the Tower of *Straton*: the same which *Plinie* calls *Apollonia*:
G g

Apollonia through *Peatony* fees *Apollonia* called *Herod*, and toward *Egypt*; betweene this City and *Joppe*, to which *Aspasian* gave the name of *Helama colonia*. It was by *Herod* re-built, who therein laboured to exceed all the workes in that part of the world. For besides the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of *front* and *polish* matbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might looke over the Seas farre away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: hee forced a Harbour of great capacitie, being in former times but an open Bay; and the winds blowing from the Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their Cables and Anchors. This work he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that hath not been found in any Kingdome, nor in any age: which, because the *More* is so farre from the Sea, and the weight of the Stones was such as it exceeded belief, I have added *Iosephus* owne words of this worke, which are these: *Hanc locorum inanimatis atque corruptis, circum portus circumduxit, quantum pntarcti magnitudinis recipere sufficere: Et in viginti miliarum profundum, prae grandia saxa demisit: quorum plerumque pedum quinquaginta longitudo, latitudinis vero otto decim, altitudine novem pedales fuerant quaedam etiam maiores, minora alia; To mend this inconvenience of place (saith Iosephus) hee compass in a Bay wherein a great flecte might well ride: and let downe great stones twenty fadome deepe: whereof some were fifty foot long, eighteen foot broad, and nine foot thicke: some bigger, and some lesser. To this he added an arme or cawle of two hundred foot long, to breake the waues: the rest hee strengthened with a stone wall, with diuers stately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent he called *Drusus*, after the name of *Drusus* the sonne in law of *Cesar*: in whose honour he intituled the Citie it selfe, *Caesaria* of *Palestine*: all which he performed in twelue yeeres time. It was the first of the Easterne Cities that receiued a Bishop, afterward erected into an Archbishopricke, commanding twentie others vnder it, saith *Tyrius*.*

S. Hierome nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acatius*, *Enzorus*, and *Galasius* to haue beene Bishops thereof. In this Citie was *Cornelius* the *Centurion* baptized by *Saint Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the Apostle: *S. Paul* was herein two yeeres prisoner, vnder the *President Felix*, vnto the time and gouernment of *Porcius Festus*: by whom making his appeale, he was sent to *Cesar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to be called a god by his flatterers, hee was stricken with an Angell vnto death; saith *Iosephus*.

To the North of *Caesaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as some reade, *Ios. 1. 2.* so called (saith *Adrichomius*) because it ioyneth to the Sea, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*. But *Iunius* for in *Naphoth Dor*, reades in *tractibus Dor*: and so the Vulgar, in *regionibus Dor*, although *1 Reg. 4. 11.* for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Naphoth Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Iosua* call it *Nephith-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Ios. 12. 23. Iudg. 1. 27.*) may seeme to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerfull Citie, and the fourth in account of those twelue Principalities or *Sitarchies*, which *Solomon* erected. *Iunius* vpon *Maachab. 15. 11. 40* place this betweene the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the Riuer *Chorfeus*: for so some name the Riuer *Chorfeus*, of which we haue spoken already.

Into this Citie, for the strength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the son of *Demetrius*, where hee was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 12000. foot-men, and 8000. Horse: the same perfidious villain that receiued 200. talents for the ranfome of *Ionathan Macchabeus* (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then slew him: and after him slew his owne Master, vsurping for a while the kingdome of *Syria*. It had also a Bishops seate of the Diocesse of *Caesaria*.

From *Caesaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Capharnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for besides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Euangelists*, they finde in these parts neere the West Sea, another of the same name. Of *Gabe* *Hierome* in *locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgal* or *Gilgal*, was in *Beniamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they say, it was whose King was slaine by *Iosua*.

Then *Antipatris*, so called of *Herode*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Macchabees* it was called *Capharsalama*: in the fields whereof *Iudas Macchabeus* overthrew a part of the Armie of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an armie drawn into *Iudea* by a traiterous Iew, called *Aleimus*: who contended for the Priest-hood, first vnder *Macchabees*, and then vnder *Nicanor*. To this was *S. Paul* carried prisoner from *Hiernsalem*, conducted

conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furie of the Iewes. In after-times the Armie of *Godfrey of Bullion* attempted it in vaine: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in those dayes with a Bishops seate, but it is now a poore Village called *Assur*, saith *Brochard*. Neere vnto this Citie the Prophet *Ionas* was three daies preferred in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Caesaria*, standeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territory taketh name: which *Cestius* the Romane wasted with fire and sword, because the Iewes which dwelt at *Caesaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of *Moses*. Neere vnto it is the Mountaine of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab*: wherein hee hid an hundredth Prophets, and fedde them, after which hee himselfe is said to haue obtained from God the Spirit of Prophecie also.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdome of Phoenicia.

§. I.

The boundes and chiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name, of this Kingdome: and of the invention of Letters ascribed to them.



Because these five Tribes, of *Asher*, *Nephthalim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the halfe of *Manasse*, possesse the better part of that ancient Kingdome of *Phanicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*: I haue therefore gathered a briefe of those Kings which haue gouerned therein: at least so many of them as time (which deuoureth all things) hath left to posteritie: and that the rest haue perished, it is not strange; seeing so many volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and reuolution, and in so many changes of Estates and Conquest of Heathen Princes, haue beene torne, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdome, as touching the South parts, are very vncertaine: but all *Cosmographers* doe in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Castotis*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orthofa*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Proleme* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the Riuer *Elen-therus*, that falls into the Sea at the Island of *Aradius*, somewhat to the North of *Orthofa*; and stretchiing from thence alongst the coast of the *Mediterran* sea, as farre as the Riuer of *Chorfeus*, which seems to bee that which the Iewes call the *Torrent* or Riuer of *Magedda*. *Plinie* extends it farther, and comprehends *Joppe* within it: *Cornelius* and *Budeus*, *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Phanicia* apud *priscos* appellata (saith *Budeus*) quae nunc *Palestina* *Syria* dicitur: It was called *Phanicia* of old (saith he) which now is called *Palestina* of *Syria*.

Strabo comprehends in this Countrey of *Phanicia*, all the Sea side of *Iudea*, and *Palestina*, euen vnto *Pelusium*, the first Port of *Egypt*. On the contrary *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it vp in *Calestria*, which hee boundeth not. But for my selfe I take a middle course, and like best of *Prolemies* description, who was seldome deceived in his owne Art. It had in it these famous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the Ilands) to wit, *Aradius*, *Orthofa*, *Tripolis*, *Bortys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Caesaria* *Palestina*: and by reason of the many Ports and goodly Sea-townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Easterne world: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterran* Sea.

The ancient Regall Seate of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first sonne of *Canaan*: and the people then subiect to that people were called *Zidonians*: the same state continuing euen vnto *Iosua's* time. For till then it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phanicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Booke of *Vandal* warres. But in proceffe of time the Citie of *Tyre* aduoyning *Zidon*, and by them first built and peopled.

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Iosua* yet gouerned *Israel*, *Agenor* an Egyptian of *Thebes*, or a Phœnician bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his sons of *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (say *Cedrenus* & *Curtius*) and built and posselt the Citie of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second sonne) the vse of letters: which also *Cadmus* in his pursuite after his sister *Europa*, taught the Græcians. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he surpris'd *Tyre*, had stollen her thence: of which the Poets deuised the fable of *Iupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*, and findes *Cadmus* his successeur, whom hee calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the successors of *Dido* held that name alwayes in reuerence, making it a part of their owne, as *Asdruball*, *Hannibal*: which memorie *Virgil* also toucheth in these Verses:

*Illic Regina grauem gemmis anroq; poposcit
Impleuitq; moro pateram: quam Belus & omnes
A Belo soliti.*

The Queene anon commands the waighty bowle
(Waightie with precious stones and masse gold)
To flow with wine. This *Belus* vs'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seemes to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Ancestor to these Phœnicians, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Iupiter Belus*, the sonne of *Neptune* by *Lybia*, the Daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the Sonne of *Theleonus*, according to *Emsebins*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Astica*: and in the end of *Cecrops* time, saith *S. Augustine*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenors* successor liuing at once with *Iosua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither doe I denie, but that he gaue that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Sonne. But in stead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that hee repared and fortified both: and therefore was called a founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nebuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true that *Agenor* was of the same Nation, and brought vp in *Egypt*: where he learnt the vse of letters (*Egypt* flourishing in all kinde of learning in *Moses* time) or were he by Nation an Egyptian, yet it is very likely that either he came to saue his owne Territory; or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan*, from the *Isaëlites*: who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great losse and dishonour of that Nation: and by *Iosua* conducted ouer *Jordan*, to conquer and possesse the *Canaanites* Land. For though the Egyptians, by reason of the losse which they receiued by the hand of God, in the Red Sea, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the Male children at the same time, could not hinder the Hebrews from inuading *Canaan* by Land: which also they knew had so many powerfull Nations to defend it: the *Deserts* inter-jacent, and the strong *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Emorites* & *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* hauing such Vessels, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in vse: did not in all probability neglect to Garrison the Sea coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces, as they had to spare; and which they might performe with the greater facilitie, in that the *Philistims* which held the shores of *Canaan*, next adioyning vnto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now as it appeareth by the course of the storie, those Citie of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was said to haue built (that is, to haue fortified and defended against *Iosua*, and against the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Iosua* called the strong Citie, *Accho* afterward *Ptolomais*, *Aczib* and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in those dayes.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty, especially by Sea, it appeares, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly by this, that *Dauid* and *Salomon* could not master them: but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Citie, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it selfe 13. yeeres against a King of Kings, *Nabuchodonosor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the prouidence of God, seemed vnresistible) spent more time in the recouery of *Tyre*, than in the conquest of all the Citie in *Asia*.

Other

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* out of *Iosephus*, who conceiues that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrrus* the sonne of *Iaphet*. And for the Region it selfe, though *Calisthenes* deriue it, ab arbore dactylorum; and the Greekes from the word *Phœnos*, of slaughter, because the Phœnicians slew all that came on their coasts, yet for my selfe I take it that *Phœnix* the sonne of *Agenor* gaue it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his sonne in *Greece*, were the Inuentors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute vnneccessary.

The Ethiopians affirme that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Promethus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and ciuill Policies, which they afterward profest, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himselve was instructed by the *Lybians*: to wit, from the South and Superiour Egyptians: from whom those which inhabited neerer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their Diuinitie and Philosophie: and from them the Greekes, then barbarous, receiued Ciuilitie. Againe, the Phœnicians challenge this inuention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the Egyptians at all; neither doe they allow that *Agenor* and his sonnes were *Africans*; whence *Lucan*,

*Phœnices primi (sama si creditur) ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.*

Lucan. l. 5. 3.

Phœnicians first (if same may credit haue)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to graue.

And that *Cadmus* was the sonne of *Agenor*, and was a Phœnician, and not an Egyptian, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*; when hee in a kinde of reproach was called a stranger and not a Phœnician:

*Si patria est Phœnix, quid sum? nam Cadmus & ipse
Phœnix; cui debet Græcia docta libros.*

Athen. 1. Dig. nos.

If a *Phœnician* borne I am, what then?
Cadmus was so: to whom *Greece* owes
The Bookes of learned men.

Out of doubt the Phœnicians were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Iosephus* the Historian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The Thracians againe subscribe to none of these reports: but affirme constantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flourished among them: when *Atlas* liued in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*: and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the French doe not blush to maintaine, that the ancient *Gauls* taught the Greekes the vse of Letters, and other Sciences. And doe not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druides* are as ancient as those *Gauls*, and that they sent their sonnes hither to be by them instructed in all kinde of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this inuention on *Moses*, the same hath no probability at all, for he liued at such time as Learning and Arts flourished most, both in *Egypt*, and *Affryia*, and hee himselve was brought vp in all the learning of the Egyptians, from his infancie.

But true it is, that letters were inuented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the generall flood: either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whomelso God knowes; from whom all wisdom and vnderstanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he giuen the same inuention to diuers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for euen in *Mexico*, when it was first discovered, there was found written Bookes after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently vsed by the Egyptians, and other Nations: and so had those Americans a kinde of Heraldrie; and their Princes differing in Armes and Scutchions, like vnto those vsed by the Kings and Nobilitie of other Nations, *Inra naturalia communia*, & *generalia*, &c. *Natural Lawes are common* *tuus con.* and generall.

§. II.
Of the Kings of Tyre.

BVt whatsoeuer remaineth of the storie and Kings of Phœnicia (the bookes of *Zeno*, *Sarbanias*, *Anafas*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same isto bee gathered out of the Scriptures, *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor liued at once with *Iesus*, to whom succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of Canaan, and so farre towards the North as *Aradus*, tooke the name of Phœnicia: what King succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appeare: but at such time as the Græcians besieged *Troy*, *Phœnis* gouerned Phœnicia.

In *Hieremies* time, and while *Iehoiakim* ruled in Iuda, the Tyrians had a King apart: for *Hieremie* speaketh of the Kings of Zidon, of Tyre, of Edom, &c. as of severall Kings.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith hee invaded Greece, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of Phœnicia, about Tyre, and Zidon: who commanded, as some writers asseme, *Xerxes* flecte, or rather, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which himselfe brought to his aide: for at this time it seemeth, that the Phœnicians were Tributaries to the Persian: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were subiects by *Nabuchodonozor*; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* prophesied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramnestus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his 14. Booke.

Strato, his successor, and King of Zidon, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependance vpon *Darius*, and that his Predecessors had serued the East Empire against the Grecians. But diuers Kings, of whom there is no memorie, came betweene *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130. yeeres and somewhat more between *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more vnworthy of restitution, because (saith *Curtius*) hee rather submitted himselfe by the instigation of his Subiects (who forelaw their vtter ruine by resistance) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the Macedonians.

Of this *Strato*, *Athenus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that hee was a man of ill liuing, and most voluptuous; also that hee appointed certaine games and prizes for Women-dancers, and singers, whom hee to this end chiefly inuited, and assembled: that hauing beheld the most beautifull and liuely among them, he might recouer them for his owne vse and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of these coasts, *S. Hierome* and others make mention: who hauing heard that the Persians were nere him with an Armie too waighy for his strength, & finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the Egyptians; he determinig to kill himselfe, but fainting in the execution, his wife being present, wrested the sword out of his hand and slew him: which done, shee also therewith pierced her owne body, and died.

After *Alexander* was posselt of Zidon, and the other *Strato* driuen thence, He gaue the Kingdome to *Hephæstion*, to dispose of: who hauing receiued great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen no lesse vertuous than rich, befired *Hephæstion* that this Honour might be infered on some one of the blood and race of their ancient Kings: and presented vnto him *Balonismus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolaninus*, *Iustine* *Abdolanus*, and *Plutarch* *Alynomis*: who at the very houre that he was called to this regall Estate, was with his owne hands working in his Garden, setting hearbs and rootes, for his reliefe and sustenance: though otherwise a wise man and exceeding iust.

These were the ancient Kings of Zidon: whose estate being afterward changed into Popular or Aristocraticall: and by times and turnes subiected to the Emperours of the East: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly deliuered in the Tribe of *Affer*.

The Kings of Tyre, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appeare: *Iosephus* the Historian, as is said, had many things wherewith hee garnished his Antiquities from the Tyrian Chronicles: and out of *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be

be gathered a descent of some twenty Kings of the Tyrians, but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Manasser Ephesus*, doe in no sort agree in the times of their reignes, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the first King of the Tyrians that *Iosephus* and *Theophilus* remember: whom *Theophilus* calls *Abimachus*: the same perchance that the sonne of *Sirach* mentioneth in his fourth and sixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the Tyrians.

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* succeeded, if he be nor one and the same with *Abibalus*. *David* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Eusebius*) constrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth, *Psalm* 83.

Hiram succeeded *Suron*, whom *Iosephus* calls *Iram*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hieronymus*, sometime *Hieronymus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonarus*, *Chiram*. Hee entred into a league with *David*, and sent him Cedars, with Majons and Carpenters, to performe his buildings in *Ierusalem*, after he had beaten thence the Iebusites. The same was he that so greatly assisted *Salomon*: whom he not onely furnished with Cedars, and other Materials towards the raising of the Temple, and with great summes of money, but also he ioynd with him in his enterprize of the East India, and of *Opir*: and furnished *Salomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the Tyrians being of all Nations the most excellent Nauigators: and sent him 120. talents of gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not onely mention in diuers places of Scripture, but in *Iosephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his 3. booke, in *Tatianus* his Oration against the Greekes: and in *Zonarus*, Tome the first. This Prince seemed to be very mighty and magnificent, hee despised the 20. Townes, which *Salomon* offered him: he defended himselfe against that victorious King *David*: and gaue his daughter in marriage to *Salomon*, called the Zidonian: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Asteroth*, the Idoll of the Phœnicians. *Hiram* liued 53. yeeres.

Baleastarus, whom *Theoph.* *Antiochenus* calleth *Bazorus*, succeeded *Hiram*, King of Tyre and Zidon, and reigned 7. yeeres according to *Iosephus*.

Abdashartus the eldest sonne of *Baleastarus*, gouerned 9. yeeres, and liued but 20. yeeres according to *Iosephus*: but after *Theophilus* hee reigned 12. yeeres, and liued 54. who being slaine by the four sonnes of his owne Nurse, the eldest of them held the Kingdome 12. yeeres.

Astartus brother to *Abdashartus*, retounered the Kingdome from this Vsurper, and reigned 12. yeeres.

Astartus, of *Atharippus*, after *Theophilus*, a third brother followed *Astartus*, and ruled 12. yeeres, and liued in all 54.

Phelles the fourth sonne of *Baleastarus*, and brother to the three former Kings, slew *Astartus*, and reigned 8. moneths, liued 50. yeeres.

Ithobalus (or *Ithobalus*, in *Theophilus*) sonne to the third brother *Astartus*, who was the chiefe Priest of the Goddess *Astarte*, which was a dignity next vnto the King, reuenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his Vnckle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. yeeres, the same which in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose daughter *Iezabel*, *Achab* married.

Badezor or *Bazor* the sonne of *Ithobalus* or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Iezabel*, succeeded his Father, and reigned 6. yeeres, and liued in all 45.

Mettinus succeeded *Badezor*, and reigned but 9. yeeres (saith *Iosephus*) he had two sons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two daughters *Elisa* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettinus* his Father 40. yeeres, and liued 56. In the seventh yeere of whose reigne, *Elisa* sailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143. yeeres and 8. moneths after the Temple of *Salomon*: which by our account was 289. yeeres after *Troy* taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Aeneas* and *Dido* must be farre out of square. For *Pygmalion* couetous of *Sichus* his riches, who had married his sister *Elisa*, slew him traiterously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we beleue *Iustine* and *Virgil*, at the Akar: wherupon *Elisa* fearing to be despoiled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his mother reares, and by threats from the Oracle arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Family of the *Barcs* in *Africa*, of which race descended many famous Captaines, and the great *Hanniball*. *Strabus* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her man-like acts: others from *Iedidia*, a surname of *Salomon*.

Eluleus succeeded *Pygmalion* and reigned 36. yeeres: the same that ouerthrew the fleet of *Salmanassar*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which, he continued his siege before it on the Land side five yeeres, but in vaine.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* gouerned the Tyrians, who vaunted himselfe to bee as wise as *Daniel*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince dyed, or was slaine in that long siege of *Nabuchodonosor*: who surrounded and attempted *Tyre*, 13. yeeres together, ere he preuailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. yeeres a tributary, perchance, to *Nabuchodonosor*: for after his death, it was gouerned by diuers *Judges*, succeeding each other: First, by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbi*, *Abarus* the Priest, *Mittonus*, and *Gerasus*, who held it among them some 7. years, and odde months: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one yeere: after him *Aterbalus* sent from *Babylon* 4. yeeres: after him *Irom* sent thence also, 20. yeeres. In the 17. of whose reigne *Cyrus* began to gouerne *Persia*.

§. III.

Of *Bozeus* his conceit, that the *Edumæans* inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them receiued and brought into Phœnicia the knowledge of the true God.

Boz. de ruin.
Gen. l. 5. c. 7.

Of the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the Tyrians, mixed with a discourse of diuers other Nations, there is one *Bozeus* that hath written a Treatise at large, intituled *de ruinis Gentium*. And although the great, and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea, in all things vnder heauen, haue proceeded from his ordinance who only is vchangeable, and the same for euer; yet whereas the said *Bozeus*, inforcing heere-hence, that the prosperity and ruine of the Tyrians, were fruites of their embracing or forsaking the true Religion; to proue this his assertion, supposeth the Tyrians to haue bene *Edumæans*, descended from *Esau*, *Jacobs* brother: first, it can hardly be beleueed that *Tyre*, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in any sort truly deuout and religious. But to this end (besides the prooffe which the Scriptures giue of *Hiram*s good affection when *Salomon* built the Temple) hee brings many coniecturall arguments, whereof the strongest is their petigree and descent: it being likely in his opinion, that the posterity of *Esau* receiued from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Isaac*. That the Tyrians were *Edumæans*, he endeouours to shew, partly by weake reasons, painfully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than waight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others witness, that the Tyrians came from the red Sea, in which there were three Ilands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards giuen to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Considering therefore that all the coast of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) vnder the *Edumæans*: as *Elah* and *Esiogaber*; or vnder the *Amalekites*, who descended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Esau*, whose chiefe City was *Madian*, so called of *Madian* the sonne of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whose posterity did people it: the consequence appeares good (as he takes it) that the Tyrians originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Israel*. Hereunto hee addes, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worship of *Astartis*, the Idoll of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Phercydes* being *Phœnicians*, themselves differed much in their Physiophy from the Idolatrous customes of the *Greekes*. That in *Teman*, a Towne of the *Edumæans*, was an Vniuersity, wherein as may appeare by *Eliphaz* the *Temanite*, who disputed with *Iob*, Religion was sincerely taught.

Such is the discourse of *Bozeus*, who labouring to proue one *Paradoxe* by another, deserves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the Tyrians were *Edumæans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edumæans* at all. In what Religion *Esau* brought vp his children, it is no where found written, but that himselfe was a prophane man, and disauowed by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expresse. That his posterity were Idolaters, is directly proued in the 25. Chapter of the second booke of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetuall enemies to the House of *Israel*, saue onely when *Dauid* & some of his race, Kings of *Juda*, held them in subiection, who knowes not? or who is ignorant

rant of *Dauid*s vnfriendly behaviour amongst them, when first they were subdued: Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance, betwene *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held such good correspondence with *Dauid*: euen then when *Iob* slew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their deuotion to God, and good affection to *Israel*, that the *Edomites* were so ill intreated. It seemeth that the piety and ancient wisdom of *Eliphaz* the *Temanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumæans* punished, for being such as *Dauid* in his owne dayes found them. Although indeed the Citie of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reason with *Iob*, is not that in *Edumæa*, but another of the same name, lying East from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adioyning to *Hus*, the country of *Iob*: and to such the Citie of *Bildad* the *Suhite*, as both such *Chorographers* who best knew those parts, doe plainly shew, and the holy Text makes manifest. For *Iob* is said to haue exceeded in riches; and *Salomon* in wisdom, all the people of the East; not the inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Palestina*. True it is that *Eliphaz* the sonne of *Esau* had a sonne called *Teman*: but that Fathers were wont in those dayes to take name of their sonnes, I no where finde. And *Israel* also had a son called *Thema*: of whom it is not vnlike that *Theman* in the East had the name: for as much as in the 7. Chap. of the booke of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the East are called *Ismaelites*. And he that well considers how great and strong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durst giue battaile to the Host of *Israel*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly beleue that such a people were descended from one of *Esau*s grand-children. For how powerfull and numberlesse must the forces of all *Edom* haue bene: if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had bene so great? surely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adioyning could not haue held them. But we no where finde that *Edom* had to doe with *Amalec*: or assisted the *Amalekites*: when *Saul* went to roote them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it selfe, if distinct from the *Ismaelites*. The like may be said of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being son to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtlesse was no *Edomite*. And thus much in generall for all the Seigniorie of the Red-sea coast, which *Bozeus* imagines the *Edumæans* to haue held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held some places, as *Elan* and *Esiogaber* on the Red Sea shore, yea in *Moses* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moses* himselfe saith, that *Israel* did compass all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* stood, *Moses* must needs haue known it: because he had sojourned long in that Country: and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But coniecturall Arguments, how probable soeuer, are needlesse in so manifest a case. For in the 83. *Psal.* *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as distinct Nations: yea the Tyrians and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good Authours shew, and *Bozeus* himselfe confesseth, were *Canaanites*, as appeares, *Gen. c. 10. v. 15. & 19.* appointed by God to haue been destroyed, and their Lands giuen to the children of *Asser*, *Ios. 29.* because they were Idolaters, and of the cursed seed of *Canaan*, not Cousins to *Israel*, nor professors of the same Religion. For though *Hiram* said, *Blessed bee God that hath sent King Dauid a wise sonne*: wee cannot inferre that he was of *Dauid*s Religion. The Turke hath said as much of Christian Princes, his confederates. Certaine it is, that the *Sidonians* then worshipped *Astartis*; and drew *Salomon* also to the same Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* ayded *Salomon* in building the Temple, hee did it for his owne ends, receiuing therefore of *Salomon* great prouision of Corne, and Oyle, and the offer of 20. Townes and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly consider things, it will appeare that *Hiram* in all points, dealt Merchant-like with *Salomon*. Hee allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is ouer-pestered, being otherwise apt to yeeld silkes: as the *Andarine* silkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne and Oyle, which he wanted, he gaue that which he could well spare to *Salomon*. Also Gold for Land: wherein *Salomon* was the wiser; who hauing got the gold first, gaue to *Hiram* the worst Villages that he had: with which the Tyrian was ill pleased. But it was a necessary policy which enforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Israel*. For *Dauid* had subdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, euen to *Euphrates*: thorough which Countries the Tyrians were wont to carry and re-carrie their Wares on Camels, to their fleets on the Red Sea, and backe againe to *Tyrus*: so that *Salomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to passe, could haue cut off their Trade.

But

But the Israelites were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the Tyrians in their adventures. Yet *Salomon* as Lord of the Sea-townes; which his Father had taken from the Philistines, might have greatly distressed the Tyrians, & perhaps have brought them even into subiection. Which *Hiram* knowing; was glad (and no meruaile) that *Salomon* rather meant as a man of peace to employ his Fathers treasure, in magnificent works, than in pursuing the conquest of all Syria. Therefore he willingly ayded him, and sent him cunning workmen, to encrease his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages betwene *Salomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong Arguments of pietie in the Tyrians: so those other proofes which *Bozias* frames negatively vpon particular examples are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I thinke, no man knowes. It seemes to me, that hauing more cunning than the Greekes, and being very ambitious, he would faine haue purchased diuine honours: which his Daughters, Nephewes, and others of his house obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single examples: Euery saluage Nation hath some wisdom excellen the Vulgar, euen of ciuill people. Neither did the morall wisdom of these men expresse any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the gods of Greece: to whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being Tyrians, are not knowne to haue taught Idolatry, therefore the Tyrians were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Utica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all Colonies of the Tyrians (of which I thinke, the Ilands before mentioned in the Red Sea to haue beene, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, euen from their first beginnings: therefore, the Tyrians who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from *Salomons* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozias*, who would haue vs thinke them to haue beene formerly a strange kinde of deuout Edomites. In which fancie he is so peremptory, that he styeth men of contrary opinion, *Impios politicos*, as if it were impiety to thinke that God (who euen among the Heathen, which haue not knowne his name, doth fauour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honesty, with temporall happinesse. Doubtlesse, this doctrine of *Bozias* would better haue agreed with *Julian* the *Apostata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the Assyrians, Greeks, Romanes, and all those Nations of the Gentiles, did then prosper most, when they drew nercerest vnto the true Religion: what may bee said of the foule Idolatry which grew in *Rome*, as fast as *Rome* it selfe grew: and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost vpon euery new victory? How few great battailes did the Romanes win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new god, or some new honour to one of their old gods? yea, what one Nation, saue onely that of the Iewes, was subdued by them, whose gods they did not afterward entertaine in their City? Onely the true God, which was the God of the Iewes, they reiect, vpbraiding the Iewes with him, as if he were vnworthy of the Romane Maiesty: shall we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion, which Heathen writers vsed against the *Christians* in the *Primitive Church*: That such Idolatry had caused the Citie of *Rome* to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperitie were a signe or effect of true Religion. Such is the blinde zeale of *Bozias*, who writing against those whom he falsely termes impious, giues strength to such as are impious indeed. But such indiscretion is vsually found among men of his humour; who hauing once either foolishly embraced the dreames of others, or vainely fashioned in their owne braines any strange *Chimeras* of Diuinity, condemne all such in the pride of their zeale, as Atheists and Infidels, that are not transported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pitie it is, that such mad dogges are oftentimes encouraged by those, who hauing the command of many tongues, when they themselues cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious verue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was Ephraim.

§. I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.



AVING now past ouer *Phanicia*, wee come to the next Territorie adioyning: which is that of *Ephraim*: sometime taken *per excellentiam* for the whole Kingdome of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second sonne of *Ioseph*, whose issues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Deserts*, (*Iosua* excepted) there entered the Holy Land of their children growne to be able men 32500. who fate downe on the West side of *Jordan*, betwene *Manasse*, and *Beniamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Jordan*, and the *Mediterran* Sea, did by the East and West.

The first and chiefe Citie which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the Metropolis of the Kingdome of *Israel*, built by *Omri* or *Homri* King thereof, and seated on the toppes of the Mountaine *Somron*, which overlooked all the bottome, and as farre as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called *Sebastie*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *Augustus* *Cesar*. This Citie is oftentimes mentred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as *Brochard* obserueth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which *Brochard* found greater than those of *Iherusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood vpright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewne and squared stone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beate to the ground by the sonnes of *Hirannus* the high Priest: restored and built by the first *Herod* the son of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cesar* called it *Sebastie*. Herein were the Prophets *Heliseus*, and *Abdias* buried: and so was *Iohn Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Grecian* Monkes.

Near *Samaria* towards the South, is the Hill of *Bethel*, and a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine, *Ieroboam* erected one of his golden Calues, to be worshipped: with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

In sight of this Mountaine of *Bethel*, was that ancient Citie of *Sichem*, after the restoration called *Neapolis*, now *Pelosa*, and *Napolsa*: It was destroyed by *Simcon* and *Leui*, in reuenge of the rauishment of their sister *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* euened with the soyle. *Ieroboam* raised it vp againe: and the *Damascens* a third time cast it downe.

Vnder *Sichem* toward the Sea standeth *Pharaton* or *Pirhathon*, on the Mountaine *Amalec*, the Citie of *Abdon* Iudge of *Israel*. And vnder it *Bethoron* of the *Leuites*, built as it is said by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Neere to this Citie *Iudas Maccabaeus* ouerthrew *Seron* and *Lyfias*, Lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This Citie had *Salomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Betwene *Bethoron* and the Sea, standeth *Samir*, of which *Ios. 10.* and *Saron* whose King was slaine by *Iosua*: it is also mentioned *Acts 9.35.* and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Casarea Palestina*, extendeth it selfe alongst the coast as farre as *Ioppe*, saith *Adrichome*: though indeed the name *Saron* is not particularly giuen to this Valley, but to euery fruitfull plaine Region: for not onely this Valley is so called, to wit, betwene *Casarea* and *Ioppe*, but that also betwene the Mountaine *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for so *S. Hierome* vpon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Esay*, interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries vpon *Abdias*, read *Saron* for *Assaron*: vnderstanding thereby a Plaine neere *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Dispolu*, or the City of *Iupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Iudea*, the fifth in dignitie (or the third after *Pliny*) where *Saint Peter* (*non sua, sed Christi virtute*) cured *Ananias*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Anti-libanus* to *Ioppe*, *Saron*. This *Ioppe* was

Psal. 59. 78.
108. Psal. 25.Sichem. Ios. 4. 5.
Mabouthan.
Ios. 11. ant. 2.Iudg. 12. 15.
2. King. 13.

Ios. c. 12. 18.

A. B. 6.
Luc. 23.
Niger. com. 4.
A. B. 6. 1. 3.
was

was burnt to the ground by the *Romanes*, those Rapens and spoylers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, vsurpers of other Princes Kingdomes; who with no other respect led than to amplify their own glory, troubled the whole world: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most Savage and barbarous Nations.

Of this Saint George see more above in this booke, C. 5. 3. f. 5.

L. 2. c. 11.

Sabb. Tom. 6. c. 4.

See in the Tribe of Benjamin, 1. Sam. 1. 2. S. 1.

1. Sam. 2. 5. v. 5.

Ant. 13. 21. de Bell. Ind. 1. 6.

Judg. 1. 9. It is called Thimnath-chabes. Ios. 18. 25.

Hieron in loci Hebr.

Mac. 1. 7. 30.

In *Diospolis* (saith *will. of Tyre*) was *S. George* beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and memory *Iustinian* the Emperour caused a faire Church to bee built over his Tombe; these bee *Tyrinus* his words: *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antepatride, & Ioppe, per late patentem planitiem Elutheriam pertranscuntes, Liddam que est Diospolis, ubi & egregij Martyris Georgij usque hodie Sepulchrum ostenditur; pervenerunt, eius Ecclesiam quum ad honorem eiusdem Martyris pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum, Augustus Iustinianus multo studio & devotione prompta adificari preceperat, &c. They having left (saith he) on the right hand, the Sea Townes Antipatris, and Ioppe, passing over the great open plaine of Elutheria, came to Lidda, which is Diospolis: where the sumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr S. George is at this day shewed; whose Church, when the Godly and Orthodox Prince of the Romanes, High and Mighty Iustinian had commanded to be built, with great earnestnesse and present devotion, &c. Thus farre *Tyrinus*: by whose testimonie, we may conjecture that this *S. George* was not that *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*; but rather some better *Christian*: for this of *Alexandria* was slaine there in an vpror of the people, and his ashes cast into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better *Christian*, than he is commonly thought: for his words of the Temple of *Genius*, *How long shall this Sepulchre stand?* occasioned the vpror of the people against him: as fearing lest he would giue attempt to overthrow that beautifull Temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports; who though he say that this *Georgius* was also deadly hated of the *Christians*, who else might have rescued him: yet he addeth; that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, lest if their Reliques had beene gathered vp, Churches should bee built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather thinke that it was not *Georgius*, whose name liues in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrinus* aboue cited, witnesseth to have beene buried at *Lidda* or *Diospolis*. The same also is confirmed by *Vitriac*. *Saint Hierome* affirms that it was sometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Christians* inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Bishop *Suffragan*.*

Neere to *Lidda* or *Diospolis* standeth *Ramatha* of the *Leuites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the native Citie of *Ioseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. There are many places which beare this name of *Rama*; one they set in the Tribe of *Juda* neere *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephtalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they say, adioyneth to *Sepharis*; a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*; and a fift, which is this *Rama*, in the Hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Saphim*, where *Samuel* liued, and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the North alongst the coast are *Helon*, or *Aialon* of the *Leuites*, of which 1. Chron. 6. *Apollonia*, of which *Iosephus* in his Antiquities, and in the war of the *Iewes*. Also *Balsalifa* (for which *Iunius*, 2. Reg. 4. 42. reades *planities Shalisha*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Iunius* vpon 1. Sam. 6. where we reade of the Land of *Shalisha*, findeth it in *Beniamin*.

On the other side of the Mountaines of *Ephraim* standeth *Gofna*, one of the *Toparchies* or Cities of government, the second in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Then *Thamnath-sarah*, or according to the Hebrew, *Thimnath-Serach*: one also of the ten *Toparchies* or *Presidencies* of *Juda*, which they call *Thamnathica*; a goodly City and strong, seated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*; on the North of the hill called *Gash*, which City and Territory, *Israel* gaue vnto their Leader *Iosua*; who also amplified it with buildings, neere which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in *S. Hieromes* time, and ouer it the *Sunne* engrauen, in memory of that greatest of wonders which *God* wrought in *Iosua's* time.

In the places adioyning standeth *Adarsa*, or *Adasa*; where *Judas Maccabeus* with 3000. *Jewes* ouerthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant of *Syria*; neere to *Gaser* or *Gezer* which *Iosua* tooke, and hung their King; a Citie of the *Leuites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*; the people all slaine, and the Citie razed; *Salomon* re-built it.

To

To the East of this place is the Frontier City of *Iefleti*, of which *Ios. 16. 3.* otherwise *Pelthi*, whence *Danid* had part of his *Prætorian* Souldiers, vnder the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous Mountaine and City of *Silo*, whereon the Arke of *God* was kept so many yeeres, till the *Philistims* got it.

To this they ioyneth the City of *Machmas*, or *Michmas*: in which *Ionathas Maccabæus* inhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Hierusalem*: and is now called *Byra*.

Then the Village of *Naioth* where *Saul* prophesied; and neere it *Ephron*, one of those Cities which *Abijah* recouered from *Ieroboam*; after the great ouerthrow giuen him. Then *Kimbtsaim*, of the *Leuites*, of which *Iosua 21. 22.* which *Iunius* thinks to be the same with *Iokmeham*, of which 1. Chro. 6. 28. As for *Abisaloms Baalasor*, which they finde hereabout, *Iunius* reades it in the Plaine of *Chatzor*; and findes it in the Tribe of *Juda*; as *Ios. 15.* we reade of two *Chatzors* in that Tribe; one neere *Kedelh*, v. 23. and the other the same as *Chetzron*, v. 25.

In this Tribe also they finde the City of *Mello*; whose Citizens, they say, ioyned with the *Sichemites* in making the Bastard *Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Salomon* raised a Tribute vpon the people. But it seemes that *Mello* or *Millo* is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadell: and so *Iunius* for *domus* & 20. *Millo*, reades *incola munitionis*, and for *Salomon* adificabit *Millo*, hee reades *adificabit munitionem*, and so the *Septuagint* reades *incola munitionis* in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Salomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Hierusalem*.

The other Cities of marke in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuach*, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*; and *Ianoach* or *Ianoah* spoyled by *Teglarphalassar*; *Pekah* then gouerning *Israel*; with diuers others, but of no great fame. The Mountaines of *Ephraim* sometime signifie the greatest part of the Land of the sonnes of *Ioseph*, on the West of *Jordan*: seuerall parts whereof are the Hill of *Samron* or *Samaria*, 1. Reg. 16. 24. * the Hill of *Gahas*, *Iudg. 2. 9.* the Hill of *Tsalmon* or *Salmon*, *Iudg. 9. 48.* the Hills of the Region of *Tsufh* or *Tsophim*, *Iudg. 9. 5.* where *Rama-Tsophim* stood, which was the City of *Samuel*.

The great plenty of fruitfull Vines vpon the sides of the Mountaines, was the occasion that *Jacob* in the Spirit of Prophecie, *Gen. 49. 22.* compared *Ioseph's* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manasse*, to the branches of a fruitfull Vine planted by the Well side, and spreading her * Daughter-branches along the Wall: which Allegory also *Ezekiel*, c. 22. in his lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head was *Ephraim*) prosecute; as also in his lamentation for *Juda*, he followeth the other Allegory of *Iacob's* *Gen. 49. 9.* comparing *Juda* to a Lyon. Vpon the top of one of the highest of these Hills of *Ephraim*, which ouer-looketh all the plaines on both sides of *Jordan*, they finde the Castle called *Dok*: which they make to be the same with *Dagon*, of which *Ioseph. 1. Bell. Iudg. 6. 2.* in which Castle as it is, 1. *Mac. 16.* *Psolomie* most traitterously, at a banquet, slew *Simon Maccabæus* his Father in Law.

Among the Riuer of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaas*, remembred in the second of *Samuel*, c. 23. v. 30. where though *Iunius* reades *Hiddai ex vna vallium Gahasi*: yet the *Vulgar* and *Varabius* reade *Giddai* of the Riuer of *Gaas*. Also in this Tribe they place the Riuer of *Carith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought: where he was fed with the *Kauens*: and after that the Riuer was dried vp, hee trauailed (by the Spirit of *God* guided) towards *Sidon*: where he was relieved by the poore Widow of *Zarepta*, whose dead sonne he reuiued, and increased her pittance of Meale and Oyle: whereby she sustained her life.

S. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from *Ieroboam* to *Achab*.



F the first Kings of *Israel*, I omit in this place to speake: and referue it to the Catalogue of the Kings of *Juda*: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the diuision from *Juda* and *Beniamin*, now it followeth to speake. The first of these Kings *Ieroboam*, the sonne of *Nebat*, an Ephrahithe of *Zereda*, who being a man of strength & courage, was by *Salomon* made ouerfer of the buildings of the Munition in *Hierusalem*, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* & *Manasse*: so many of them as wrought in those Works. During which time as he went from

H h

Hierusalem,

See in *Beniamin*, *Macab. 1. 9. v. 11.* 1. Kin. c. 4. and see *Rana* in *Beniamin*.

Iud. 9. ver. 6. & 20.

1. Reg. 11. 27. *Varabius* explains *Millo* in this place,

locum publicum necessarium civibus *Ios. 17. 1. 5. 16.*

Mitans *Ios. 17. 1. 5. 16.*

King. 15. 29.

Ios. 17. 1. 5. 16.

* Also the Hill of *Thineas*, where *Elezar* the high Priest the son of *Aaron*, was buried, *Ios. 24. 33.*

And the two tops of Hills, *Gerizim* where the blessings, & *Hebal* where the cursings were to be read to the people: of which *Deut. 11. 27. & 10. 1.*

Ios. 8.

a It seemeth that *Iacob* in this prophecie the rather v-

seth the word *Daughters* for branches, there-

by the more plainly to signify Colonies: which in the Hebrew phrase are called

Daughters of the Metropolis as in *Iosua* and elsewhere often.

b 1. Reg. 17. 5. 1. Reg. 17.

Jerusalem, he encountered the Prophet *Ahijah*: who made him know that he was by God destined to be King of *Israel*, and to command tenne of the twelve Tribes. After this, fearing that those things might come to *Salomons* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shishbak*, whom *Eusebius* calleth *Ofochores*, whose Daughter hee married: the Predecessor of which *Shishbak* (if not the same) did likewise entertaine *Adad* the *Edumæan*, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the furie of *Dauid*, and his Captaine *Ioab*, which *Adad*, the King of *Egypt* married to his Wiues sister *Taphnes*; vsing both him and *Ieroboam* as instruments to shake the Kingdome of *Iuda*; that himselfe might the easilier spoile it, as hee did: for in the fift yeare of *Rehoboam*, *Shishbak* sackt the Citie of *Jerusalem*, and carried thence all the treasure of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, and all the spoyles which *Dauid* tooke from *Adadazer* of *Soba*, with the presents of *Tobu*, King of *Hamath*, which were of an inestimable value.

This *Ieroboam* after the death of *Salomon* became Lord of the tenne Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to gouerne the *Israelites*, and from a meane man exalted to that state: yet preferring the policies of the world before the seruice and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes vnder his rule should repaire to *Jerusalem* to doe their vsuall Sacrifices, they might be drawne from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calues, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, saith *S. Ambrose*, or rather of *Aarons* Calfe in *Horeb*:) further he made election of his Priests out of the basest and vnlearned people. This King made his chiefe seate and Palace at *Sichem*: Hee despised the warning of the *Iudean* Prophet, whom *Iosephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycius* *Ioel*: his hand there-after withered, and was againe restored: but continuing in his Idolatrie, and hardened vpon occasion that the Prophet returning was slaine by a Lyon, *Ahijah* makes him know, that God purposed to roote out his posterity.

Ambrose vpon the 1. Chap. of the Epistle to the *Romans*.

1 King. 11. 12.
12. 14.
15. Chron. 13.

Hee was afterward ouerthrowne by *Abia* King of *Iuda*, and died after hee had gouerned two and twenty yeeres; whom *Nadab* his son succeeded: who in the second yeere of his raigne, together with all the race of *Ieroboam*, was slaine, and rooted out by *Baasba*, who raigned in his stead: so *Nadab* liued King but two yeeres.

Baasba the sonne of *Ahijah*, the third King after the partition, made warre with *Asa* King of *Iuda*: he feared himselfe in *Thersa*: and fortified *Rama* against *Iuda*, to restraints their excursions. Hereupon *Asa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* against him, who invaded *Nephthalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the meane while *Asa* carried away the materials, with which *Baasba* intended to fortifie *Rama*; but being an Idolater, he was threatened by *Iehu* the Prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to *Ieroboam*: which afterward came to passe: He ruled foure and twenty yeeres, and died.

1 Kings 15. & 16.

To *Baasba* succeeded *Ela* his sonne, who at a feast at his Palace of *Thersa*, was in his cups slaine by *Zambris*, after he had raigned two yeeres: and in him the prophetic of *Iehu* was fulfilled.

1 Kings 16.

Zambris succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a King seuen dayes; But *Ambri* in reuenge of the Kings Murther, set vpon *Zambris*, or *Zimri*; and inclosed him in *Thersa*, and foret him to burne himselfe.

1 Kings 16.

Ambri or *Homri* succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regall seate from *Thersa* to *Samar*: which hee bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambri* was also an Idolater, no lesse impious than the rest: and therefore subiect to *Tabremmon*, King of *Syria*; the Father of *Benadad* according to *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*: but how this should stand, I doe not well conceiue; seeing *Benadad* the sonne of *Tabremmon* was inuited by *Asa* King of *Iuda*, to assaile *Baasba* King of *Israel*, the Father of *Ela* who forewent *Ambri*. This *Ambri* raigned twelve yeeres, sixe in *Thersa*, and sixe in *Samar*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

1 King. 15.

§. III.

Of Achab and his Successors, with the captinitie of the ten Tribes.

Achab or *Ahab* succeeded *Omri*, who not onely vp-held the Idolatrie of *Ieroboam* borrowed of the Egyptians: but he married *Iezabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Ieroboam* followed the Religion of his Egyptian Wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*.

nian: and erected an Altar and a Groue to *Baal* in *Samar*. Hee suffered *Iezabel* to kill the Prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the Land of *Israel*. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* prevailed in the trial of the Sacrifice, and killeth the false Prophets; and afterward flyeth for feare of *Iezabel*.

Benadad, not long after besieged *Samar*: and taken by *Achab*, was by him set at liberty: for which the Prophet (whom *Glycius* calleth *Michas*) reprooueth him: afterward he caused *Naboth* by a false accusation to be stoned. Then ioyning with *Iosaphat* in the warre for the recovery of *Ramoth*, he was slaine, as *Michas* had foretold him.

Hee had three sonnes named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Ioram*, and *Ios*: besides seuentie other sonnes by sundry wiues and concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: he bruiſed himselfe by a fall: and sent for counsaile to *Beelzebub* the God of *Achaz*. *Elias* the Prophet meeteth the messenger on the way: and mistaking that *Ochozias* sought helpe from that dead Idoll, asked the messenger, If there were not a God in *Israel*? *Ochozias* sendeth two Captaines, and with each fifty souldiers to bring *Elias* vnto him, both which with their Attendants were consumed with fire. The third Captaine besought mercy at *Elias* hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the King, knowing it to the King that he must then die; which came to passe in the second yeare of his raigne.

Beelzebub was the same with *Belus*, and *Belus* is, saith *I. I. I.* vpon *I. I. I.* 2 Kings 1.

Ioram, the brother of *Ochozias* by *Iezabel*, succeeded: Hee allured *Iosaphat* King of *Iuda*, and the King of *Edom* to assist him against the *Moabites*, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000. sheepe. The three Kings wanted water, for themselves and their Horses, in the Deserts. The Prophet *Elisha* causeth the ditches to flow. The *Moabites* are ouerthrown: their King flyeth to *Kirharaseth*, and being besieged, according to some Expositors, burnt his sonne on the walls as a Sacrifice, whereat the three Kings, moued with compassion, returned and left *Moab*, wasting and spoiling that Region. Others, as it seemes with better reason, vnderstand the Text to speake of the sonne of the King of *Edom*, whom they suppose in this irruption to haue bene taken prisoner by the *Moabites*, and that the King of *Moab* shewed him ore the walls, threatening, vnlesse the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his gods. Whereupon the King of *Edom* besought those of *Iuda* and *Israel* to breake off the siege for the safety of his sonne: which when the other kings refused to yeeld vnto, & that *Moab* according to his former threatening had burnt the King of *Edoms* sonne vpon the rampire, that all the assailants might discern it, the king of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle enraged, forsooke the party of the other kings, for want of whose assistance the siege was broken vp.

2 Kings 3.

After this the King of *Aram* sent to *Ioram*, to heale *Naaman* the Captaine of his Armie of the Leprosie. The answer of *Ioram* was; Am I God to kill, and to giue life, that hee doth send to heale a man from his Leprosie? adding, that the *Aramite* sought to matter of quarrell against him. *Elisha* hearing thereof, willed the King to send *Naaman* to him; promising that hee should know that there was a Prophet in *Israel*; and *Naaman* was healed by washing himselfe seuen times in *Iordan*. *Elisha* refused the gifts of *Naaman*; but his seruant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the sellers of spirituall gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians* of *Simon Magus*.

2 Kings 5.

Afterward *Benhadad* king of *Aram* or *Damascus*, hauing heard that this Prophet did discouer to the king of *Israel* whatsoever the *Aramite* consulted in his secretest counsell, sent a troupe of horse to take *Elisha*: all whom *Elisha* strooke blinde, and brought them captiues into *Samar*: *Ioram* then asked leaue of the Prophet to slay them, *Elisha* forbade him to harme them: but caused them to be fed and sent backe to their own Prince in safetie.

The king of *Aram* notwithstanding these benefits, did againe attempt *Samar*, and brought the Citizens to extreame famine. *Ioram* imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet *Elisha*. *Elisha* by prayer caused a noise of Chariots and armour to sound in the ayre, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege. An act of great admiration, as the same is written in the second of *Kings*. After this, when *Azael* obtained the kingdome of *Syria* by the death of his Master, *Ioram* entring vpon his frontier, tooke *Ramoth Gilead*: in which war he receiued diuers wounds, and returned to *Iezabel* to be cured. But whilest he lay there, *Iehu* (who commanding the armie of *Ioram* in *Gilead*, was anointed king by one of the children of the Prophets sent by *Elisha*) surprised

2 Kings 7.

Hh 2

and

and slew both him and all that belonged vnto him, rooting out the whole posteritie of *Abab*.

Pag. 86.

Iehu who reigned after *Iehoram*, destroyed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but also their religion; for which he received a promise from God, That his seed should occupie the Throne vnto the fourth generation. Yet hee vpheld the Idolatry of *Ieroboam*, for which he was plagued with grievous warre, wherein hee was beaten by *Hazeel* the Aramite, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of *Jordan*: in which warre hee was slaine, saith *Cedrenus*: whereof the Scriptures are silent. *Iehu* reigned 28. yeeres.

2 King. 13.

Ioachaz or *Iehoahaz* the sonne of *Iehu* succeeded his father, whom *Azael* and his son *Benhadad* often invaded, and in the end subiected, leauing him onely 50. horse, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot; and as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Ioachaz* reigned 17. yeeres.

2 King. 14.

After *Ioachaz* *Ioua* his sonne gouerned *Israel*, who when hee repaired to *Elisba* the Prophet as hee lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories ouer the *Aramites*: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bowe, and *Elisba* couered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. Hee againe willed him to beate the ground with his arrowes, who smote it thrice and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that hee should haue smitten five or sixe times, and then he should haue had so many victories ouer the *Aramites* as hee gaue strokes. And so it succeeded with *Ioua*, who ouerthrew the *Aramites* in three battels, and recovered the Cities and Territories from *Benhadad* the sonne of *Azael*, which his Father *Ioachaz* had lost. He also ouerthrew *Amazia* King of *Juda*, who prouoked him to make the warre, whereupon he entred *Hierusalem*, and sacked it with the Temple. This *Ioua* reigned sixteene yeeres and died; in whose time also the Prophet *Elisba* exchanged this life for a better.

Ieroboam the third from *Iehu*, followed *Ioua* his father, an Idolater as his predecessors; but he recovered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath* which is neere *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty yeeres.

Zacharias the fift and last of the house of *Iehu*, slaine by *Shallum* his vassall, who reigned in his stead, gouerned six moneths. *Shallum* held the kingdome but one moneth, being slaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

2 King. 16. 19.

Menahem who tooke reuenge of *Shallum*, vsed great crueltie to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with childe. This *Menahem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of siluer, which hee exacted by a Tribute of fifty shekels from euery man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menahem* gouerned twenty yeeres.

2 King. 15. 29.

Pekahiah or *Phaccia*, or after *Zonaras*, *Phaccia* succeeded, and after hee had ruled two yeeres he was slaine by *Phaca* or *Pekah* the Commander of his army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekahs* time, *Phulassar* or *Tiglat-Phlassar* invaded the kingdome of *Israel*, and wan *Iion*, *Abel-bethmaaca*, *Iamoth*, *Kedesb*, *Itasor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them captiues into *Affyria*: he was drawne in by *Achas* king of *Iudaa*, against *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being waisted by *Pekah* of *Israel*, and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the Church riches, & therewith ingaged the *Affyrian*, who first suppressed that Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damascus*, and then of *Israel*: and this inueting of the great *Affyrian*, was the vtter ruine of both States, of *Israel* and of *Iudaa*. *Pekah* reigned twenty yeeres.

Then *Hoshea* or *Osea*, who slew *Pekah*, became the vassall of *Salmanassar*; but hoping to shake off the *Affyrian* yoke, he sought aide from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* King of *Egypt*: which being knowne to the *Affyrian*, he cast him into prison, besieged *Samaria*, and mastered it: carried the ten idolatrous Tribes into *Ninine* in *Affyria*, and into *Rages* in *Mesopotamia*, and into other Easterne Regions, and there dispersed them: and replanted *Samaria* with diuers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cutha* (inhabiting about *Cutha* a riuer in *Persia*, or rather in *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding vpon *Syria*, and with those of *Sepharuaim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Mesopotamia* vpon *Euphrates*, of whose conquest *Senacherib* vaunteth) also with those of *Aua*, which were of the ancient *Auims*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philistims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling neere vnto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtarims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Desart*, called *Itanai*, willing to returne to their ancient seates. To these he added those of *Chamath*

or

of *Itanai*, the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, and sometime the Vassalls of the *Adades* of *Damascus*, which so often afflicted them: And thus did this *Affyrian* aduise himselfe better than the *Romanes* did. For after *Titus* and *Vespasian* had wasted the Cities of *Nusdaz*, and *Hierusalem*, they carried the people away captiue: but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their owne thin Garrisons, which soone decayed: and thereby they gaue that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who neuer could be driven thence againe to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, happened in the yeare of the world 3292: the fifth yeare of *Ezekiah* King of *Juda*: and the ninth of *Hofa* the last King of *Israel*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1. <i>Ieroboam</i> ,	Raigned 22 Yeares.
2. <i>Nadab</i> ,	2 Yeares.
3. <i>Baasha</i> ,	24 Yeares.
4. <i>Ela</i> ,	20 Yeares.
5. <i>Zambri</i> ,	7 Dayes.
6. <i>Omri</i> ,	11 Yeares.
7. <i>Achab</i> ,	22 Yeares.
8. <i>Obadias</i> ,	2 Yeares.
9. <i>Ioram</i> ,	12 Yeares.
10. <i>Iehu</i> ,	28 Yeares.
11. <i>Ioachaz</i> ,	17 Yeares.
12. <i>Ioua</i> ,	16 Yeares.
13. <i>Ieroboam</i> ,	41 Yeares.
14. <i>Zacharias</i> ,	6 Moneths.
15. <i>Shallum</i> ,	1 Moneth.
16. <i>Menahem</i> ,	10 Yeares.
17. <i>Pekahiah</i> ,	2 Yeares.
18. <i>Pekah</i> ,	20 Yeares.
19. <i>Hofa</i> ,	9 Yeares; about whose time Writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of *Dan*, *Simeon*, *Juda*, *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the other halfe of *Manasse*.

§. I.

Of *Dan*, whereof *Ioppe*, *Gath*, *Accaron*, *Azotus*, and other Townes.

NOW following the coast of the *Mediterran Sea*, that portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, ioyneth to *Ephraim*, whereof I spake last: of which family there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 62700. fighting men, all which leauing their bodies with the rest in the *Desarts*; there entred the Holy Land of their sonnes 66400. bearing armes. The first famous Citie in this Tribe on the Sea-coast was *Ioppe*, or *Iapho*, as in the 19. of *Iosua*: one of the most ancientest of the World, and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was the Port of *Hierusalem*. From hence *Ionas* embarked himselfe when he fled from the seruice of God, towards *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this Citie receiued many changes: and while *Iudas Macchabeus* gouerned the *Jewes*, the *Syrians* that were Garrisoned in *Ioppe*, hauing their fleet in the Port, inuited 200. principall Citizens aboard them, and cast them all into the Sea: which *Iudas* reuenged by firing their fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape, to the sword.

Hh 3

It

It was twice taken by the Romanes, and by *Cestius* the Lieutenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the yeere of Christ, 1250. *Lodowick* the French King gave it new Walls and Towers: It is now the Turkes, and called Iaffa. There are certaine Rocks in that Port, wherunto it is reported, that *Andromeda* was fastned with chaines: & from thence deliuered from the Sea-monster by *Perseus*. This Fable (for so I take it) is confirmed by *Iosephus*, *Solinus*, and *Plinie*. *Marsus Scaurus* during his office of Edileship, shewed the bodies of this Monster to the people of Rome. *S. Hierome* upon *Iouis* speaks of it indifferently.

1. 3. 1. 15. de
bel 14. Solim. c.
47. 2. 1. 5. 6. 9.

1 Mac. 12.
De Bell. Jac.

F. 244.

Hieron. in Mi-
cham.

L. 21. c. 18.

Sa. 1. c. 6. v. 18.

* Or rather
not the Citie it
selfe but the
great stone in
the field, vpon
which stone
the Philistines
set the Arke,
the change be-
ing caule from
Eben or Aben,
which signifi-
eth a stone, to
Abel, which
signifieth
mourning.

a See in Nepht.
C. 7. §. 4. 1. 6.
2 King. 1.

but was believ-
ed by *Isham-
metichus*, the
Father of
Pbaras Ne-
for 29. yeeres
together,

whence *Jer.* 25.
v. 20. speaks
of the residue
of *Ashdod*, to
wit, the great-
est part ha-
uing perished
in this siege.

c. 1 Sam. 5. 4.
d. 1 Mac. c. 9.
1 Mac. c. 10.
Iof. 19. 41.
Iud. 13. 25. &c.
18. v. 2.

The next vnto Ioppe was Iamnia, where *Iudas Machabeus* burnt the rest of the Syrian fleet: the fire and flame whereof was seene at Hierusalem 240. furlongs off. It had sometime a Bishops seate, saith *Will.* of Tyre; But there is no signe of it at this time, that such a place there was.

After Iamnia is the Citie of Geth or Gath, sometime Anthedon, saith *Volaterran*. And so *Montanus* seemes to vnderstand it. For he sets it next to Egypt, of all the Philistim Cities, and in the place of Anthedon. But *Volaterran* giues neither reason nor authority for his opinion; for *Protonie* sets Anthedon farre to the South of Ioppe: And Geth was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the Philistims: and about sixteene miles from Ioppe; where *S. Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the Habitation and Seminarie of the Anakims: strong and Giant-like-men, whom *Iosua* could not expell, nor the Danites after him: nor any of the Israelites, till *Dauids* time: who slew *Goliath*, as his Captaines did diuers others, not much in ferocious strength and stature vnto *Goliath*.

Roboam the sonne of *Salomon* rebuilt Geth: *Ozius* the sonne of *Amaziah* destroyed it againe. It was also laid waste by *Azazel* King of Syria. *Fulke* the fourth King of Hierusalem, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruines. Whether this Geth was the same that *Will.* of Tyre in the holy Warre calls Ibijlin, I much doubt: the error growing by taking Geth for Anthedon.

Not farre from Geth or Gath standeth Bethfemes, or the house of the Sunne. In the fields adioyning to this City (as is thought) was the Arke of God brought by a yoke of two Kine, turned loose by the Philistims: and the Bethfemites presuming to looke therein, there were slain of the Elders 70. and of the people 50000. by the ordinance of God.

After which slaughter & the great lamentation of the people: it was called the great * *Abel*, saith *S. Hierome*. *Benedictus Theologus* findes three other Cities of this name; one in *Nephthalim*: another in *Iuda*: and another in *Isachar*. *Hierome* findes a fifth in *Beniamin*.

Keeping the Sea-Coast, the strong Citie of Accaron offereth it selfe, sometime one of the five Sarrapies, or Governments of the Philistims. *S. Hierome* makes it the same with *Casaria* Palestina. *Plinie* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of those that defended it selfe against the Danites & Idumzans. It worshipped *Beelzebub* the god of Hornets or Flies. To which Idoll it was that *Ahaziah* King of Israel, sent to enquire of his health: whose messengers *Elisha* meeting by the way, caused them to returne, with a sorrowfull answer to their Master. This City is remembered in many places of Scripture.

Christianus Schrot placeth Azotus next to Geth, and then Accaron or Ekron. This Azotus or Asdod was also an habitation of the Anakims, whom *Iosua* failed to destroy, though he once possessed their Citie. Herein stood a sumptuous Temple, dedicated to the * Idoll *Dagon*: the same Idoll which fell twice to the ground of it selfe, after the Ark of God was by the Philistims carried into their Temple: and in the second fall, it was utterly broken and defaced. Neere it was that famous *Iudas Machabeus* slaine by *Bacchides* and *Aleimus*, the Lieutenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Ionathas*: and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idoll therein consumed with fire: neere which also hee ouerthrew *Apollonius*.

Gabinus the Roman re-built it. It had a Bishops seate while Christianity flourished in those parts. But in *S. Hieromes* time it was yet a faire Village. And this was the last of the Sea-Townes within the Tribe of Dan.

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from *Acotus*, and beyond the Fountaine of *Aethiopia*, wherein *Philip* the Apostle baptized the Eunuch, *the Tferah*, or *Saxa*, and *Esthaol*, and between them Castra Danis neere Hebron: though this place where *Sampson* was borne, may seeme by the words, *Iud.* 18. 12. to bee in the Tribe of

Iudab,

Iudab, as the other also were bordering Townes betweene *Dan* and *Iuda*.

After these within the bounds of *Iuda*, but belonging to the Danites, they finde *Gedor*, on as it is, *Mac.* 15. *Cadron*, which *Cendebeus* the Lieutenant of *Antiochus* fortified against the *Iewes*, and neere which himselfe was by the *Macchabees* ouerthrowne. 1 Mac. 15. 16.

Then *Modin* the Native Citie of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whose Sepulchre the seven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heighth, as they serued for a marke to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeeres after their first setting vp, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witnesse.

There are besides these the Citie of *Cariathiarim*, that is, the Citie of the woods: seated in the border of *Iuda*, *Beniamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the Arke of God remained twenty yeeres in the house of *Aminadab*: till such time as *Dauid* carried it thence to *Hierusalem*. Of this place (as they say) was *Zacharias* the sonne of *Barachias*, or *Iehoida*, who was slaine betwene the Temple and the Altar: also *Vrius* whom *Iosachim* King of *Hierusalem* slaughtered as we finde in *Ieremie*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe, rather as I take it vpon presumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caspin* taken with great slaughter by *Iudas Machabeus*: and *Lechus*, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*, in which also *Amaziah* was slaine: The same with *Senacherib* tooke, *Ezekias* reigning in *Iuda*.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, see in *Iosua* C. 19. from the Verse 41. where also it is added that the Danites portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they invaded *Lechem*, and inhabited it: which City after amplified by *Philip* the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Casarea Philippi*, as before, and made the Metropolis of *Ituraa*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coasts this *Philip* was *Tasrach*: but of this Citie see more in *Nephthalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountaines of fame.

It hath two Riuers or Torrents: the Northermost riseth out of the Mountaines of *Iuda*: and passing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sacbrona*. The other hath the name of *Serek* or *Sered*, whose bankes are plentifull of Vines which haue no seeds or stones: The winethey yeeld is red, of excellent colour, taste, and sauour, &c. In this Valley of *Serek*, so called from the Riuer, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampson* loued.

30

§. II.

THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

He Tribe of *Simeon* takes vp the rest of the Sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*: who being the second sonne of *Isaac* by *Lea*, there were increased of that Familie while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 59300. able men, all which ending their liues in the *Desarts*, there entred the Land of Promise of their issues 22200. bearing armes, who were * in part mixed with *Iuda*, and in part seuered, inhabiting a small Territorie on the Sea-coast, belonging to *Edumaea*, of which the first Citie adioyning to *Dan*, was *Ascalon*.

The Reguli or petty Kings thereof were called *Ascalonites*: of which *Volaterran* out of *Xanthus*, in the Historie of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Ascalus* were the sons of *Hymenaeus*: and that *Ascalus* being employed by *Acimaeus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Armie in *Syria*, falling in loue with a young Woman of that Countrey, built this Citie, and called it after his owne name: The same hath *Nicolaus* in his Historie, saith *Volaterran*.

Diodorus Siculus in his third booke remembreth a Lake neere *Ascalon*, wherein there hath bene a Temple dedicated to *Derceto*, the Goddesse of the *Syrians*; hauing the face of a Woman, and the body of a Fish: who, as I haue said before, in the story of *Ninno*, was the Mother of *Semiramis*, fained to be cast into this Lake, and fedde and releued by Doues. And therefore was the Doue worshipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

Alba Palaestina sancta Columba Syro.

The white Doue is for holy held, in *Syria* Palestine.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Cities of the Philistims. It had many learned men

Alias Cariath.
buz & Buz.
or Buzphat.
fm. 1 Sam. 7. 1.
& 2 Sam. 6. 2.
2 Chron. 24. 22.
Mat. 23. 33.
Ier. 26. 10.
2 Mac. 12. 13.
Iof. 12. 11.
2 Reg. 14. 19.

Hieron. in Esai.
& Micham. 1.
Broch.
Ereid.
Iud. 16. 4.

* And there-
fore no marvel
that diuers pla-
ces named, *Iof.*
15. in the large
portio of *Iuda*
be reckoned in
this Tribe: see
Iof. 19. v. 1. &
9. where thus
much is ex-
pressly noted.
Volat. Geog. 4.
12. fol. 144.

Ios. vi. 21.

Adrich in
Tribo Simeon

2 Sam. 1.

Vol. 1. 11.

Steph. de Urb.
Iud. 1. 16.
1 King. 6. &
alib.

Ios. 13. ant. 19.

Macc. 1. 15.
Rios. b. lib. 7.Hist. trip. l. 6. c.
4. Niceph. 10.
Hist. cap. 4.Ios. 13. ant.
19. 21.Ios. 13. ant. 19.
11. 14. &c.* Iunius calls it
Vallis Egypti,
the name of
the strene
seems to be Si-
chor. See in
Affer, Chap. 7.
§. 1. 8.
in the margent
Epiph. 10. 2.
in refut. Ma-
nich. & in An-
corato, Gen.
10. 19.

1 Sam. 30.

Ios. 10. 11. 12.

men (saith Volaterran) as Antiochus, Sesus, Cygnus, Dorabemus the Historian, and Artemidorus, who wrote the storie of Bithynia.

In Ascalon, as some say, was that wicked Herod borne, that seeking after our Sauour, caused all the Male-children of two yeares old and under to be slaine. In the Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that, when it was by the Saracens defaced, Richard King of England, while he made Warre in the Holy Land, gaue it a new wall and many build- ings. Eius muros cum Saladinus diruisset, Richardus Anglorum Rex instaurauit, saith A. drichomensis.

In Dauids time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the Philistims: for hee nameth Gath and Ascalon onely, when he lamenteth the death of Sam and Iothan: not 10 speaking of the other three. Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it not in the streetes of Ascalon: It is now called Scalone. Gabinius restored it as he did Azotus and Gaza.

Next to Ascalon stood Gaza or Gazera, which the Hebrewes call Hazza, the Syrians Azan: of Azotus (as they say) the sonne of Hercules. Other prophane writers affirme, that it was built by Iupiter. Pomp. Melæ giues the building thereof to Cambyfes the Per- 15 sian; because belike hee rebuilt it, and Gaza in the Persian tongue is as much to say as Treasure. This Gaza was the first of the five Satrapies of the Philistims: and the South bound of the Land of Canaan towards Egypt. But this Citie was farre more ancient 20 than Cambyfes, as it is prooued by many Scriptures. It was once taken by Caleb: but the strength of the Anakims put him from it. At such time as Alexander Macedon inua- ded the Empire of Persia, it receiued a Garrison for Darius: in despight whereof it was 25 by the Macedonians after a long siege demolished, and was called Gaza of the Desert.

Alexander Iannæus King of the Iewes surprized it: and slew five hundred Senators in the Temple of Apollo, which fled thither for Sanctuarie: but this Gaza was not set vp in the same place againe, to wit, on the foundations which Alexander Macedon had over- 30 turned, but somewhat neerer the Sea side: though the other was but two mille off. It was a Towne of great account in the time of the Macchabees, and gaue many wounds to the Iewes till it was fors by Simon: of which hee made so great account, as that hee purposed to reside therein himselfe, and in his absence left John his sonne and Successor to bee Gouvernour. In Brochard his time it was still a goodly Citie, and knowne by the 35 name of Gazara.

At the very out-let of the Riuer of Besor, standeth Maioma the Port of Gaza: to which the priuiledge of a Citie was giuen by the great Constantine, and the place called Con- stance after the name of the Emperours Sonne. But Iulian the Apostata soone after fa- 40 uouring the Gazceans, made it subiect vnto them, and commanded it to bee called Gaza maritima.

On the other side of Besor, standeth Anshodon, defaced by Alexander Iannæus, restored by Herod, and called Agrippias, after the name of Agrippa, the fauourite of Augustus.

Then Raphia, where Philopater overthrew the great Antiochus: and beyond it Rhinocura, whole Torrent is knowne in the Scriptures by the name of * the Torrent of Egypt, 45 till the Septuagint conuerted it Rhinocura: to difference it, Es. 27. 12. giuing the name of the Citie to the Torrent that watereth it. Plinie calls it Rhinocolura; and Iosephus, Rhinocorura: * Epiphanius reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was diuided by 50 lor, betwene the three Sonnes of Noah.

Within the Land and vpon the Riuer of Besor they place Gerar: which the Scripture placeth between Kadesb & Shur, Gen. 20. 1. That it was neerer to the Wilderness of Be- 55 shebah, it appeares Gen. 20. 31. and therefore no maruell that as elsewhere Beer-sheba, so sometime Gerar, bee made the South bound of Canaan. It was of old a distinct King- dome from the Philistim Satrapies, the Kings by one common name were called Abime- lechs; S. Hierome saith that afterward it was called Regio salutaris, the healthy Country: so 60 that it was no maruell that Abraham and Isaac liued much in those parts. Of King Asa conquest of the Cities about Gerar, see 2. Chron. 14. 14.

More within the Land was Siceleg or Tsiglak, which was burnt by the Amalekites, when Dauid in his flying from Saul to the Philistims had left his carriages there, but Da- 65 uid followed them ouer the Riuer of Besor, and put them to the slaughter, and recouered the prey.

Next Dabir sometime Cariath-Sepher, the Citie of Letters, the Vniuersitie, as they say, of Academie of old Palestine. In Saint Hieromes time it seemes it had the name of 70 Dacma:

Daema: Iosua 15. 49. it is called Vrbs Sanna: from the name, as it seemes, of some of the Anakims, as Hebron was called Vrbs Arbahi. Foreuen hence also were these Giants ex- 5 pelled. It was taken chiefly by Othoniel, encouraged by Calebs promise of his Daughter Ios. 11. v. 21. in marriage: but that Iosua and the Hoast of Israel were at the surprize, it appeares Ios. 10. 39. This Citie Ios. 21. 15. is named among those which out of Simeon and Iuda were gi- 10 uen to the Leuites. And hence it seemes they attribute it to this Tribe.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of Simeon, but of lesse fame, as Hain, of which Ios. 19. 7. which also Ios. 1. 16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the Leuites, 15 giuen out of the portion of Iuda and Simeon (for which Iunius thinks Hasbam is named 1 Chron. 6. 59. though * in the place of Iosua these two are distinguished) also Tholad * And also 20 so named 1 Chron. 4. 29. for which Iosua 19. 4. wee haue Eltholad. Chatzar-Susa so na- med Iosua 19. 5. for which Iosua 15. wee haue Chatzar-Gadda, both names agreeing in 25 signification: for Gadda is Turma; and Susa Equitatus.


In the same places of Iosua and of the Chronicles Chorma is named, which they thinke 30 to be the same with that of which Num. 14. 45. to which the Amalekites and Canaanites pursued the Israelites: But that Chorma cannot be in Simeon, nor within the Mountaines of Edumæa. For Israel fled not that way: but backe againe to the Campe, which lay to 35 the South of Edumæa, in the Desert.

The same places also name Beer-sheba in this Tribe: so called of the Oath betweene 40 Abraham and Abimelec: neere vnto which Hagar wandred with her sonne Ismael. It was also called the Citie of Isaac, because hee dwelt long there. While the Christians held the Holy Land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the Arabian Desert, and in the South bound of Canaan. It hath now the name of Gibe- 45 lin. The other Cities of Simeon which are named in the places of Iosua, and of the Chro- nicles aboue noted, because they helpe vs nothing in storie, I omit them. In the time of Ezekia King of Iuda, certaine of this Tribe being strengthened in their owne Territories, 50 passed to * Gedor, as it is, 1 Chron. 4. 39. (the same place which Ios. 15. 36. is called Ge- dera and Gederothaima) which at that time was inhabited by the issue of Cham: where they seated themselves: as also five hundred others of this Tribe, destroyed the Reliques 55 of Amalec in the Mountaines of Edom, and dwelt in their places.

The Mountaines within this Tribe are few, and that of Sampson the chiefest: vnto 60 which he carried the Gate-post of Gaza. The Riuers are Besor, and the Torrent of E- gypt called Shichar, as is noted in Affer.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF IUDA.

 F Iuda the fourth sonne of Iacob by Lea, there were multiplied in Egypt 74600. 65 all which (Caleb excepted) perished in the Deserts. And of their sonnes there entred the Land of Canaan 76500. bearing armes: Agreeable to the greatnesse of this number was the greatest Territorie giuen, called afterward Iudæa: with- 70 in the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to Dan and Simeon included. And many Cities named in those Tribes, did first, as they say, belong vnto the Children of Iuda: who had a kinde of Soueraigntie ouer them: as Succoth, Cariathiarim, Lachis, Bethseles, 75 Tsiglag, Beer-sheba, and others. The multitude of people within this small Prouince (if it be meated by that ground giuen to this Tribe onely) were incredible, if the witnesse of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when Dauid numbred the people, they 80 were found five hundred thousand fighting men.

The Cities of Iuda were many. But I will remember the chiefest of them: beginning 85 with Arad, or Horma, which standeth in the entrance of Iudæa from Idumæa: whose King first surprized the Israelites as they passed by the border of Canaan towards Moab, and tooke from them some spoyles, and many prisoners: who being afterward ouerthrowne 90 by the Israelites, the sonnes of Keni, the Kinsmen of Moses, obtained a possession in that Territorie: who before the coming of the Israelites, dwelt betwene Madian and Amalek.

Following this Frontier towards Idumæa and the South, Ascensu Scorpionis, or Acrab- 95 him is placed: the next to Arad: so called because of Scorpions, which are said to bee in that

Deut. 1.

Gen. 21. 31.

* As it seemes
in the Land of
Iuda. See in
the first Para-
graph of this
Chapter in the
Cities of Dan,
Iud. 16. 3.Num. 21. v. 33
Ios. 12. v. 14.
Iud. 1. v. 16.Num. 24. 4.
Deut. 8. 15.

that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Hierome* thinks that the name of the *Toparchie* called *Acrabathena* was denominated: of which we haue spoken in *Manasses*. On the South side also of *Iudea* they place the Cities of *Iagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Asbua*, *Iethnan*, and *Afor* or *Chasfor*, most of them Frontier Townes.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places to called: one besides this in the body of *Iuda*, of which the *Desart* and *Forrest* adioyning tooke name: where *Dauid* hid himselfe from *Saul*. After these are the Cities of *Efron*, *Adar*, *Karkab*, and *Aschemona*, or *Hatsmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idamea* towards the North, wee finde the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Afor*, or *Chasfor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sechoes*: of all which see *Iof. 15. alto Carioth* by *Iofua*, c. 15. v. 25. called *Kerioth*: whence *Iudas* the Traitor was called *if-carioth*, as it were a man of *Carioth*. Then *Hetham* the abode of *Sampson* which *Rehobam* reedified. Beyond these towards the North border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the Citie of *Iethar*, or *Iathir*, belonging to the *Leuites*. In Saint *Hieromes* time it was called *Iethira*: and inhabited altogether with Christians: neere vnto this Citie was that remarkable battaile fought betwene *Asa* King of *Iuda*, and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: *Asa* following the victory as farre as *Gerar*, which at the same time he recovered.

Not farre from *Iether*, standeth *Iarmuth*, whose King was slaine by *Iofua*, and the City ouerturned. Next vnto it is *Maresa* the natiue City of the Prophet *Atichea*: Betwene it and *Odolla*, *Iudas Macchabeus* ouerthrew *Gorgias*, and sent thence ten thousand *Dragmas* of silver to be offered for Sacrifice.

Odolla or *Hadullam* it selfe was an ancient and magnificent Citie, taken by *Iofua*, and the King thereof slaine. *Ionathas Macchabeus* beautified it greatly. Then *Ceila* or *Keila* afterward *Echela*, where *Dauid* sometime hid himselfe: and which afterward hee deliuered from the assaults of the *Philistims*: neere which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whose monument remained, and was scene by *S. Hierome*.

Neere it is *Hebron*, sometime called the Citie of *Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Caritharba*: the reason of this name they giue, as if it signified the Citie of foure: because the foure Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but supposed: and it is plaine by the places, *Iofua* 14. 14. and 15. 13. and 20. 11. that *Arbah* here doth not signifie foure, but that it was the name of the Father of the *Giants* called *Anakim*, whose sonne as it seemes *Anak* was: and *Achimam*, *Shebhai*, and *Talmi* (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Iof. 15.*) were the sonnes of *Anak*, *Numb. 13. 23.* The name of *Anak* signifieth *Turquene*, a chaine worne for ornament; and it seemes that this *Anak* enriched by the spoyle which himselfe and his Father got, wore a chaine of gold, and so got this name: and leauing the custome to his posteritie, left also the name: so that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amisse be expounded by *Torquati*.

The Citie *Hebron* was one of the ancientest Cities of *Canaan*, built seuen yeeres before *Tofan* or *Tanis* in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chiefe Citie of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part giuen, to wit, the Villages adioyning, and the rest to the *Leuites*. It had a Bishop in the Christian times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the Mother of *Constantine*.

Not farre hence they finde *Eleutheropolis*, or the free Citie, remembred often by Saint *Hierome*. Then *Eglon* whose King *Dabir* associated with the other foure Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Hierusalem*, *Hebron*, *Iarmuth*, and *Lachis*, besieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Iofua* vterly ouerthrowne. From hence the next City of fame was *Emaus*, afterward *Neapolis*, one of the Cities of Government or *Presidencies* of *Iudea*. In fight of this Citie *Iudas Macchabeus* (after hee had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gaue a third ouerthrow to *Gorgias* Lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

In the yeere 1301. it was ouerturned by an earth-quake, saith *Eusebius*. In the Christian times it had a Bishop seat of the Diocesse of *Casaria* of *Palastine*.

From *Emaus* toward the West Sea there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagom*, and *Gader* or *Gedera*, or *Gederathaima*, of which and of *Gederath*, * *Iof. 15. v. 36.* and 41. Then *Azechi*, to which *Iofua* followed the slaughter of the foue Kings before named, a Citie of great strength in the Valley of * *Terebinth*, or *Turpentine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth, 1 *Sam. 17. 2.* whence (as it seemes) they seate it neere vnto *Soco*, and vnto *Lebna* of the *Leuites*.

Iof. 15. 8.

1 Chron. 11. 6.

Iof. 15. 10. the

1 Chron. 11. 6.

notes, that this

Iof. 15. 10. though

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Iof. 15. 10. 3.

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Leuites. It revolted from the subiection of the *Iewes*, while *Ioram* the sonne of *Iosaphat* ruled in *Hierusalem*: And next vnto this standeth *Maaceda*, which *Iofua* vterly dispeopled.

On the other side of *Emaus* towards the East standeth *Bethsur*, otherwise *Bethsora*, and *Bethfor*: one of the strongest and most sought for places in all *Iuda*. It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethsur* (the house on the Rocks, or of strength). It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Iudas Macchabeus*. *Lyfias* forc't it, and *Antiochus Eutapor* by famine: *Ionathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the Syrian Kings.

Bethleem is the next vnto it within sixe miles of *Hierusalem*, otherwise *Lehem*: sometime *Ephrata*, which name, they say, it had of *Calebs* wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts, *Gen. 38. 16.* Of this Citie was *Abeffan*, or *Isbzan*, Judge of *Israel*, after *Leptab*, famous for the thirty sonnes and thirty daughters begotten by him. *Eliabes* was also a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moab* during the familie of *Iuda* in the time of the *Iudges*, with whom *Ruth* the daughter in law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and married *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Isai*, of whom *Dauid*. It had also the honour to bee the natiue City of our Saviour *Iesus Christ*; and therefore shall the memorie thereof neuer end.

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a City of the same name: and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethleem Iuda*.

From *Bethleem* some foure or five mile standeth *Thecua*, the City of *Amas* the Prophet: and to this place adioyning is the City of *Bethzacaria*, in the way betwene *Bethsura* and *Hierusalem*: on whose Hills adioyning, the glorious guilt shields of *Antiochus* shined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the *Iewes*. The City of * *Bezek* was also neere vnto *Bethleem*, which *Adonibezec* commanded, who had during his raigne tortur'd 70 Kings, by cutting off the ioynts of their Fingers and Toes; and made them gather bread vnder his Table: but at length the same end befell himselfe by the sonnes of *Iuda*; after they had taken him prisoner.

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may passe by vntill wee come to the magnificent Castle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200 Marble steps, exceeding beautifull and strong. And towards the Dead Sea, and adioyning to the Desart of *Iaruel*, betwene it and *Tekoa*, is *thar elinus floridus*, where, in the time of *Iehosaphat*, the *Iewes* stood and lookt on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, massacring one another, when they had purposed to ioyne against *Iuda*: neere which place is the Valley of blessing, where the *Iewes* the fourth day after, solemnly came and blessed God for so strange a deliuerance.

Now the Cities of *Iuda* which border the Dead Sea, are these; *Aduran* beautified by *Roboam*; and *Tsohar*, which the *Vulgar* calleth * *Segor*: so called because *Lor* in his prayer sobriety that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tsohar*, which signifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen. 14. 2.* In the Romanes times it had a Garrison; and was called (as they say) *Pannier*: in *Hieromes* time *Balexona*. Then *Engaddi* or *Hemigaddi*, first *Asafonthamar*: neere vnto which are the Gardens of *Balsamum*, the best that the world had called *Opobalsamum*: the most part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* sent for out of *Iudaea*, and *Herod* who either feared or loved *Antibny* her husband, caused them to be rooted vp and presented vnto her: which shee replanted neere *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This City was first taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable Cities of *Iudaea*; and one of the *Presidencies* thereof.

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them *Iesrael*: not that which was the Citie of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the same name, the Citie of *Achimam*, the wife of *Dauid*, the mother of that *Achimam*, whom *Abalom* slew: also as some thinke the Citie of *Abnaga*, *Abfaloms* Lieutenant, and the commander of his *Armie*. But this seemeth to be an error grounded vpon the neereesse of the words, *Israel* and *Iesrael*: and because the 2 *Sam. 17. 25.* *Amasa* father is called a *Israelite*, who first of the *Chanaan* is called an *Israelite*: indeed the Hebrew Orthographie sheweth that *Amasa* Father is no found to be of the Citie *Iesrael*, but an *Israelite* in Religion, though otherwise an *Israelite*.

Iosaphat Tubochee weter many high Hills and Mountaines, as those of *Engaddi* vpon the

Gen. 53. 48.

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the Dead Sea: and the Mountaines of Iuda, which begin to rise by *Emam*, and end neere *Taphna*, and these part Iuda from *Dan* and *Simeon*. Of others which stand single, there is that of *Hebron*, at the foot whereof was that Oake of *Mambre*, where the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*, which *S. Hierome* calleth a Fir-tree, and saith, that it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mountaine called *Collis Achillæ*, on the South of *Ziph*: on the top whereof the great *Herod*, inclosing the old Castle, erected by *Ionathas Machabæus*, and called *Massada*, garnished it with 27. high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundred thousand men; being as it seemeth a place vnaccessible, and of incomparable strength.

In the Valley afterward called the *Dead Sea*, or the lake *Asphaltitis*, this Countie had foure Cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorrah*, destroyed with fire from Heauen for their vnnaturall sinnes.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF REUBEN
and his Borderers.

†. I.

The scates and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon, part whereof the Reubenites wanne from *Sehon* King of *Hesbon*.

ON the other side of the *Dead Sea*, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacobs* sonnes inhabited: of whose children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the rest in the Deserts, there remained to possesse the Land promised 43700. bearing armes. But before we speake of these or the rest that inhabited the East side of *Jordan*, something of their borderers: to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first wee are to remember, that out of *Abrahams* kindred came mighty Families: as by *Isaac* and *Leah* the Nation called *Israel*, and afterward *Iewes*: by *Esaú* or *Edom* the *Idumæans*: by *Ismael* the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites*: and by *Keturah* his last wife the *Midianites*. And againe by *Lot*, *Abrahams* brothers sonne, those two valiant Nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: all which being but strangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly posselt by the *Canaanites*; and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliance of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adioyning.

Esaú and his sonnes held *Idumæa*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South, *Ismael* tooke from the South-east part of the *Dead Sea*; stretching his possession ouer all *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the Desert, as farre as the Riuer of *Tigris*, from *Suzo* *Hauilah*.

Moab tooke the rest of the coast of the *Dead Sea*, leauing a part to *Midian*, and passing ouer *Arnon*, inhabited the plaines betweene *Jordan* and the Hills of *Abarim* or *Arnon*, as farre North as *Essebon*, or *Chesbon*.

Ammon late downe on the North-east side of *Arnon*, and posselt the Tract from *Rabba* afterward *Philadelpia*, both within the Mountains of *Gilhead*, and without them as far forth as *Aroer*, though in *Moses* time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the Amorites had thrust him ouer the Riuer of *Iaboc*, as they had done *Moab* ouer *Arnon*. As these Nations compassed sundry parts of *Canaan*, so the border betweene the Riuer of *Iaboc* and *Damascus* was held by the Amorites themselves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territorie on the East side of *Jordan*, and on the East side of the *Dead Sea*, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and halfe *Manasse*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first posselt by the *Emims* a Nation of Giants weakened & broken by *Chedorlabomer*, after repulsd by the *Moabites*, as before remembred. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territorie and ancient possession of the *Zamzumimis* or *Zuræi*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlabomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest: and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Now where it is written that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the same is to be vnderstood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Ancestor beaten

beaten the *Moabites* out of the plaine Countries, betweene *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driuen them from *Hesbon* ouer *Arnon*; and this happened not long before *Moses* arriuall vpon that border, when *Vabeb* gouerned the *Moabites*. For hee that ruled *Moab* when *Moses* past *Arnon*, was not the sonne of *Vabeb*, but his name was *Balac* the sonne of *Zippor*. And it may be that those Kings were electiue, as the *Edumæans* anciently were.

Now all that part of *Moab*, betweene *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as farre North as *Essebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arriued there out of *Egypt*, it was in the possession of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amoreus*: and therefore did *Iephthah* the Iudge of *Israel* iustly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claime of the *Ammonites*: because (as he alleaged) *Moses* found them in the possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab* or *Ammon*: who (saith *Iephthah*) had 300. yeares time to recouer them, and did not: whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claime them now.

And lest any should maruell why the *Ammonites* in *Iephthahs* time should make claime to these Countries: whereas *Moses* in the place *Numb. 21. v. 26.* rather accounts them to haue bene the ancient possession of the *Moabites*, than of the *Ammonites*: it is to be noted that *Deut. 3. 11.* when it is said that the Iron bed of *Og* was to be seene at *Rabbath*, the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites*, it is also signified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* possessed, was by him or his Ancestors got from the *Ammonites*, as much of *Sehons* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were seated so confusedly together, that it was hard to distinguish them: so also were the sonnes of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Amalek*, and *Ismael*. Yet the reason seemeth plaine enough why *Ammon* commanded in chiefe, in *Iephthahs* time; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all those borderers acquired the Soueraigntie: and againe, that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely within the mountaines of *Galaad*, or *Gilhead*, and as farre South as *Aroer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking aduantage of the time, they then fought to recouer it againe. Yet at such time as *Moses* ouerthrew *Sehon* at *Iabaz*, the *Ammonites* had lost to the *Amorites*; all that part of their possession which lay about *Aroer*, and betweene it and the *Iaboc*: *Sehon* and *Og*, two Kings of the *Amorites* hauing dispianted both *Moab* & *Ammon* of all within the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of *Numb. v. 24.* that *Israel* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* vnto *Iaboc*, euen vnto the children of *Ammon*: so as at this time the Riuer of *Iaboc* was the South bound of *Ammon*, within the Mountaines, when as anciently they had also possessions ouer *Iaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* posselt, as in the 3. chapter of *Iosua. vers. 25.* it appeares.

†. II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THE chiefe Cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, *Kedemoth*, for which the *Vulgar*, without any shew of warrant, readeth *Ieshon*. The *Vulgar* or *Hierome* followed the *Septuagint*, those two verses 36. and 37. in *Ios. 22.* being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedson* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedson* by writing slip into *Ieshon*.

This City which they gaue to the *Leuites*, imparts her name to the Desert adioyning: from whence *Moses* sent his Embassage to *Sehon*. In the same place of *Iosua* where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the *Vulgar* for *Keser* & *villagius*, reades *Esor* in solitude *Misfor*, without any ground from the Hebrew: whence *Adrichemius* makes a Towne called *Misfor*, in the border betweene *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth* neere the *Dead Sea*, (for the Countie betweene being Mountainous hath few Cities) they place two Townes of note, *Lasa* or *Lesbals*, of which *Genes. 10. verse 19.* The Greekes call it *Calirhoe*: neere which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet water; all which soone after their rising, being ioyned in one streame, doe make a very wholesome Bath, especially for all contraction of sinewes: to which *Herod* the elder, when hee was desperate of all other helpe, repaired, but in vaine. Others say that these Springs arise out of the hills of *Macharus*, in this Tribe. The like fountaines are found in the *Pyrenæes*: and in *Penu*, called the Baths of the *Ingæ* or *Kings*. The other townie is *Macharus*, the next betweene *Lasa* and *Jordan*: of all that part of the world the strongest In-land Citie and Castle, standing vpon a Mountaine

euery way vnaccessible. It was first fortified by *Alexander Iannæus*, who made it a frontier against the Arabians: but it was demolished by *Gabinus*, in the war with *Aristobolus*, saith *Iosephus*. It was thither (saith *Iosephus*) that *Herod* sent *Iohn Baptist*, and wherein he was slaine: his armie soone after being vtterly ouerthrowne by *Aretas* King of Arabia, and himselfe after this murder neuer prospering. Not farre from *Machærus* was *Bosor* or *Bozra*, a towne of refuge, and belonging to the Leuites, and neere it *Liuias* vpon *Iordan*, which *Herod* built in honour of *Linia* the mother of *Tiberius Cæsar*.

To the North of *Liuias* is *Setim*, or *Sittim*: where the children of *Israel* embraced the daughters of *Midian* or *Moab*: and where *Phineas* pierced the body of *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, with his speare, bringing due vengeance vpon them, when they were in the midst of their sinne: and from hence *Iosua* sent the Discouersers to view *Ierico*, staying here vntill hee went ouer *Iordan*. As for the Torrent *Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreames of, reading *Ios. 3. 18. irrigabit torrentem Setim*: The vulgar hath *torrentem spinarum*: and *Iunius*, *vallem Cedrorum*: expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*: but for the Church, in which the iust being placed, grow as the Cedars, *Psal. 92. 13*.

The plaine Countrie hereabout, by *Moses* called *The plaines of Moab*, where he expounded the Book of *Deuteronomie* to the people a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same book precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the South it had the great Desert of *Paran*, where they had long wandied. On the East it had *Chatseroth*, & *Dizahab* (of which two the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolomie* in *Palestina*, the later was a Tract be- longing to the *Nabathæi* in *Arabia Petraea*, where was * *Mezahab*, of which, *Gen. 36. 39*) by the Geographers called *Medaia* and *Medaba*. On the West it had *Iordan*, and on the North it had *Laban* (in *Iunius* Edition, by the fault of the Print, *Lamban*, *Deuteron. 1. 1*) the same which the Geographers call *Libias*: and some confound it with *Liuias*, of which euen now we spake.

Also on the same North side towards the confines of *Cœlesyria*, it had *Theophel*: whereabout sometime *Pella* of *Cœlesyria* stood: which was in the region of *Decapolis*, and as *Stephanus* saith, was sometime called *Buris*. It is also noted in *Moses* to bee ouer- against or neere vnto *Suph*, for which the Vulgar hath the *Red Sea*, as also *Num. 2. 14*. it translateth the word *Suphah* in like manner: whereas in this place of *Deuteronomie* there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to signifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is so to be taken, vseth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to distinguish it from the region of *Suph* or *Suphah*: which doubtlesse was about these plaines of *Moab* towards the dead Sea: where the Countrie being full of reedes, was therefore thus called: as also the red Sea was called *Mare Suph*, for like reason.

The place in these large plaines of *Moab*, where *Moses* made those diuine exhortations, some say was *Bethabara* where *Iohn* baptized, which in the storie of *Gideon* is called *Beth-barā*. *Iosephus* sayes it was where after the Citie *Abila* stood, neere *Iordan*, in a place set with *Palme trees*: which sure was the same as *Abel-sittim* in the *Plaines of Moab*, *Num. 33. 49*. (that some call *Abel-sathaim* and *Bel-sathim*) which is reckoned by *Moses* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42. and last place of the *Israelites* incamping in the time of *Moses*: This place is also called *Sittim*; which word if we should interpret, wee should rather bring it from *Cedars*, than from *Thornes*, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the wood of which the *Arke* of the *Tabernacle* was made.

Toward the East of these plaines of *Moab*, they place the Cities, *Nebo*, *Baal-Meon*, *Sibma* and *Hesbon* the chiefe City of *Sehon*, and *Elhahel*, & *Kiriathaima* the seate of the *Giant Emim*. Of the two first of these *Moses* seemes to giue a note that the names were to be changed: because they tasted of the *Moabites* * *Idolatrie*. For *Nebo* (in stead of which *Iunius*, *Es. 46. 1*. reades *Deus varius*) was the name of their *Idoll-Oracle*, and *Baal-meon* is the habitation of *Baal*. Of the same *Idoll* was the Hill *Nebo* in these parts so denominated: from whose top, which the common Translators call *Phasgah*, *Moses* before his death saw all the Land of *Canaan* beyond *Iordan*. In which storie *Iunius* doth not take *Phasgah* or *Pisgah*, for any proper name: but for an appellatiue, signifying a Hill: and so also *Vatablus* in some places; as *Num. 21. 20*. where hee noteth that some call *Pisgah* that top which looketh to *Iericho*, and *Hairas* it looketh to *Moab*, which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of a Citie of *Reuben* mentioned *Is. 3. 20*. called *Aithdoth-Pisga*, which is as much as *decurfus Pisga*: to wit, where the waters did runne downe from *Pisga*. In the same place of *Iosua* there is also named *Beth-peor*, as belon-

belonging to *Reuben*: so called from the Hill *Peor*: from whence also *Baal* the *Idoll* was called *Baal-Peor*, which they say was the same as *Priapus*: the chiefe place of whose worship seemes to haue bene *Bamoth-Bahal*, of which also *Is. 13*. in the Cities of *Reuben*: for which *Num. 22. 41*. they reade, the high places of *Baal* (for so the word signifieth) to which place *Balaak* first brought *Balaam* to curse the *Israelites*.

†. III.

Of diuers places bordering *Reuben* belonging to *Midian*, *Moab* or *Edom*.

Here were besides these diuers places of note ouer *Arnon*, which adioyned to *Reuben*: amongst which they place *Gallim*, the Citie of *Phalti*: to whom *Saul* gaue his Daughter *Michol* from *Dauid*: but *Iunius* thinkes this Towne to be in *Beniamin*: gathering too much out of *Esay 10. verse 29*. where it is named among the Cities of *Beniamin*. With better reason perhaps out of *Num. 21. v. 19*. wee may say that *Mathana* and *Nabaliel* were in those confines of *Reuben*: through which places the *Israelites* past after they had left the Well called *Beer*: Then *Deblathaim* which the Prophet *Hieremie* threatneth with the rest of the Cities of *Moab*.

Midian also is found in these parts, the chiefe Citie of the *Madianites* in *Moab*: but not that *Midian* or *Madian* by the *Red Sea*; wherein *Iethro* inhabited. For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations, of which these of *Moab* became *Idolaters*, and receiued an exceeding ouerthrow by a Regiment of twelue thousand *Israelites*, sent by *Moses* out of the plaines of *Moab*: at such time as *Israel* began to accompanie their Daughters: their five Kings with *Balaam* the Soothsayer were then slaine: and their Regall Citie with the rest destroyed. The other *Madianites* ouer whom *Iethro* was Prince, or Priest, forgot not the God of *Abraham* their Ancestor; but reliqued & assisted the *Israelites* in their painful trauailes through the Deserts: and were in all that passage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adioyning to *Edom*, and sometime reckoned as the chiefe City of *Edom*, there is that *Petra* which in the Scriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *rupes* or *petra*. It was also called *Idotheel*, as appears by the place 2 *Reg. 14*. It was built (saith *Iosephus*) by *Rekem*, one of those five Kings of the *Madianites*, slaine as before is said: after whom it was called *Rekem*: Now they say it is called *Cras* and *Mozera*. The Soldans of *Egypt*, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*: of which it is the first and strongest Citie: the same perhaps which *Plinie* and *Strabo* call *Nabathæa*, whence also the Prouince adioyning tooke name: which name seemes to haue bene taken at first from *Nabaioth* the sonne of *Abraham* by *Kethura*. For *Nabathæa* is no where vnderstood for all *Arabia Petraea*, (at least where it is not mis-vnderstood) but it is that Prouince which neighboureth *Iudæa*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Ismael*, whose people *Ptolomie* calleth *Pharanites*, in stead of *Ismaelites*, and all those Territories of the *Cusites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Ismaelites*, *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hu*, *Sin*, and of *Og*, King of *Basan*, were parts of *Arabia Petraea*: though it bee also true, that some part of *Arabia* the Desert belonged to the *Amalekites*, and *Ismaelites*: all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of *Chronicles* the first calls *Hagarens of Hagar*.

This Citie *Petra*, *Scannus* besieged with the Roman Army, & finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content by the perswasion of *Antipater*, to take a composition of monie, and to quit it. Yet *Amasias* king of *Iuda* (after he had slaughtered 10000. of the *Arabians* in the valley called *Salinarum*) wan also this City. *S. Hierome* findes *Rush* the *Moabite* to be naturall of this City. In the meane time when the Christians held the Kingdome of *Hierusalem*, it had a *Latine Bishop*, hauing before been vnder the *Greeke Church*. It is seated not far from *Hor* where *Aaron* died, & on the other side towards the North is the riuer of *Zared* or *Zered*, by which *Moses* incamped in the 38. Station. *Adrichomius* describeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and betwene *Zared* and *Arnon*: and so hee doth the Valley of *Sane*: but the waters of *Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it seemes *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refresh the plaines of *Moab*: and the confluence of those waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Sane* also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, and vnder *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuit of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Sane*, or *Saub*, which is the Kings Dale, where *Abraham* set vp his Monument, as it seemes; not farre from *Hierusalem*. And at the same time *Melchizedec* King of *Salem* also

What name they vied, or *Nebot* it doth not appeare: but *Nabathæon* it seemes they named sometime *Raythas*, *Es. 15. 2*. and sometime *Beth-meon* *Es. 48.*

1 Sam. 25. v. ult.

Hierem. 48.

Esai. 16. 1.

1 Reg. 24. 7.

Lib. 4. Ant. 7.

1 Chron. 5. v. 19.

Es. 20.

Guil. Tyr. 20.

Num. 21.

Deut. 2. 13.

Num. 32. 3.

Is. 13. 27.

Esai. 15.

also incountr'd him. But *Abraham* comming from the North, and *Melchizedec* inhabiting, either neere *Bethsan* otherwise *Scythopolis* in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Hiersalem* (both places lying in the West of *Jordan*) could not incountr each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Saua*, which was also called *the Kings Dale*, could not be in these parts.

†. IIII.
Of the Dead Sea.

* So *Tallis* reads for the *Lechay* *Arabia* both enery where, and so also the editio of *Plinius*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *though* *Diodorus* *hath* *more* *elucidation*, as also *leg. 14. 25.* the reason of this name seems to be, because it ioynes the plumes of *Moab*, which are called *har-bath* *Moab*, *Deut. 34. 1.* as also we haue *har-bath* in *Har-bath* *har* in the plumes, to wit, of *Zion*, *1 Mach. 2.* whence *Ardrichonius* imagines *2* *City* in *Zion* called *Arabia* *Deuter. 34. 1.*

NOW because the Sea of *Sodom* or the Dead Sea, called also the Lake of *Asphaltitis*, and the salt Sea (in distinction from the Sea of *Tyberias* which was fresh water) also the Sea of the Wildernesse, or rather the Sea * of the plaines, is often remembered in the Scriptures, and in this storie also, therefore I thinke it not impertinent, to speake somewhat thereof. For it is like vnto the *Caspian* Sea, which hath no out-let or disburthening. The length of this Lake *Iosephus* makes 180. furlongs (which make 22. miles and a halfe of ours) and about 130. in breadth, which makes 18. of our miles and somewhat more. *Plinie* makes it a great deale lesse. But those that haue of late yeares seene this Sea, did account it (saith *Wassenburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirtie of ours) in length: and two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea, *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus est in immenso ambitu, speciemaris, sapore corruptior grauitate oloris accolis pestifer: neq. vento impellitur, neq. pisces aut suus aqua volucres patitur, incertum unde superiecta ut solido ferantur, periti imperitq. nandi perinde astolluntur, &c.* That it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt taste: of smell infectious, and pestilent to the borderers: it is neither moued nor raised by the winde, nor indureth fish to liue in it, or fowle to swimme in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the vnskillfull of swimming, as well as the skilfull, are borne up by this water. At one time of the yeare it casteth vp *bitumen*: the Art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is vsed in the trimming of ships, and the like busineses.

And then of the Land, he speaketh in this sort: "The fields not farre from this Lake which were sometime fruitfull and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with lightning, of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a sad face, as hauing lost her fruitfulness; for what soeuer doth either grow or is set thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripenesse, haue nothing within them, but moulder into ashes: Thus saith *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that those *Pomegranates* and other Apples or Oranges, which doe still grow on the bankes of this cursed Lake, doe looke faire, and are of good colour on the out-side, but bring out haue nothing but dust within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake casteth vp, it was by the *Greekes* called *Asphaltis*. *Vespasian* desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and caused certaine Captiues to be cast into it, who were not onely vnskillfull in swimming, but had their hands also bound behinde them, yet notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not linke.

†. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Countrey within *Arnon* *Reuben* possesse.

Numb. 21. 22.
23. 24. 10. 24.

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whose Countrey (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* possesse (though not taken from *Moab* but from *Sohan* the *Amorites*) few are known. *Iunius* in the 21. of *Numb. vers. 14.* nameth *Labab*, which seems to be the Ancestor or Predecessor of *Balaam*, the sonne of *Zippor*: which *Balaam* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. For fearing to contend with *Moses* by armes by the examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, hee hoped by the helpe of *Balaams* curlings or incantations, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though *Balaam* at the first, moued by the spirit of God, blest *Israel* contrary to the hope and desire of *Moab*: yet being desirous in some sort to satisfie him, and to doe him seruice, he aduised *Moab* to send *Medianitis* Women among the *Israelites*: hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the Idolatry of the Heathen: but in the end hee receiued the reward of his falling from God, and of his euill counsaile, and was slaine among the rest of the Princes of *Midian*.

After these times the Kings of the Moabites are not named: sauing that wee finde in the first of *Chronicles* the fourth, that *Iokim*, and the men of *Chozab*, and *Isab*, and *Sareph*,

Sareph, all being of the issue of *Iuda*, sometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the same Verse, These also are ancient things: to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these mens Governments are no where extant or remaining: or as others, *hec prius fuere*, these Families of *Iuda* were once thus famous: but now their posteritie chooseth rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

Then we finde *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who with the helpe of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* mastered *Israel*, and commanded them eightene yeares: which *Eglon*, *Ehud* slew in his owne house, and afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name the King of *Moab* had vnto whom *Dauid* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appeare: or whether it were the same against whom *Saul* made Warre, it is not manifest, for neither are named. But in respect that this Moabite was an enemy to *Saul*, he receiued *Dauid*, and relieued him; knowing that *Saul* sought his life.

After this, *Dauid* himselfe entred the Region of *Moab*, but not likely in the same Kings time: for hee slaughtered two parts of the people; and made the third part tributarie: whereupon it was said of *Dauid*, *Moab is my wash-pot, ouer Edom will I cast my shoe*: meaning that hee would reduce them to such an abiection, and appoint them for base seruices: And that he would tread downe the *Idumæans*.

The next King after *Dauids* time, of the Moabites, whose name liueth, was *Mesha*: who falling from *Iuda*, (perhaps in remembrance of the feueritie of *Dauid*) fastened himselfe to the Kings of *Israel*, and paid tribute to *Ahab* 100000. Lambes, and 200000. Rams, with the wooll: who reuoluing againe from *Israel* after the death of *Ahab*, was invaded by *Iehoram*: with whom ioyned the Kings of *Iuda* and *Idumæa*: and being by these three kings prest and broken, hee fled to *Kir-hareseth*, as is else where shewed. There is also mention made of the Moabites without the Kings name: when that Nation, assisted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumæans*, invaded *Iehoshaphat*: and by reason of some private quarrels among them selues, the Moabites and *Ammonites* set vpon the *Idumæans*, and slaughtered them: and then one against another; so as *Iehoshaphat* had a notorious victory ouer them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of *Hieremie* the Prophet, there was a King of *Moab* which is not named, which was after *Mesha* of *Moab* many descents: for *Mesha* liued with *Iehoram*, and this Moabite in *Zedekias* time, foureteeene Kings of *Iuda* comming betweene, who wasted three hundred and odd yeares.

§. V.

Of the memorable places of the *Gadites*, and the bordering places of *Ammon*.

HE Territory adioyning to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*: whereof all that part which ioyned to the Mountaines, was sometime in the possession of the *Ammonites*, as farre to the South as *Aroer*. Of the children of *Gad* the seuenth son of *Laban*, the hand maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the *Deserts*, 45550. and of their sonnes there entred the Land promised, 45000. bearing armes: from the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* the Riuer of *Iaboc* diuided them: from *Reuben* the Cities of *Heshon*, *Elhele*, and *Abhec*.

The chiefe Citie of *Gad* was *Aroer*: which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or *Rabbath Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Iunius* attending diligently to those words of *Moses*, *Deut. 2. 36.* *Ab harahero, quæ est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & Cinitate ipsa quæ est in flumine, where the Citie in the Riuer is distinguished from the Citie vpon the banke of the Riuer*, (as also in like manner *Ios. c. 12. v. 2. and c. 13. v. 9.*) thinke that *Haraher* which doubtlesse belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Numb. 32. 34.* it is said that they built it) was indeed seated neere *Har* of the Moabites, but diuers from it. For that *Har* was neuer possessed by *Moses*, it is plaine *Deuteronomie 2. 9.* where God forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith, hee hath giuen *Har* for an inheritance to the sonnes of *Lot*. Now that this Citie, which in diuers places is said to be within and in the middle of the Riuer of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Haraher*, which is said in the same places to bee on the banke of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the Moabites, the same *Iunius* prooueth out of *Numb. 21. 15.* where *Arnon* is said to bee diuided into diuers streames, where or among which *Har* is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Ios. 13. 25.* where *Haraher* is said to bee seated before *Rabbah*: which *Rabbah* as it seemes, cannot bee the

Rabbah of the *Ammonites* (for they seate not *Harober* neere it; nor in sight of it) and therefore by *Rabbath* here wee must vnderstand *Rabbah* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Aror* or *Ihar*: and so wee must needs distinguish it from *Harober*. And as for * *Har* (which also gaue the name to the coast adioyning) it seemes it continued in the possession of the *Moabites* after they had once expelled the Giant-like people called *Emims*, first weakened by *Chedorlaomer* and his Associates: but *Harober* by the interchange of times suffered many ancient changes, as being wonne from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Israelites*, and from them, as it seemes in the story of *Iephtha*, by the *Ammonites*: and from the *Ammonites* againe by the *Israelites* vnder the conduct of *Iephtha*. In *S. Hieromes* time the greatest part of this Citie perished by an earthquake, as also *Zoar*, in which *Lot* saued himselfe, in the destruction of *Sodom*, seated not farre hence: which they say was therefore called *Vitula Conseruans*, because as a wanton tumbling Heifer, she was thrice ouerthrowne with earth-quakes: for which cause also *Hierome* seemes to thinke that this *Zoar* was called *Salissa*, or *Bal-salissa*, as if *Baal* had bene a remainder of the old name *Balah*, or *Belah*, (of which *Gen. 14.2.*) and *Salissa*, which hath a signification of the ternarie number, had alluded to the three earth-quakes.

Brochard takes *Harober* to be *Petra*, but erroneously, as before it is noted; seeing that *Petra* was in the South border of *Moab*, adioyning to *Edom*, whereas *Harober* is in the North-East border. Betwene *Harober* and *Iordan* they seate *Dibon*, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, because they are said to haue built it, *Numbers 32.34.* though *Iosua 13.20* verse 17. it is said that *Moses* gaue it to the *Reubenites*. Of this Citie among the rest of *Moab*, both *Esay* and *Hieremy* prophecied, that it should perish, and the *Lakes* about it runne with the blood of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village neere *Arnon* in *Saint Hieromes* time.

Keeping the bankes of *Arnon*, one of the next Cities of fame to *Aror*, was *Bethnimrah*, of which *Esay* prophecied, That the waters thereof should be dried up: and all the vale of *Moab* withered. Not farre from *Bethnimrah* in this Tribe *Adrichomius* placeth *Iogbeha*, and *Nobach* or *Nobe*: of both which wee reade in the storie of *Gideon*: and that *Iogbeha* was in *Gad*, built by the *Gadites*, it appears, *Numb. 32.35.* and therefore *Nobach* also must needs be in these parts; but whether in *Gad* or *Manasse* it is not certaine: only that *30* it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moses* witnesseth. *Nobach* also (saith hee) went and tooke *Kenath* with her Townes, and called it *Nobach* of his owne name, where because the verses precedent speake of the *Manassites*, and because it is not likely that *Moses* would haue feared this seate of the *Gadites* from the rest, of which he spake before, *v. 34.35.36.* therefore it may seeme that this * *Nobach* was in that part of *Manasse*, which was in the East of *Iordan*: though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with *Nob*, which *Saul* destroyed, of this we shall speake * in the Tribe of *Beniamin*. And as for that *Karkor* where *Zebach* and *Salmunah* rested themselves in their flight from *Gideon*, to which place *Gideon* marched through this *Nobach* and *Iogbeha*, though some place in it *Gad*, and make it the same with *Kir-chares*, of which *Esay 15.* and *2 Reg. 3.25.40* yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the same with *Kir-chares*, it is certaine that it was a principall Citie held still by the *Moabites*, and not in the Tribe of *Gad*.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hataroth*: of which name the Scripture witnesseth that two Cities were builded by the *Gadites*; the former simply called *Hataroth*, the later *Hathroth-Sophan*: for which later the *Vulgar* makes two Cities, *Roth* and *Shephan*: the name *Hataroth*, is as much as *Corone*.

In the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*, together with *Bethnimrah*, of which we haue spoken, *Iosua cap. 13.v.27.* nameth *Beth-haram* and *Succoth*: the former, *Numb. 32.36.* (where it is called *Beth-haram*) together with *Bethnimra*, is said to haue been builded by the *Gadites*, which perhaps the rather, because in *Iosua* it is called *Beth-Haram*, some take to be *Betaramphtha*, (of which *Iosephus* after by *Herod* called *Iulias*. But whether this *Betaramphtha* were corrupted from *Beth-Haram*, or from *Beth-Aramathia* (of which *Aramathia* there is mention in * *Iosephus*) or from *Beth-Remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an Idoll of those Countries, wee reade, *Acts 7.43.* and to which *Iunius* referres the name of the Citie *Rephan*, *1 Macchab. 37.*) of this question it were hard to resolve. But touching *Iulius* (according to *Iosephus* sometime *Betaramphtha*) the same *Iosephus* placeth in the Region of *Perea*, beyond *Iordan*, which *Regio Perea*, as the Greeke word signifieth, is

no

no more than *Regio vterior*, the Countrie beyond the Riuer; and therefore they which labour to set downe the bounds of this *Perea*, take more paines than needs. Fourteene Villages this *Iulias* had belonging vnto it, according to *Iosephus*. Hee makes it to haue bene built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Iulias*, in honour of the adoption of *Linia Augustus* his Wife, into the *Iulian* family: by which adoption she was called *Iulia*. Another *Iulias*, hee saith was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which, he saith, is the same as *Bethsaida*.

Vpon the Sea of *Galilee* neere to *Iulias* in *Perea*, (that is, in the Region ouer *Iordan*) they finde *Petrezobra*, as it is called in *Iosephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus* *10* *hissopi*. Of a noble woman of this Citie, which for safegard in the time of Warre with the *Romanes*, came with many others into *Hierusalem*, and was there besieged. *Iosephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable History; how for hunger shee ate her owne childe; with other tragicall accidents hereupon ensuing.

Of *Succoth* (which we said *Ios. 13.* is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*) it is plaine by the story of *Gideon* that it is neere vnto *Iordan*: where it is said, that as he was past *Iordan* with his three hundred, wearie in the pursue of *Zebach* and *Salmunah*, hee requested reliefe of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gidions* returne were by him tortured, as it seemes vnder a threshing Carre of *Tribulum*, betwene which and their flesh he put Thornes to teare their flesh as they were preft and trod vnder the *Tribulum*, and after which fort also *Dauid* vsed some of the *Ammonites*, though not with Thornes, but with Iron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which signifieth such Tabernacles as were made in haste, either for Men or Cattell, *Moses*, *Gen. 33.17.* witnesseth that the originall of the name was from such harbours, which *Iacob* in his returne from *Mesopotamia* built in that place: as also the place beyond the Red Sea, where the children of *Israel*, as they came from *Rameses* in *Egypt*, had their first Station, was vpon like reason called *Succoth*: because there they setvp their first Tabernacles or Tents: which they vsed after for forty yeares in the Wildernesse. In remembrance whereof, the Feast of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles was instituted.

Other foure Cities of *Gad* are named, *Ios. 21.38.* *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, *Machanaïm*, *Chesbon*, and *Iahzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* giuen to the *Leuites*; of which *Iahzer*, as *Chesbon* or *Hesbon* was a chiefe City of *Sehon*, whence *Num. 32.1.* his Countrie is called the Land of *Iahzer*. It was taken by *Moses*, hauing first sent spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilead*. In later times (as it may be gathered by the prophecie of *Esay*, touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Esay*, also *Hieremie* in a like prophecie alludes. It was at length regained (but as *Hierom.* 48.92. it seemes from the *Ammonites*) by *Iudas Macchabeus*: as it is *1 Macch. 5.8.* where *Iunius* out of *Iosephus*, reade *Iahzer*, though the Greeke hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer* or *Gexer* (as he gathereth out of *Iosua 16.3.* & *8.* and *Iudg. 1.29.*) was farre from these Countries of *Sehon*, seated in the West border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, vntill *Salomons* time, for whom the King of *Egypt* wanne it from the *Canaanite*, and gaue it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter.

Of *Chesbon* it may be maruelled that in the place of *Iosua*, and *1 Chron. 6.81.* it should be said to haue bene giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Gadites*, seeing *Iosua 13.v.17.* it is reckoned for a principall Citie of the *Reubenites*: *Adrichomius* and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding *Casbon*, *1 Macch. 5.36.* among the Cities of *Gilead*, taken by *Iudas Macchabeus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Casbon* had bene the *Chesbon* of *Gad*; and that of *Reuben* distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering Citie, betwene *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gaue their part to the *Leuites*, for so also it seemes that in like reason *Dibon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another giuen to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaïm*, which word signifieth a double Armie, wee reade *Gen. 32.2.* that it was therefore so called, because the Angels of God in that place met *Iacob* in manner of another Host or company, to ioyne with his for his defence: as also *Luke 21.23.* wee reade of a multitude of the Host of Heauen, which appeared to the sheepeheards, at the time of our Sauours birth: and so vnto the godly King *Oswald* of *Northumberland*, when hee was soone after to ioyne battaile with the *Pagan Penda* of middle-England, *Beda* reports; that the like comfort appeared: whence the field where the

Battaile

* *Dom. 1.9.*
Out of which
place the
words, *Num.*
21.38. are to
be expounded
not that the ci-
tie of *Har*, but
the coast ad-
ioyning was
walled by
Sehon.
Gen. 14.5.
Iudg. 11.35.
1 Sam. 14.27.
2 Sam. 11.1.
1 Reg. 4.1.
2 Reg. 4.1.
1 Sam. 9.2.
where hee
makes *Salissa*
a plaine Coun-
trie in *Beni-
min*, and the
same with
Bethsalissa, *2.*
Reg. 4.1.
where he ex-
pounds *Balor*
to be as
much as *plum-
tree*, *1 Sa. 15.*
Hier. 18. 15.
15.21.
Iudg. 8.11.

Num. 32.35.

* *Num. 21.30.*
It is called *No-
bach*, and pla-
ced in the bor-
der of the king-
dome of *Sehon*,
towards *Basan*,
and therefore
it is not alto-
gether vnproba-
ble that it was
in *Gad*.
a *Chap. 12. §. 1.*
Iudg. 8.10.
Num. 32.31.
35.

b *Iosua. 18.*
cap. 3.
c *1.7. Ant. 7.*
1761 Gre. us
codex legi
Aequa. 3.
Raba-
11.

Ant. 20. 11.

10. ep. Ant. 18.3.
& *Hel. Iudg. 2.8.*

Ios. de Beth.
Iudg. 1.7. & 8.

2 Sam. 12.31.

Exod. 12.37.

Leuit. 23.43.

Num. 22.32.
1 Chron. 27.31.

Esay 6.8.

1 Chron. 48.92.

Battle was fought in the North-parts of England, is called *Heaven-field*. In this Citie of *Machanaim* David abode during the rebellion of *Abshalom*: and the same for the strength thereof *Abner* chose for the seate of *Ishbofet*, during the warre betwene David and the house of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Towne which was *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, we read often in the Scripture, for the recovering of which King *Ahab* lost his life. *Iunius* thinks that *Ramotha* *Mispa*, of which *Iosua* 13. 26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* sware one to the another, as it was called *Gilead*, which is as much as a witnessing heape, because of the heape of Stones which *Laban* and his sonnes left for a monument; so also that it was called *Mispa*, which signifieth ouer-looking (because there they called God to ouer-see and be witnesse to their covenant) it is plaine by the place, *Gen.* 31. 49. that in these parts there was not onely a Towne, but likewise a Region called *Mispa*, it appears, *Ios.* 11. 3. where we read of the *Chinuites* vnder *Hermom*, in the Countrey of *Mispa*, * the Towne of *Mispa*, as it seemes both by this place, and in the eight verse following, being not in the Hill Countrey, but in the Valley. But seeing that *Iephtha* the Iudge of *Israel*, who after he came home from *Tob*, (whither his brethren had drinen him) dwelt in this Towne of *Mispa*, who doubtlesse was of the Tribe of *Manasse*, and thence at first expelled by his brethren, it may seeme that they doe not well which place this Towne of *Mispa* rather in *Gad*, than in *Manasse*. By *Iudas* *Macchabeus* this Towne of *Mispa*, (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasse*) was utterly spoiled and burnt, and the males of it slaine: for it was then posselt of the Ammonites.

Betweene *Succoth* (of which we haue spoken) and the Riuer *Iaboc* was that *Peniel* or *Pennel*, which name signifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; A place where the face of God was seene: so called for memory of the Angels appearing to *Jacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churlishnesse of which Citie, in refusing to relieue *Gideon*, was the cause that in his returne he ouerthrew their Towre, and slew the chiefe Aldermen thereof. To these places of the Gadites, then adde *Rogelim*, the Citie of that great and faithfull subiect *Barzilai*, as it seemes, not farre from *Mahanaima*, where hee sustained King *David*, during *Abshaloms* rebellion. To these they adde the Towne of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi*, being in Iebrew no more than *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made a name of a place, *Arnon* also no where appears to be the name of a Towne, but still of a Riuer. *Alimis* *Adrichomius* frames of *ΕΛΛΗΜΟΙ*, *1 Mac.* 5. 26. so that the name should rather bee *Alema*; but *Iunius* out of *Iosephus* reads *Malle*, for this in *Alimis*: and vnderstanding *Malle* to bee put for *Millo*, and to bee as much as *Munitio*, (as we haue shewed touching the *Millo* of the Sechemites) hee takes this *Malle*, to bee *Mispa* *Moabitarum*, of which *1 Sam.* 22. 3. As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* findes in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mabacath*, which *Moses* notes to be as farre as the furthest of *Manasses*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also *Dathema*, of which *1 Mac.* 5. 10. (which *Iunius* takes to be *Rithma*, of which *Num.* 33. 18. a place of strength in the Territory of the Ammonites) and in like manner *Minnith*, and *Abel vincarum*, though by some they bee attributed to the Gadites, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we read in *Iephtha's* pursuit of the Ammonites: seated as it seemes by that place of the booke of *Iudges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other of them in the East border, both faire remoued from the Gadites. But the chiefe City of the Ammonites was *neuer*, and not farre from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures sometime *Rabbath*, as *Deut.* 3. 11. but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to be that * *Philadelphia* which *Protonie* findes in *Calosyria*. *Hierome* and *Calisum* in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the Ammonites: but as it seemes neuer posselt by the Israelites, after the ouerthrow of *Og*, but left to the Ammonites: whereupon at length it became the Regall seate of the Ammonites, but of old it was the possession of the *Zamzumims*: which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickednesse infamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the Ammonites had got from his Ancestors: who hauing beene first beaten by the Assyrians, and their assistants (as the Emims in *Moab*, and the Horims in *Seir* had beene) were afterward the easier conquered by the Ammonites, as the Emims were by *Moab*, and the Horims by the Idumeans. Yet did the races of *Emoreus*, of whom these Giants were defended, contend with the Conquerours for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Hesbon* had posselt *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Basan* the Ammonites, and betwene them recovered the best

* Of other townes of this name, see in the Tribe of *Manassiu*.

Iud. 11. 36.

1 Mac. 5. 35.

Gen. 32. 36.

Iudg. 8. 17.

2 Sam. 19. 33.

Deut. 3. 14.
Ios. 12. 5.

* The letters D. & R. in the Hebrew are very like, so that one is oft mistaken for another, and sometime without mistaking one is put for another: as for *Arnon*, *1 Chr.* 7. we haue *Dodan*, *Gen.* 10. 4.

* Other names of this Citie according to *Stephanus* were *Amman* and *Astarc*: but in this latter perhaps he mistooke, which might seeme to be the same *Astarc* one of the chiefe Cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be spoken of *Manasse*. *Adrichomius* stays, it was also called *Aras* *aquarium*, because of the

part of all the Valley, betwene the Mountaines and *Iordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: And in the possession of the one or of the other of these two, *Moab* and *Israel* found all those Cities and Countreies which were given to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*. So that though it were 498. years since that these *Zamzumims* or *Raphaim* were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but hauing these two Kings of one kindred, and both valiant and vnder-taking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both Amorites, they recovered againe much of their lost possessions, and thrust the forces of *Loi* ouer the Mountaines, and into the Desarts. And as the Kings or Captaines of *Perfia* and *Assyria*, (remembred in the 14. of *Genesis*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*, so by that great conquest which *Moses* had ouer those two Amorites, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the Moabites and Ammonites take opportunitie to looke backe againe into those plaines, and when the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites forsooke the worship of the liuing God, and became sloathfull and licentious, they taking the advantage vnder them, and cast them out of their possessions: and were sometime their masters, sometime their tributaries, as they pleased or displeased God: and according to the wisdom and vertue of their Commanders.

In this Citie of *Rabba*, was the Iron bed of *Og* found, nine cubites of length, and foure of breadth: The Citie was taken in *Dauids* time, and the Inhabitants slaine with great severity, and by diuers torments. At the first assault thereof *Urias* was shot to death, having beene by direction from *David* appointed to be employed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Armie perished: and wherein *David* to displeased God, as his affaires had ill successe afterward, euen to his dying day. From hence had *David* the weighty and rich crowne of Gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* ware: or which, as some expound it, was vsed to be put on the head of their Idoll, waighing a talent, which is 60. pound waight after the common talent. In the time of *Christians* it had a Metropolitan Bishop, and vnder him twelue others.

The Mountaines which are described within this Tribe, and that of *Manasse*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those that *Protonie* calleth the hills of *Hippus*, a City of *Calosyria*: and *Strabo* * *Trachones*: the same which continue from neere *Damascus* vnto the Desarts of *Moab*: and receiue diuers names, as commonly mountaines doe, which neighbour and bound diuers Countreies: for from the South part, as farre Northwards as *Asteroth*, the chiefe City of *Og*, they are called *Galaad* or *Gilead*: from thence Northward they are knowne by the name of *Hermom*, for so *Moses* calleth them: The Sidonians name them *Shirion*, but the Amorites *Shenir*; others *Seir*: of which name all those hills also were called, which part *Iudea* and *Idumea*: and lastly, they are called *Libanus*, for so the Prophet *Hieremie* makes them all one, calling the high mountaines of *Galaad*, the head of *Libanus*. These Mountaines are very fruitfull, and full of good pastures, and haue many trees which yield *Balsamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The Riuer of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah*, and *Dibon*, and the Riuer *Iaboc*: Others doe also fancie another Riuer, which rising out of the Rockes of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

§. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the Gadites wanne from Og the King of Basan.

His Tribe of *Gad* posselt halfe the Countrey of the Ammonites, who together with the Moabites, held that part of *Arabia Petraea* called *Nabathaea*, as well within as without the Mountaines of *Gilead*: though at this time when the Gadites wanne it, it was in the possession of *Sehon* and *Og*, Amorites: and so therefore *Moses* did not expell the Ammonites, but the Amorites, who had thrust the issues of *Loi* ouer the mountaines *Trachones* or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othaniel* the Iudge of *Israel*, the Ammonites ioyned with the Moabites against the Hebrews, and so continued long. *Iephtha* Iudge of *Israel* had a great conquest ouer one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them againe.

Afterward we finde that cruell King of the Ammonites, called *Nabab*: who besieging *Iaboc* *Gilead*, gaue them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eyes. The reason why he refused to hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame

1 Sam. 11.

shame vpon *Israel*) because those Gileadites vsing to carry a Target on their left armes, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right, be vnterly disabled to defend themselves: but *Saul* came to their rescue, and deliuered them from that danger. This *Nabab*, as it may seem, became the confederate of *Dauid*, hauing friended him in *Sauls* time, though *Iosephus* thinks that this *Nabab* was slaine in the battaile, when *Saul* raised the siege of *Iabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the Moabites of that name.

Hanun succeeded *Nabab*: to whom when *Dauid* sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirme the former friendship which he had with his Father, hee most contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadors garments to the knees, and shaued the halfe of their beards. But afterward notwithstanding the aydes receiued from the Ammonites subiect to *Adadazer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maacah*, and from *Ishob*, yet all those Arabians, together with the Ammonites, were ouer-turned: their chiefe Citie of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphie*, was taken; the Crowne which weighed a talent of gold was set on *Dauids* head; all such as were prisoners, *Dauid* executed with strange severity; for with Sawes and Harrowes he tare them in pieces, and cast the rest into Lime-kils.

Iosaphat gouerning *Iuda*, they assisted the Moabites their neighbours against him, and perished together. *Osias* made them Tributaries, and they were againe by *Iotham* inforced to continue that Tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundredth talents of siluer, ten thousand measures of Wheat, and ten thousand of Barley: which the Ammonites continued two yeares.

The first King of the Ammonites, of whose name wereade, was *Baalis*, the confederate of *Zedechia*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalis* sent *Ismael* of the bloud of the Kings of *Iuda*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who serued *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. VII.

Of the other halfe of Manasse.

The rest of the Land of *Gilead*, and of the Kingdome of *Og* in *Basam*, with the Land of *Huu*, and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein also were part of the small Territories of * *Basania*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Maachasi*, and *Auranitis*) was giuen to the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* ouer *Iordan*, of which those three later Prouinces defended themselves against them, for many ages. But *Basania* *Ptolomie* setteth farther off, and to the North-East, as a skirt of *Arabia* the *Desart*: and all those other Prouinces before named with *Petras*, and *Hurea*, he nameth but as part of *Callosyria*; as farre South as *Rabba* or *Philadelphie*: likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, fauing the Land neere the Dead Sea, he makes a part of *Arabia* *Petras*: for many of these small Kingdomes take not much more ground than the Countie of *Kemr*.

* Another territory adioyning to *Manasse*, whose limits were confounded with some of these, was that *Thibthitis*, the Country of *Eliaz*, as it is *1 Kin. 16. 1. & 2. 1. & 3. 1. & 4. 1. & 5. 1. & 6. 1. & 7. 1. & 8. 1. & 9. 1. & 10. 1. & 11. 1. & 12. 1. & 13. 1. & 14. 1. & 15. 1. & 16. 1. & 17. 1. & 18. 1. & 19. 1. & 20. 1. & 21. 1. & 22. 1. & 23. 1. & 24. 1. & 25. 1. & 26. 1. & 27. 1. & 28. 1. & 29. 1. & 30. 1. & 31. 1. & 32. 1. & 33. 1. & 34. 1. & 35. 1. & 36. 1. & 37. 1. & 38. 1. & 39. 1. & 40. 1. & 41. 1. & 42. 1. & 43. 1. & 44. 1. & 45. 1. & 46. 1. & 47. 1. & 48. 1. & 49. 1. & 50. 1. & 51. 1. & 52. 1. & 53. 1. & 54. 1. & 55. 1. & 56. 1. & 57. 1. & 58. 1. & 59. 1. & 60. 1. & 61. 1. & 62. 1. & 63. 1. & 64. 1. & 65. 1. & 66. 1. & 67. 1. & 68. 1. & 69. 1. & 70. 1. & 71. 1. & 72. 1. & 73. 1. & 74. 1. & 75. 1. & 76. 1. & 77. 1. & 78. 1. & 79. 1. & 80. 1. & 81. 1. & 82. 1. & 83. 1. & 84. 1. & 85. 1. & 86. 1. & 87. 1. & 88. 1. & 89. 1. & 90. 1. & 91. 1. & 92. 1. & 93. 1. & 94. 1. & 95. 1. & 96. 1. & 97. 1. & 98. 1. & 99. 1. & 100. 1.*

Basam, or after the *Septuagint*, *Basanitis*, stretcheth it selfe from the Riuer of *Iaboc* to the *Machasi* and *Gessuri*: and from the Mountaines to *Iordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Carrell. It had also the goodliest Woods of all that part of the world: especially of Oakes, which beare mast (of which the Prophet *Zacharias*; *Howle*, O yee Oakes of *Basam*) and by reason hereof they bred so many Swine, as *2000*. in one Herd were carried headlong into the Sea, by the vnleane spirits which *Christ* had cast out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it threescore Cities walled and defended: all which, after *Og* and his sonnes were slaine, *Iair*, descended of *Manasse*, conquered, and called the Countie after his owne name, *Anoth Iair*, or the Cities of *Iair*.

The principall Cities of this halfe Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these; *Pella* sometimes *Buthis*, otherwise *Berenice*; by *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, it is said to haue bene called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Sonne *Alexander* the Great were borne. It was taken, and in part demolished by *Alexander* *Tannus* King of the Iewes: because it refused to obey the Iewes lawes: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Government of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, saith *Niger*. *Carnaim* by the Riuer of *Iaboc*, taken by *Judas* *Maccabaeus*: where hee

a So they call them of *Mahacath*, of which *Mahacath* somewhat hath bene spoken toward the end of the fifth Paragraph of this Chapter, see the *1 Mac. 5. 36* and *Deut. 3. 14* and *10. 12. 5. b 1 Mac. 5. 13. c* Anciendy as it seemes it was called *Tophel*: see about in the bounds of *Basam* in this chapter, *5. 4. 7. 2. d 1 Mac. 5. 5.*

set on fire the Temple of their Idols: together with all those that fled thereunto for Sanctuary: and neere it they place the Cattle of Carnion, of which *1 Mac. 12. 22*. Then the strong Cite of *Ephron* neere *Iordan*: which refusing to yeeld passage to *Judas* *Maccabaeus*, was forced by him by assault, and taken and burnt with great slaughter.

Iabes Gilead, or *Iabesus*, was another of the Cities of this halfe Tribe, which being besieged by *Nabab* King of the Ammonites, was deliuered by *Saul*, as is elsewhere mentioned. In memory whereof these Citizens recoouered, embalmed, and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his sonnes: which hung despihtfully ouer the walls of *Bethsan* or *Scythopolis*. *Gaddara* or *Gadara*, is next to be named, seated by *Plinie* on a Hill neere the Riuer *Hieromiac*, which Riuer *Ortelius* seemes to thinke to be *Iaboc*. At the foote of the Hill there spring forth also hot baths, as at *Machærus*. *Alexander* *Tannus* after ten moneths siege wan it, and subuerted it. *Pompey* restored it: and *Gabinus* made it one of the five Courts of Iustice in Palestine. *Hierusalem* being the first, *Gadara* the second, *Einath* or *Amathus* the third, *Hierico*, and *Sephora* in *Galilee*, the fourth and fift. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, surnamed *Ascalonis*, accused him to *Iulius* *Cæsar* of many crimes: but perceiuing that they could not preuaile, and that *Herod* was highly fauoured of *Cæsar*, fearing the terrible reuenge of *Herod*, they slew themselves: some by strangling, others by leaping ouer high Towers, others by drowning themselves.

To the East of *Gadara* they place *Sebei*, in which, *Iosephus* *ant. 5. 1. 3. saith*, *Ieptha* was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Ind. 12. 7. Sepulchrum est in ciuitate sua Gilehad*, (for in *una ciuitate Gilehad*) imagine *Gilehad* to be the name of a Citie, and to be the same with *Sebei*. In like manner following the *Vulgar*, *1 Mac. 5. 26*. where it readeth *Casphor* for *Chesbon*; the same *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla & firma Gilehaditarum ciuitas*: so of one City *Hesbon* or *Chesbon*, which they call *Essebon*, the chiefe Citie of *Schon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, hee imagineth two more: this *Casphor* in *Manasses*, and a Citie in *Gad* which he calleth *Casbon*, of which we haue admonished the Reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (so called, because the Hill on which it stood, was in fashion like the back of a Cammell) which *Iosephus* placeth not farre from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis* ouer against *Tarichea*, which is on the West side of the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*, see this *Iosephus* in the fourth booke of the Iewish warre: where hee describeth the place by nature to be almost inuincible: and in the storie of the siege, shewes how *Vespasian* with much danger of his owne person, entring it, was at first repulled, with other very memorabile accidents: and how at length after the coming of *Titus* when it was taken, many leaping downe the rockes with their wifes and children, to the number of five thousand, thus perished: besides foure thousand slaine by the Romans: so that none escaped, saue onely two women that hid themselves.

About foure miles West from *Gadara*, and as much East from *Tiberias* (which is on the other side of the Lake) *Iosephus* placeth *Hippus* or *Hippene*, whence *Ptolomie* giues the names to the hills that compass the plaines in which it standeth: so that it may seeme to haue bene of no small note. It is seated farre from the hill Countie: on the East of the Lake, as also *Plinie* noteth *lib. 5. cap. 15*. It was restored by *Pompey*: after by *Augustus* added to *Herods* Tetrarchie: It was waisted by the Iewes, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many massacres of their Nation, they were enraged against their borderers.

The next Citie of note, but of more ancient fame, is *Edrehi* or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* King of *Basam* chiefly abode, when *Moses* and *Israel* invaded him: and neere vnto this his Regall Citie, it was that he lost the battaile and his life. It stood in *S. Hieromes* time, and had the name of *Adar* or *Adara*. Not farre from these townes neere *Iordan*, in this valley, stood *Geraffa* or *Gergessa*, inhabited by the *Gergesites*, descended of the fift son of *Canaan*. Of these *Gergesites* we read *Mat. 8. 28*. that *Christ* coming from the other side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coasts: where casting the Diuels out of the possessed, hee permitted them to enter into the heard of Hogges: in which storie, for *Gergesites* or *Gergesins*, *S. Luke* and *S. Marke* haue *Gadarens*: not as if these were all one (for *Geryessa* or *Geraffa* is a distinct Towne in these parts from *Gadara*) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this story. This Citie receiued many changes and calamities: of which *Iosephus* hath often mention,

tion. For besides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Annius* Lieutenant to *Vespasian*: and 1000. of the ablest young men put to the sword, and the Citie burnt. In the yeare 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damascus*: and in the same yeare recovered by *Baldwine de Burgo* King of *Iherusalem*: and by him utterly razed. Neere vnto *Gerasa* is the village of *Magedan*, or after the Syriack *Magedu*, or after the Greeke *Magdala*, where the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* desired of our Sauour a signe from heauen: the same place or some adioyning to it, which *S. Marke* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumstances of which storie it appears that this coast lay betwene the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Countrie of *Decapolis*. *Brochard* makes both these places to be one; and findes it to bee *Phiale*, the fountaine of *Iordan* according to *Iosephus*: but this *Phiale* is too farre from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethsaida*, to bee either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appears by the storie, not farre hence towards the North was the Desert of *Bethsaida*, where *Christ* filled 5000. people with the fine Barley loaves and two Fishes.

On the North of this *Bethsaida* they place *Iulias*, northward which was built by *Heracl*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the South. It was sometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Christ* it was compassed with a wall by *Philip* the Tetrarch of *Iturea* and *Trachonitis*: and after the name of *Iulia*, the wife of *Tiberius*, called *Iulias*, as hath bene further spoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: where it was noted that *Iosephus* makes this *Iulias*, to be the same as *Bethsaida*. Vpon the East side of the same Lake of *Tiberias* stands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Christ* in *Matt. 23* saith; woe be unto thee *Corazim*.

But the principall Citie of all these in ancient time was *Asteroth*: sometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*: and therefore the Countrie adioyning called the Land of Giants, of whose race was *Op*, King of *Basan*. In *Genesis* this Citie is called *Asteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence *1 Mac. 5. 26*. it is called simply *Carnaim*, as *Ios. 13. 21*. it is called *Asteroth* without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* signifieth a paire of Hornes, which agree well with the name of their Idoll *Asteroth*, which was the Image of a sheepe, as is elsewhere noted, that *Asteroth* in *Deuteronomie* signifieth sheepe. Others from the ambiguity of the Hebræw take *Karnaim*, to haue bene the name of the people which inhabited this Citie: and expound it *heroes* * *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphai* which inhabited this Citie (*Gen. 14. 5*) were Giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Deut. 3. 11*. *Op ex residuo gigantum*, with the words, *Ios. 13. 12*, *Op ex reliquis Raphacorum*: but if the *Karnaim* (or *Carnaim*) were these *Raphai*, the word would not haue bene in the duall number: neither would *Moses* in the place of *Genesis* haue said the *Raphai* in *Asteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but either the *Raphai* in *Asteroth* of the *Raphai*, or some other way fittest for perspicuitie: for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth one from the other.

Not farre from *Asteroth* *Adrichomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar*, in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, foure miles from *Corazim*. This Citie (saith he) is remembred in the *Canticles*, and in the booke of *Iudith*, and there are that of this Citie vnderstand *Dauid* in his 120. *Psalme*: and here the Sepulchre of *Iob* is yet to bee seene, saith *Breidenbach*.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is so that the Greeke hath *Galaad* in stead of the word *Cedar*, which the *Vulgar* doth vse in that place of *Iudith*, and ioyneth *Carnel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Psalme* doe rather proue that *Cedar* was not hereabout, than any way helpe *Adrichomius*. For that they speake of *Scenita Cedreni*, it is apparant, and as euident by the place in the *Canticles* that they were *decolores*, much more than any vnder the Climates of the Land of *Canaan*: whence *Iunius* out of *Lampridius* and *Plinie* placeth them in *Arabia Petrea*, farre from these parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Iob*, it is certaine that the Arabians and Saracens (holding those places) haue many things to abuse the Christians, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many (if not all) the historical circumstances of *Iob* are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his Countrie seeke to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded vpon him, inferre what his Countrie was, and build vnto him a Citie by coniecture.

Of *Iob* himselfe, whether he was the same *Iobab* remembred in the 36. of *Genesis*, descended from *Esa*, and King also of *Idumæa*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaster*, and *Belarmine* are of another opinion, yet Saint *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Gregorie*, with

with *Athanasius*, *Hippolytus*, *Irenæus*, *Eusebius Emifonius*, *Apollinaris*, *Eustachius*, and other, cited by *S. Hierome* in his 126. Epistle to *Enagrios*, take him for the same.

The Land of *Hus* or *Hus* wherein *Iob* dwelt is from the Greeke *ὅς*, which the *Septuagint* vse for the word *Hus*, translated by the *Vulgar* sometime *Hus*, as *Iob 1. v. 1*. sometime *Ausitis*, as *Hierome*, 25. 20. This Land is placed by *Iunius* between *Palestina* and *Cæleffria*, besides *Chamaaba* (or *Hamaab*) vnder *Palmyrene* in the Countrie called by *Plinie* *Trachonitis* or *Bathanæa*, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with *Basan* in this halfe Tribe of *Manasses*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus seated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Ieremie* the 25. 10. where hee reckons the *Husites* among the promiscuous borderers of the *Israelites*, whom hee therefore calleth promiscuous or *miscellaneous turbans*, because their bounds were not onely ioyned but confounded, and their *Seignories* mingled one with the other, but of this place the words of *Ieremie*, *Lamentations* 4. 21. speaking of the same Prophecie, of which he speaketh in the five and twentieth Chapter, must needs bee expounded: as *Iunius* reads them, distinguishing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edom, ô qua habitas in terra Hutah, O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the Land of Hus*. Now because the *Vulgar* doth not so distinguish, but readeth, *Filia Edom qua habitas in terra Hus*; Daughter of *Edom* which dwellest in the Land of *Hus*: Hence, as it seemes, some of the learned haue thought that *Iob* was an *Edomite*, as wee haue said, and King of *Edom*, which if they vnderstand by it *Idumæa* or *Edom*, so called in *Moses* time, they are greatly mistaken, making this Land of *Hus* to be in *Idumæa*. For it is very probable that *Esa* when hee first parted from *Iacob*, did not feate himselfe in *Edom* or *Seir*, which lyeth on the South border of *Iudea*, but inhabited *Seir* farre to the East of *Jordan*, and held a part of those Mountaines, otherwife called *Galaad*, and *Herman*, which by corruption the *Sidoniens* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites* *Shevir*, for *Seir*; and from this his habitation did *Esa* incounter *Iacob* when he returned out of *Mesopotamia*, who passed by the very border of *Esa* his abiding. It is true that at such time as *Moses* wandered in the Deserts, that the posterity of *Esa* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Iudea*: for it is like that the *Amorites* who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did also driue the *Edomites* out of those parts, who thenceforward seated themselves to the South of *Iudea*, bordering the Desert *Paran*, and stretched their habitations ouer the Deserts as farre as *Hor* where *Aaron* died.

Now for this *Hus* which gaue the nameto a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*, as *Iunius* thinkes in his note vpon *Gen. 10. 23*. or rather *Hus* the sonne of *Nachor*, *Abraham*s brother, the question is doubtfull. For my part I rather encline to thinke, that it was *Hus* the sonne of *Nachor*: partly because these Families of *Aram* seeme long before to haue bene lost: and partly because in *Iob 6. 32. 22*. *Elihu* the fourth of *Iob*s friends, which seemes to be of *Iob*s owne Countrie, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz* the brother of *Hus*, the son of *Nachor*: as also *Ieremie* 25. in the same continuation (though some other Nations named betwene) where *Hus* is spoken of, there *Buz* is also named. Neither doth it hinder our coniecture, that in the place of *Iob 32. Elihu* the *Buzite* is said to be of the Family of *Ram*: (which *Iunius* expounds to be as much as of the Familie of *Aram*) for that by this *Aram* we are not to vnderstand *Aram* the sonne of *Sem*, *Iunius* himselfe maketh it plaine, both in his annotation vpon the beginning of his booke, where he saith that one of *Iob*s friends (which must needs be this *Elihu*) was of the posterity of *Nachor* (as also in this place hee confesseth so much expressly,) and in as much as hee readeth not *è familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *è familia Syriæ*, like as elsewhere *Laban* who sprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syrian*.

As for the other three of *Iob*s friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Familie, or of the Familie of *Nachor*) it is implied that they were of other kindreds: as also by the *Septuagint*s addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Ausitis*, it is implied that they thought onely *Elihu* to haue bene of *Iob*s owne Countrie.

Franciscus Brochard the Monke, in his description of the holy Land in the iourney from *Acon* Eastward, findeth *Suertha*, and *Theman* on the East of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very neere to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may seeme to haue denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchite*, the other *Elihu* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Iob*, of the which *Iob 2. 11*. But *Iunius* thinkes that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the Desert, descended of *Shuach* the sonne of *Abraham* and *Reura*: of whom *Gen. 25. 22*. perhaps, saith he; the same whom *Plinie* calls *Gatæi*. So also he thinketh the *Themanites* of whom

For *eu* and *au* are often changed one into the other: whence they vied *Ausitis* for *Usitis*, &c. Hence also by *Iunius* and others it is called *usantis*, and so as it seemes they read it in the *Septuagint*, *Iun. in Gen. 10. 23*.

Deut. 3. 9

Whence the *Septuagint* call him *ex regione Ausitis*.

See *Sixtus Sæ. iun.*

Matt. 15.

Marke 9.
Matth. 11. 2.
Of this Phiale in Neph. C. 7. S. 4. 1. 3.
Matth. 11. 2.
Marke 6.
Luce 9.
Iohu 6.

Ios. 13. 21.
et 23.

Gen. 14. 5.

See chap. 7. S. 1. 2.

* Because Horne when it is polished shineth: hence it is that the Verbe of this Noun is sometime Iure: as it were cornum esse: whereupon the *Vulgar*, *Ios. 13. 12.* reading *ex residuo gigantum*, or *ex residuo facientium*, gaue occasion to the fabulous painters to paint *Moses* with Hornes: *Iudith 13. 1.* *Cant. 5.*

Rup. Tyrin. O. l. 1. in Ge. 25. 22.
Bald. Cant. 1. de v. 1. Det. 8.
Ambr. sup. p. d. Rom. Aug. d. cini Det. 128.
c. 4. Chry. Hom. 2. De patientia.
Iob. Greg. com. in Iob.

Eliphaz was, to haue beene of Arabia the Desert: and Eliphaz himselfe to haue beene of the posteritie of *Theman* the sonne of *Eliphaz*, which was the sonne of *Esau*. And also *Nahamah*, whence *Tsephar* the third of *Iob*'s friends (which in this place of *Iob* c. 2. v. 11, are mentioned) is by the same learned expositor, thought either to be named of *Thimnah* by transposition of letters (which *Thimnah*, *Gen.* 36. 40. is named among the sonnes of *Esau* that gaue denomination to the places where they were seated) or else to be the same *Nahamah*, which *Ios.* 15. 41. is reckoned for a Citie of *Iuda* in the border, as hee thinkes of *Edom*. And yet I deny not but that neere the Land of *Hui*, in *Basan*, as it seemes, in the Tribe of *Manasses*, there is a Region which (at least) in later times was called *Smith*, or of some like name. For this is euident by the Historie of *Willielmus Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita* or *Suites* (as he calls it diuersly) of exceeding great strength and vfe for the retaining of the whole Countrey: which, in the time of *Baldwine* the second King of *Hierusalem*, was with great digging through rockes recovered by the *Christians*; hauing not long before beene lost to the great disadvantage of the Countrey, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The situation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* described to be sixteene miles from the Citie *Tiberias*, on the East of *Jordan*: by *Adrichomius* foure miles North-ward from the place where *Jordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

Other Cities of this part of *Manasses* named in the Scripture are these: *Golan*, *Behebschera*, *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the Israelites was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, we haue spoken by occasion among the Cities of *Gad*: The two other were giuen to the *Leuites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* we haue both *Golanitis superior* and *inferior*, oft in *Iosephus*. *Behebschera* is accounted the chiefe Citie of *Basan* by some, but the writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Beser* or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierome* hath *Arga*, a name of a Citie placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Iosua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitu*, as *Iosephus* calls it. This lake being as it were in the midt betwene *Casaria Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the West. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, saith *Brochard*: otherwise more contract, lea-
30 uing the marish ground on both sides, for Lyons and other wilde beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adioyning to this Lake in this Countrey of *Manasses*, *Iosephus* names two places of strength, fortified by himselfe in the beginning of the *Jews* rebellion: *Selencia* the one and *Sagane* the other. In the North side of this halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, and in the North-east, the Scripture nameth diuers bordering places toward *Damascus*, as *Tsedad*, *Chanran*, and *Chatfar-Henan*, lying in a line drawne from the West; of which three Cities we reade *Ezek.* 47. 15. with which also agrees the place *Numb.* 34. 8. where for *Chanram*, betwene *Tsedad*, and *Chatfar-Henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chanram* is the name of *Auranitis Regio*, in *Iosephus* and *Tyrius*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Gessur* and *Machath* or *Macati*, which were likewise borderers to *Manasses* toward the North-east) are vnknowne: onely that *Gessur* was of might, it appears in that *Dauid* married *Mahasa* the Daughter of *Thalmay* King of *Gessur*: by whom he had the most beautifull, but wicked, and vnfortunate *Abisalon*.

CHAP. XI.

The Historie of the Syrians, the chiefe borderers of the Israelites that dwelt on the East of *Jordan*.

§. I.

Of the Citie of *Damascus*, and the diuers fortunes thereof.



DAmascus of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in Beautie, Antiquitie, and Riches, and was therefore called the Citie of ioy or gladnesse; and the House of pleasure; and is not onely remembered in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The Hebrewes, saith *Iosephus*, thinke it to haue beene built by *Hui* the sonne of *Cram*: of which opinion
S. Hier.

Ioseph. 1. 14.

Saint *Hierome* vpon *Esay* seemeth to bee: though in his Hebrew questions hee affirmeth that it was founded by *Damascus*, the sonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* Steward; a thing very vnlikely; seeing the Citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appears by *Abrahams* calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of *Damasco*. *Dauid* was the first that subiected it to the Kingdome of *Iuda*, after the ouerthrow of *Adadexer* their King, but in *Salomons* time, *Rezon* recovered it againe, though hee adde no title at all or right to that principallitie: but *Dauid* hauing ouerthrowne *Hadadexer* king of *Sophena* (otherwife *Syria Soba* or *Zobah*) *Rezon* or *Rezon* with the remainder of that broken Armie, invaded *Damascena*, and possesse *Damascus* it selfe, and became an enemy to *Salomon* all
10 his life.

The next King of *Damascus* was *Adad* the Edomite, who flying into *Egypt* from *Dauid* and *Iob*, when they slew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Egypt*'s Wiues sister: of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was so called. This *Adad* returning againe, became an enemy to *Salomon* all his life, and (as some writers affirme) invaded *Damascus*, and thrust *Rezon* thence out. In the line of *Adad* that Kingdome continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those Kings of *Syria*) to whom the Assyrians and then the Gracians succeeded. This Citie was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the riuers of *Abanah*, and *Parphar*: whereof one of them prophane writers call *Chrysothoas*, the golden
30 riuer. *Iunius* takes it for *Adonis*. The countrey adioyning is very fruitfull of excellent Wines and Wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle, built as it seems by the Florentines, after it became Christian: the Lillies being found cur in many Marbles in that Citadell. Against this Citie the Prophets, *Amos*, *Esay*, *Hieremie* and *Zacharias*, prophesied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heape of stones. In the time of the last *Rezon*, and tenth King of the *Damascens*, *Teglatphalassar* inuited by *Achaz* King of *Iuda*, carried away the naturals of *Damascus* into the East: leauing of his owne Nation to inhabit it. After that it was vtterly ruined by the Baby-
lonians, saith *Hierome* vpon *Esay*: which thing was performed by *Salmanaser*, according to *Iunius* in his note vpon that place, five yeares after the Prophecie. In time it was re-
30 stored by the Macedonians, and the Ptolomies; but long after, when *Syria* fell into the hands of the Romans, it was taken by *Metellus* and *Lollius*. In the time of the Christians it had an Archbishop: Saint *Hierome* liuing, as hee affirmeth vpon the *Acts*, it was the Metropolis of the *Saracens*; being taken by *Haomar* their King from the Romans, in the yeare of our redemption 636. And in the yeare 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Lewis* King of *France*, *Baldwine* the third King of *Hierusalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Austria*, brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick Barbarossa* afterward Emperour, *Theoderick* Earle of *Flanders*, and other Princes assembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the sea coast, determined to recouer *Damascus*: but being betrayed by the Syrians, they fai-
led of the enterprize.

In the yeare 1262. *Hala* the Tartar incompassed it, and hauing formerly taken the King, brought him vnder the walls, and threatened extreame torture vnto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torne asunder before them, and in fine the Citie taken, *Agabie* sonne of *Hala* was by his father made King thereof.

In the yeare 1400. *Tamberlaine* Emperour of the Parthians, invaded that region, and besieged the Citie with an Armie of 1200000. (if the number be not mistaken.) He entered it, and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners; those that retired into the Castle, which seemed a place impregnable, hee ouertopped with another Castle adioyning: hee forbore the demolishing of the Citie in respect of the beauty of the Church, garnished with 40. gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 9000. Lanes of gold and silver: but while hee invaded *Egypt*, they againe surprized *Damascus*. Lastly, in his return after three moneths siege, hee forc't it: the Mahometans prostrating themselves with their Priests, desired mercie: But *Tamberlaine* commanding them to enter the Church, hee burnt them and it, to the number of 30000. and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Trophy of his victorie, hee raised three Towers with great Art, builded with the heads of those whom hee had slaughtered. After this, it was restored and repossessed by the Soldane of *Egypt*, with a garrison of *Mammelukes*: And in the yeare 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the Turkes wrested it out of the hands of the Egyptians:

in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with Mahometans and Christians of all neighbouring nations.

§. II.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their power.

1. lin. 1. 6. c. 38.

1. Sam. 14. 47.

3082.

2. Sam. 8.

1. Reg. 11.

2. Sam. 8. 3.

and 12.

1. Sam. 14. 47.

Plin. l. 6. c. 13.

NOW be it that Damascus were founded by *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the sonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* steward, we finde no relation of their Kings, or Common-wealth till *Dauids* time. For it stood without the bounds of *Canaan*: and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Iosua*, and the *Judges*, as impertinent to that *Storie*: But were it so that it had some *reguli*, or petty Kings over it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *Dauid* ouerthrew *Adadezer* Prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*: the same Nation which *Plinie* calleth *Nubai*, inhabiting betwene *Batania* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to vnderstand the storie of those Syrian Princes, whom soone after the Kings of Damascus made their vassals, the reader may informe himselfe, That on the North-east parts of the holy Land, there were three chiefe principalities, whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Common-wealth of *Israel*, namely *Damascus* or *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath-Zoba*, of which these were the Princes in *Dauids* and *Salomons* times: *Razon* or *Rezon* of *Damascus*, *Adadezer* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Tobu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth that *Damascus* was one of the Cities subiect to *Adadezer* when *Dauid* invaded him, though when *Saul* made warre against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Iosephus* affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were leuiued and sent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battaile slaine with 22000. Aramites of *Damascus*: whereof, as of the ouerthrow of *Adadezer*, *Rezon*, the Commander of his Arnie, taking aduantage, made himselfe King of *Damascus*: *Adadezer* and *Adad* of *Damascus* being both slaine. About the same time *Tobu* King of *Chamath* or *Iturea*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadezer* was utterly ouerthrowne, sendeth for peace to *Dauid*, and presenteth him with rich gifts, but in dole, saith *S. Hierome*: it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of *Damascus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Iudeans* and *Israelites*. But to returne to the Kings of *Syria*, I meane of *Syria*, as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damascena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Iturea*, to which I may adde *Geshur*, because it is so accounted in the second of *Sam. 15*. as ioyning in the Territorie to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is farre greater, of which *Palestina* it selfe is but a Prouince, as I haue noted in the beginning of this Tract:) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*.

Some account *Rezon*, others *Adad* of *Idumæa*: of whom it is written in the first of Kings, that *Dauid* hauing invaded that Region, and left *Ioab* there to destroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings seed, fled into *Egypt*; and was there married to *Taphnes* the *Queenes* sister, as before; who hearing of *Dauids* death, and of the death of his Captaine *Ioab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned againe, and as *Hunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expell *Rezon* out of *Damascus*; and was the first of the *Syrian* Kings. To mee it seemeth otherwise. For as I take it, *Adadezer* the sonne of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the founder of that Principallitie: and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his Fathers name, as hee grew powerfull, tooke vpon him the style of *Adad*, the great god of the *Assyrians*, saith *Atarobius*, which signified Onesciffe or Vnicke, also finde a Queene called *Adada* in the same part of *Syria*: of which, whether these Princes tooke the name, or gaue it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-adad*, *Eli-adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adioyned. And that *Adadezer* was of greater power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, that *Dauid* yndertooke the warre: secondly, because hee leuiued 22000. Aramites out of the Territorie of *Damascus*: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damascens* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would haue giuen vs his name; thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adadezer* was King, was an exceeding large Territory, and contained of *Arabia* as far as to *Euphrates*, according to *Plinie*: and

and the greatest part of *Arabia Petraea*, according to *Niger*. Whosoeuer was the first, whether *Adadezer*, or *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezon* was the second: who was an enemy to *Israel* all the dayes of *Salomon*. Besides the euill that *Adad* did, the euill that *Hadad* did, seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumæa*, lately returned out of *Egypt*: to wit, 23. yeares after he was carried thither.

The third king of *Damascus*, and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion*, to *Hezion* succeeded *Ta- brimmon*, or *Tabremmon*; to him *Benhadad*, as is proued in the first of Kings: For *Asa* King of *Iuda* the son of *Abiam*, the son of *Koboam*, the son of *Salomon*, being vexed & invaded by *Baasba*, the successour of *Nadab*, the son of *Ieroboam*, sent to *Benhadad* the son of *Tabrimmon*, the son of *Hezion*, King of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to invade *Israel* (while *Baasba* fought to fortifie *Rama* against *Asa* thereby to block him vp, that he should not enter into any of the Territories of *Israel*) who according to the desire of *Asa*, hauing receiued his presents, willingly invaded the Countie of *Nephtalim*, and took diuers Cities, and spoyle thence: *Asa* in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which *Baasba* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withall, and conuerted them to his owne vse.

This *Benhadads* Father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Asa*: and so was his Father *Hezion*: for *Asa* requieth the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his sonne: though it seemeth that the gold and siluer sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded *Israel*, before the enterprize of his sonne *Benhadad*, it is coniectured. For *Benhadad* when he was prisoner with *Achab*, spake as followeth: The Cities which my Father tooke from thy Father, I will restore: and thou shalt make streets or keepers of the borders, for thee in *Damascus*: as my father did in *Samaria*. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it selfe were of much importance) because *Tabremmon* was Father indeed to *Benhadad* which invaded *Baasba*, at the request of *Asa*; But this *Benhadad* that twice entred vpon *Achab*, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the sonne of *Benhadad*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Asa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the sonne of *Tabremmon*. For betwene the inuasion of *Benhadad* the first, in *Baasbas* time, and the siege of *Samaria*, and the ouerthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there past 49. yeares, as may be gathered out of the reignes of the Kings of *Israel*. So that if we allow 30. yeares of age to *Benhadad*, when he invaded *Baasba*, and after that 49. yeares ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty lacking one, it is unlikely that *Benhadad* at such an age should make warre. Besides all this, the first *Benhadad* came with no such pompe; but the second *Benhadad* vaunteth, that hee was folowed with 32. Kings: and therefore I resolute, that *Benhadad* the sonne of *Tabremmon* invaded *Baasba* and *Omri*; and *Benhadad* the second invaded *Achab*, at whole hands this *Benhadad* receiued two notorious ouerthrowes: the first at *Samaria*, by a sally of 700. *Israelites*: the second at *Aphec*, where, with the like number in effect the *Israelites* slaughtered 100000. of the *Aramites*; besides 27000. which were cruelt by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* againe setteth at liberty: to whom he rendereth those townes that his father had taken from the Predecessour of *Achab*, but being returned, he refused to render *Ramoth Gilcad*, a frontier Towne, and of great importance. Now three yeares after (for so long the league lasted) *Ramoth* not being deliuered, *Achab* invaded *Gilcad*, and besieged the City, being assisted by *Iosaphat*. The *Aramites* came to succour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded, and dyeth that night. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the commander of his forces called *Naaman*, to *Ioram* the son of *Achab* to be healed of the leprosie, and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet hee picketh quarrell against *Ioram*: and when *Ioram* by *Elizeus* his intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is afore said. After, *Benhadad* besieged *Samaria* again, and being terrified thence from heauen, he departeth home, and sickneth; and sendeth *Azael* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his estate if he might liue. *Azael* returning, smothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad* *Adar*, and the sonne of *Adar*: *Amos* and *Hieremie* mention the towres of *Benhadad*. *Iosephus* writeth that *Benhadad* and his successour *Azael* were worshipped for gods by the *Syrians* to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they build in *Damascus*. The *Syrians* also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, saith he, that scarce yet 1150. yeares are compleate since their warres with the *Israelites*.

Hazael or *Azael*, the first King of the race of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, was annointed by *Elisba*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Ben-*

hadad should recover his present sickness: He waged warre with *Ioram*; who received diuers wounds at the encounter at Ramoth in Gilead: from whence returning to be cured at Ierusalem, he and the King of Iuda, *Ahaziah* or *Ochozias*, are slaine by *Iehu*, as before is said. After the death of *Ioram*, *Azael* continued the warre against *Iehu*, and wasted Gilead, and all those portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasse* over Iordan. He then invaded Iuda, and tooke Geth, but by gifts from *Iosias* he was auerted from attempting Hierusalem: for he presented him all the *hallowed things which Iehosaphat, Iehoram, and Ahaziah his fathers, Kings of Iuda had dedicated; and which hee himselfe had dedicated, and all the gold which was found in the treasures of the Lord, and in the Kings house.* This was the second time that the Temple was spoyle to please the *Adads* of Damascus. For *Asa* did present *Benhadad* with those treasures, when hee invited him to warre vpon *Baasba* King of Israel. And notwithstanding this composition betweene *Iosias* and *Azael*, yet a part of his Army spoyle the other Prouinces of Iudaea, and slaughtered many principall persons. Lastly, *Azael* vexed *Iosias* the sonne of *Iehu*, and brought him to that extremitie, as he left him but fifty horsemen, ten Chariots, & ten thousand foot-men of all his people.

§. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.



After *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the second, or rather the third of that name, the son of *Hazael*, reigned in Damascus: who fought against Israel, with ill success: for *Iosias* King of Israel, the sonne of the unhappy *Ioschaz*, as he was foretold by *Elisha* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three severall battels: and hee lost all those Cities to Israel, which his Father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Ioschaz*.

After this *Benhadad* the sonne of *Hazael*, there succeeded three others by the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, onely *Nicholaus Damascenus* cited by *Iosephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that *Ieroboam* the second, the sonne of *Iosias* recovered Damascus it selfe, to Iudah, saith the Geneua, but better in *Iunius*, *utque recuperabat Damascus, & Chamaatham Iehude pro Israele*; that is, *And how hee recovered for Israel, Damascus and Chamaatha of Iudaea*; for these Cities sometimes conquered by *Dauid*, did of right belong to the Tribe of Iuda.

And it is likely that this conquest vpon the *Adads* was performed: the first of these three *Adads* then living, of whom there is no Story. For when as *Iehous* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the Syrians in the time of *Benhadad* the sonne of *Hazael*, and had recovered the Cities which *Hazael* had won from Israel; and so left his Kingdome to his sonne *Ieroboam* the second, it seemeth that this *Ieroboam* without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and invaded Damascus.

Razin, or *Rezin*, after *Iosephus Rases*, after *Zonaras Rasos*, the 10. *Adad*, making league with *Pekab*, or *Phasas* King of Israel, against *Achaz* King of Iuda; both carry away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in Hierusalem: but in vain. Then *Adad* alone invadeth *Elash*, and bearing out the Jewes, maketh it a Colonie of Syrians: Wherefore *Achaz* brought *Teglatphalassar* against *Razin*, who tooke him, and beheaded him, and won Damascus: with whom ended the line of the *Adads* and the Kingdome of Damascus: the Assyrians becoming masters both of that and Israel. These *Adads* as they reigned in order are thus reckoned.

1. *Adadazer* the sonne of *Rehob*.

2. *Rezin* the sonne of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.

3. *Rezin*.

4. *Tabreimmon*.

5. *Benhadad*, who invaded *Baasba*.

6. *Benhadad* the second, taken prisoner by *Achaz*.

7. *Hazael*, whom *Elisha* foretold, with teares, of his advancement; the same who overthrew *Ioram* King of Israel at Ramoth Gilead. And that there was a second *Hazael* which preceded *Benhadad* the third, it is not improbable, because that *Hazael* which tooke Geth, and compounded the warre with *Iosias*, made the Expedition thirty yeeres, and perchance more,

more, after the first *Hazael* which stifled his master *Benhadad*, and had slaine *Ioram* the sonne of *Achab* King of Israel. For *Iosias* began to raigne in the 7. yeare of *Iehu* King of Israel; and after he had raigned 23. yeeres, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long we know not) it is said that *Hazael* took Geth, and turned his face towards Ierusalem. It is also some prooffe that *Hazael* that tooke Geth, was not the same with *Hazael* that murdered *Benhadad*, because he could not at that time bee of good yeeres, being as it seemeth, the second person in the kingdome, and Commander of *Benhadad*'s men of warre. To this *Hazael* (be he the first or second) succeeded

8. *Benhadad* the third, whom *Iosias* King of Israel thrice overthrew.

9. *Rezin* or *Rezin* the last, who ioyned with *Pekab* King of Israel, against Iuda, at which time *Achaz* King of Iuda waged for his defence *Teglatphalassar*.

Now betweene *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicholaus Damascenus* findes three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelue in all.

For the rest of the Princes of Syria, which were but *reguli*, as those of Emath, and Gessur, we finde that *Iohu* was King of Emath or Camath in *Dauids* time, to whom hee sent his sonne *Ioram* with presents, after *Dauids* victory against *Adadazer*. Also *Senacherib* speaketh of a King of Emath, but names him not.

§. IIII.

Of other lesser Kingdomes of the Syrians, which being brought under the Assyrians, neuer recovered themselves againe.



Of Gessur we finde two Kings named; to wit, *Talmal*, and his Father *Ammihur*, to *Talmal*, whose daughter *Dauid* married, it was that *Abisalon* fled, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of Sephena or Syria, Soba or Coelosyria there are two named, *Rehob* or *Rehob* the Father of *Adadazer*, and *Adadazer* himselfe, and it is plaine that after his death the seat of the Kings of Soba was transferred to Damascus, a Citie better fitting their greatnesse. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of these Kings of Syria, (which became so potent, and ioyned Soba,

10. Damascus, Emath, and the Desert of Arabia with other Prouinces into one, vnder *Rezin* the second of the *Adads*) as it began with *Dauid*, so it ended at once with the Kingdome of Israel. For *Achaz* King of Iuda waged the Assyrian *Teglatphalassar* against *Pekab* King of Israel, and against *Rezin* the last King of Damascus: which *Teglat* first invaded Damascus, and the region of Soba, and tooke Damascus it selfe, and did put to death *Rezin* the last, carrying the Inhabitants captiue. This was the second time that the Assyrians attempted Israel. For first, *Phul Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Menahem* gouerning Israel) who stopt the enterprize of *Phul* with a thousand talents of siluer: for this *Phul Belochus*, whose pedigree wee will examine hereafter, being scarce warlike as yet in his scate at *Babylon*, which hee, with the helpe of his companion *Srbaces*, had wrested

40 from *Sardanapalus*: hauing besides this King of Syria in his way, who seemed to bee a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of Israel for that present time. But his sonne *Teglat* following the purpose of his father *Belochus*, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the warre begun betweene Israel and Iudah, *Pekab* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being also wrapt in that warre, and waited in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of Iuda, his imprest and entertainment. So, first attempting Damascus, which lay in his path towards Israel, hee carried it (as is before remembered) and then with great ease possessed himselfe of the Cities of Nephthalim; leading with him a great part of the people captiue. And his sonne *Salmanasser*, whom *Protonie* calleth *Nabonasser*, after the reuolt of *Hofea*, forced Samaria, and rent that Kingdome asunder. So, the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* supplanted; the race and Monarchie of the Syrian *Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglat* slaughtered; the Kingdome of Israel in *Hofea*, whom *Salmanasser* ouerturned; happened neere about a time: that of *Ninus* in the dayes of *Belochus*; and the other two in the dayes of *Teglatphalassar*, and *Salmanasser* his sonne. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Ofis* ruling Iuda; and the other two Kingdomes were dissolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Lastly the Kingdome of Iuda it selfe, being attempted by *sennacherib*, the sonne of *Salmanasser* in vaine, and preserved for the time by Gods miraculously, was at length utterly

vterly ouerturned. *Hierusalem* and the Temple burnt 132. yeares after the captiuitie of *Israel* and *Samarita*: the destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth yeare of *Hofea*: that of *Juda* in the eleuenth of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Assyria* and *Babylon* held also the Kingdome of *Syria*, from the eight yeare of *Salmanassar*, to the last of *Baltassar*, whom *Hierodotus* calleth *Labyrinthus*: in all about 200. yeares. After these the Persians from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria* about 200. yeares.

Then *Alexander Macedon* tooke this among other Prouinces of the Persian Empire, and his successors the *Seleucide* reigned therein, till it became subiect vnto the power of the Romans, from whom it was wrested long after by the Saracens, and remaineth now in possession of the Turke, as shall bee shewed in due place. Thus much of the Nations bordering vpon the Israelites, with whom they had most to doe both in warre and peace, being the onely people, whose History in those ancient times carried an assured face of truth.

CHAP. XII.

OF THE TRIBE OF BENIAMIN,
and of Hierusalem.

§. I.

Of diuers memorable places in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, whereof *Hiericho*, *Gilgal*, *Mitspa*, *Bethel*, *Rama*, *Gobah* and *Gibba*.



F the Tribe of *Beniamin*, the twelfth and youngest sonne of *Jacob*, whom hee had by *Rachel*, there were mustered at Mount *Sinai* 35000. able bodyes: all which perishing in the Desarts, there entered the Holy Land of their issues. 45600. fit to beare Armes: and these had their Territorie on this side *Iordan*, betwene *Juda* and *Ephraim*: The Cities within this Tribe neere *Iordan*, are *Lod*; *Haded*, and *Ono*: of which, *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed* a *Beniamite*: they were all three re-inhabited with *Beniamites*, after the returne out of Captiuitie, as is mentioned, *Nehem.* 11. 35. and *Ezra.* 2. 35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes besides *Hadid* in *Nehemia*, a Citie called *Lodhadid*: This *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon Maccabeus*.

Samarim or *Tsemaraim*, named of *Tsemari*, one of the sons of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land standeth *Iericho*, one of the Toparchies and the last of *Juda*, seated in a most fruitfull valley, adorned with many palme trees: and therefore elsewhere called the City of Palmes. From the time of *Iosua*, who vterly destroyed it, it lay waste vntill the time of *Achad*: in whose dayes *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the losse of *Abiram* his eldest sonne, and built the gates of it in the losse of his youngest sonne *Segub*: according to the curse of *Iosua*: in which and other respects, *Hof.* 12. 14. calleth *Iosua* a Prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by *Vespasian*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

To the Southeast of *Iericho* stood * *Halmon* of the Leuites, of which *Iof.* 21. 18. To the South *Betharaba*, of which *Iof.* c. 15. and c. 18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is so much mention in the Scripture, where *Iosua* first ate of the fruites of the land, circumcised all those borne in the Desarts, and celebrated the Pascheouer.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymologie of this name (for it seemes by the place, *Deut.* 11. 30. that the name was knowne before the coming of the Israelites into *Canaan*) is noted *Iof.* 5. 2. *Ob demolitionem probrii Aegyptiaci*, because their fore-skinnes (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled downe the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis praepartorum*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Geli-loth*, as appears by comparing the places, *Iof.* 15. 7. and 18. 17: for it was in the borders of *Iordan*, of which *Iof.* 22. 13 and *Gilgaloth* signifieth borders. It stood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, ouer against the two * Hills *Gazazim* and *Hebal*: vpon the one

* 1 Chron. 6. 60. This *Halmon* is called *Hale-meth*, whence they make a new Citie, *Al-meth*, as if this Tribe had given due Cities to the Leuites.

Deut. 11. 30.

of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the mountaines of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitspa* of *Beniamin* (of which also wee reade oft in the Scripture) were seated about the midst of the length of the Land of *Canaan*: for which reason * *Sam.* 7. 17. *Samuel* chose these two places, to either of which he came yearly to giue iudgement to the Israelites; of which two, *Gilgal*, (as is said) was neere *Iordan* on the East side of this Tribe; and *Mitspa* neere the West Sea, towards the land of the Philistims.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* vsed yearly to come, is * *Bethel*: which also was seated in this Tribe of *Beniamin*. But to returne to *Gilgal*, which was the first place where the *Arke* resided, after they past ouer *Iordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-eharim*, and at length to *Hierusalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Iosua* pitched vp the twelue stones, which were taken out of the channell of *Iordan*, when it was drie, that the Israelites might passe ouer it: by which storie, as it is set downe *Iof.* 4. it appears, that the same day that they passed ouer *Iordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the Amalekites in peeces. And as for *Mitspa*, whither *Samuel* came yearly to giue iudgement, there also were often the greatest meetings held: as that for the reuenge of the Leuites wife against *Gibba*, and the *Beniamites*, *Iud.* 20. 1. and another against the Philistims, 1 *Sam.* 7. 12. Thither also *Iudas Maccabeus* gathered the Lewes, (when *Hierusalem* was possesed by the Heathen) as it is 1 *Macc.* 3. 47. in which place this reason of their meeting is added, *Quia locus Orationis fuerat Mitspa ante Israel*. Touching this *Mitspa*, to auoide confusion, it is to be remiembred, that the Scripture mention foure places of this name: *Mitspa* of *Juda*, of which *Iof.* 15. 38. * *Mitspa* of *Gilgad*, of which we haue spoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Mitspa* of the Moabites, where *Dauid* for a while held himselfe, commending his Parents to the King of *Moab*, *1 Sam.* 22. 3. and lastly, this chiefe *Mitspa* of the *Beniamites*. And as in this place the chiefe meetings were held both before *Hierusalem* was recovered from the Iebusites, and also in the time of the Maccabees (as we haue said) when *Hierusalem* was held by the wicked vnder *Antiochus*, so also in the time of *Hieremie*, after the destruction of the Temple by the Chaldees, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Ierurie*, as Gouverneur ouer those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: vntill (to the great hurt of the Lewes) hee was slaine by the treason of *Ismael*, one of the Royall blood of *Juda*, as it is *Hierem.* 41.

Neere vnto this *Mitspa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of helpe: where *Samuel* pitched vp the Pillar or Stone, for a Trophy against the Philistims.

Touching *Bethel* which (as it seemes) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chiefe meetings for the ministring of Iustice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Ioseph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Beniamin*, as it is *1 Bethel.* 11. 31. and *Iof.* 18. 22.) and how another Citie called *Lub*, neere adioyning to it, was built by the man of the Citie which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Iud.* 1. and 10. 11. 8. at the occasion of the name from *Iacobs* vision: and how *Ieroboam*, by erecting one of his calves here, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it * *Beth-auen*, that is, the house of Vanitie, *Hof.* 4. 15. and 10. 5. as also other memorable things of this place, they are so well knowne, out of the Histories of the Scripture, that wee may well passe them ouer.

The Territorie of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes, from the time of the great victorie of *Abia* against *Ieroboam* (of which 2 *Chron.* 13.) was taken from them, and adioyned to the Kingdome of *Juda*: and so it continued, as appears by the storie of *Iosias*: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, 2 *Reg.* 23. whence those coasts 1 *Macc.* 11. 34. are called *Apheramas*, which Greeke word signifieth as much as, *Asking taken away*, to wit, from the tenne Tribes. It was one of the three Seignories or Prefectures which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the Dition of the Lewes, out of the *Samaritan* Countrey. A part of it, as appears 1 *Chron.* 13. 19. was *Hephraim*, which *Iof.* 18. 23. is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Beniamin*.

Not farr from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we finde three other Cities often mentioned the name of, and neighbour toke in the confines of the Kingdome of *Juda* and *Israel* betwene *Heai* and *Bethel*, *Iof.* 18. 25. and 18. 12.

b See cap. 9. 1. c Of this a-
m. 1. I under-
stand the place
1 Macc. 11. 34
where it is na-
med for one of
the 3. Prefe-
ctures which
Herodias
yeelds to the
king out of the
country of Sa-
maritan lying
toward the
East to Jericho,
and Lydd: to-
ward the West
and Apollonia
(of which euen
now we speake)
lying in the
middle be-
tweene the
two other.
A first Rama it
seemes there
was in the
Tribe of Sime-
on toward the
South, which
Ios. 19. 8. is cal-
led Rama of
the South, and
otherwise Be-
beth-ober.

in the Scriptures, *Rama, Gidha, and Gebah*. Of the name *Rama*,^b it is noted already, in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many townes so called, because of their high situation. But whereas they finde out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Juda* (as it seemes because *Mat. 2.* it appears that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and also out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* make *Silo* to haue bene called *Rama*, and finde yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; these three haue no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Asher*, as it seemes, wee haue testimonie, *Ios. 19. 29.* and of another in *Nephthalim*, *Ios. 19. 36.* of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim*, *1 Sam. 25. 1.* which more often is called *Ramatha*, and *1 Sam. 1. 1.* *Ramathaim Tzophim*: for which the *Septuagint* haue *Aramathaim-tzophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they thinke *Ios. 18. 25.* of *Aramathaim*, *Mat. 27. 57.* was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama* we read *2 Reg. 8. 29.* which is *Ramoth in Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama of Benjamin*, seated as wee said, neere *Bethel* the vtermost South border of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes: for which cause *Baalsha* in the time of *Asha* King of *Juda*, fortified it, to hinder those that did flee from him to *Asha*. Of this *Rama* or *Ramatha*, I should rather thinke *Ioseph* was, that buried *Christ*: because it was neerer to *Hierusalem*, and after the captiuitie belonged to *Judaea*, as it appears, *Esd. 2. 26.* where in that it is ioyned with *Gebah*, it is plaine that hee speaketh of that *Rama* with whose stones (after *Baalsha* had ceased to build it) *Asha* (as it is *1 Reg. 25. 22.*) built *Gebah* adioyning to it: both being in *Benjamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the ten Tribes, so was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdome of *Juda*: whence *2 Reg. 23. 8.* wee read that *Iosiah* through all his Kingdome, euen from *Gebah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-sheba* which was the South border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third Citie *Gibba*, which was the Citie of *Saul* (the wickednesse of which Citie in the time of the *Judges* had almost vterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguished, *Esd. 10. 27.*) of which word ^d *Gibba*, in another forme *Gibbath*, hee imagineth *Gibbaath* another Citie in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinitie of this Citie also to *Rama* of *Benjamin*, appears *Jud. 19. 13.* where the *Leuite* with his wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took vp his lodge³⁹ ing at *Gibba*. By that place of *1 Sam. 22. 6.* it seemes that there was in this *Gibba* some Tower or Citadell called *Rama*: where *Iunius* reads in *excesso*, for in *Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings Palace in this City, was *Rama*: as it seemes that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chiefe place where *Samuel* with the *Colledge of Prophets* abode, was *Naioth*. The great Citie of *Itai* ouerthrowne by *Ios.* which *Ios. 7. 2.* is placed neere *Beth-anen* vpon the East of *Bethel*, was in this Tribe, as is proued *Neh. 7. 10. 30.* though it be not named by *Iosua* *18. 18.* for it was burned by him and laid desolate, as it is *Ios. 8. 28.* *In solitudinem in sumitum perpatum*. Another City of chiefe note is reckoned *Ios. 18. 25.* In this Tribe was *Gibbom*, the chiefe Citie of the *Heuises*: whose cunning to binde the *Israelites* by oath to saue their liues, is set downe *Ios. 9.* whence they were reckoned among the * *Nethinai* or *Proselites*, and were bound to certaine publique seruices in the house of God: which oath of sauing these *Gibeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine, *2 Sam. 21. 1.* This *Gibeon* or *Gibbon* with *Almon* and *Iebah* (of both which wee haue spoken) and with *Hanothoth* the natall place of *Hieremie* the Prophet, were said *Ios. 21. 18.* to be giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Beniamites*. Neere to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appears *1 Reg. 2. 26.* where *Abiathar* the Priest, which was of *Nob* before it was destroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Hanothoth*: It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Nehem. 9. 31.* and though in the time of *Saul* the residing place of the Arke was at *Kiriath-earim*: yet by the lamentable tragidie of bloudshed, which *Saul* raised in this place (as it is set downe *1 Sam. 21. 1.* and *22.*) in the iudgement of *Iunius*, it is proued that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas also in this Tribe *Nehem. 9. 31.* was a place of fame, of which *Esd. 10. 28.* where also he nameth *Gallim*, and *Migrom* in this Tribe. In *Micmas* *Saul* had his Campe, *1 Sam. 13. 2.* (when he left *Gibba* to *Jonathan*); and there also was *Jonathan Macchabeus* his abroad, *1 Macc. 9. 73.* Of *Gisela* in *Galilee* *Iosephus* makes often mention, but of any here in *Benjamin*, which they make the natall place of *S. Paul*, whence (they say) when it was taken by the *Romans*, he sailed with his parents to *Tharsis*, of this I finde no good warrant. Other places of lesse importance I omit, and come to the Citie of *Hierusalem*, and the Princes

Princes and Gouvernours of this City: A great part wherof was in the Tribe of *Beniamin* whence *Ios. 18. 28.* it is named among the Cities of *Beniamin*.

§. II.

Of diuers memorable things concerning *Hierusalem*.

AT what time *Hierusalem* was built (which afterward became the Princesse of all Cities) it doth not appeare. Some there are who imagine that *Melchisedec* was the founder thereof in *Abrahams* time. But * according to others, that Citie^{See in the} out of which *Melchisedec* incourted *Abraham* (in his returne from the ouerthrow of the Assyrian and Persian Kings or Captaines, when *Lot* was made prisoner) standeth by the riuer of *Iordan*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Salem*, and by the Greekes *Solima*.

Hierusalem (whensoever or by whomsoever built) was a principall Citie in *Iosua* his time: yet not so renowned as *Hazor* the Metropolis (in those dayes and before) of all the Canaanites. *Adonizedek* (whom *Iosua* slew) was then King of *Hierusalem*. That it was belonging to the *Iebusites* it is manifest: for how long soeuer they held it before *Moses* time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost 400. yeares after him: euen till *Dauid* wanne it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Iebusai* (the children of *Iebusens* the sonne of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Iebus*. And so much did that Na-^{2 Sam. 5. v. 6.} tion relye on the strength of the place, as when *Dauid* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blinde, and impotent people should defend it.

Dauid, after he had by Gods assistance possessed it, and turned out the *Iebusites*, gaue it an exceeding great increase of circuit: strengthened it with a Citadell or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from *Iebusalem*, the City of the *Iebusites*, to *Hierusalem*, which the Greekes call *Hierosolyma*. After *Dauids* time *Salomon* amplified, beautified, and strengthened it exceedingly. For besides the worke of the Temple, which was no lesse admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, gates, and walls, could not any where in the world be exempld: and besides, that it had 150000. Inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foot depth, cut out of the very rocke: and 250. foot of breadth: whereof the like hath feldome bene heard of, either since or before.

After the death of *Salomon*, and that the Kingdome of the *Iewes* was cut asunder, *Shishac* King of *Egypt*, and his predecessor, hauing bred vp for that purpose, *Adad* the *Idu- 2 Chron. 12.* mean, and *Ieroboam*, *Salomons* seruant; and both married to Egyptians: the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: *Shishac* first inuaded the Territory of *Juda*, entred *Hierusalem*, and sackt it, and became Master not onely of the riches of *Salomon*, but of all those spoyle which *Dauid* had gotten from *Adadazer*, *Tohu*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was againe sackt, and a part of the wall throwne downe by *Iosia* King of *I- 2 Kings 14.* rael; while *Amasias* the twelfth King thereof gouerned *Juda*.

Not long after, *Achaz* the fiftenth King of *Juda* impouerished the Temple, and presented *Teglathphalassar* with the treasures thereof. And *Manasses* the sonne of *Eze- 1 Chron. 3. 26.* kiah, the sonne of *Achaz*, by the vaults made by *Ezekiah*, to the Embassadors of *Me- 2 Kings 25.* rodach, lost the remaine, and the very bottome of their treasures. It was againe spoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Iakin* then reigning. But this vngratefull, Idolatrous, and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kinde of impietie, filling the City euen to the mouth with innocent bloud, God raised vp that great *Babylonian* King *Nabuchodonosor*, as his scourge and reuenger, who making this glorious Citie and Temple with all the Palaces therein, and the 50 Walls and Towers which imbraced them, euen and leuell with the dust, carried away the spoyle with the Princes and people, and crusht them with the heauie yoke of bondage and seruitude full seuentie yeares, inso much as *Sion* was not onely become as a torne and plowed vp field, *Hierusalem* an heape of stones, and rubble, the mountaine of the Temple as a groue, or wood of thornes and briers, but (as *Hierome* speaketh) euen the birds of the ayre scorned to flie ouer it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled soyle.

Then 70. yeares being expired, according to the prophetic of *Daniel*, and the *Iewes* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was againe built, though with interruption and difficultie

Nehem. 12.

34. &c.

The first of the Egyptian Kings after Alexander the Great, who dissembling his Religion came vnto Iherusalem to offer Sacrifice. 10f. 12. Ant. 1.

Ant. 6. pro Syria.

difficultie enough: and the Citie meanelly inhabited, and without walls or other defences, for some 60. and odde yeares, till *Nehemia* by the fauour of *Artaxerxes* rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citie spoyled by *Bagojes*, or *Vagojes*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by * *Ptolomeus* the first; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and againe by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Crassus* in his *Parthian* expedition tooke as much as hee could of that which *Pompey* spared.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompenced by the industrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntarie contribution of the people; and the liberalitie of strangers. Before the captiuitie, the people of the land through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repaire the Temple of *Salomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomeus Lagi* to the second Temple, was requited by the bountie of his sonne *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*. The mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to *Iherusalem* out of other Nations. Finally all the losses, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well seeme forgotten in the raigne of *Herod* that vsurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous workes did so adorne them, that hee left them farre more stately and glorious than they had beene in the dayes of *Salomon*.

§. III.

Of the destruction of Ierusalem by the Romans.

IN this flourishing estate, it was at the comming of our *Sauour Christ Iesus*: and after his death and ascension, it so continued about 40. yeares. But then did *Titus* the *Roman*, being stirred vp by God, to be the reuenger of *Christ* his death, and to punish the *Iewes* sinfull ingratitude, incompass it with a *Roman* armie, and became Lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the *Iewes*, from all parts, were come vp to the celebration of the *Passouer*: so as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts; and no manner of prouision or store for any such multitudes. An extreame famine, with the ciuill dissension, oppressed them within the walls; a forcible enemy assailed them without. The *Idumians* also, who lay in waite for the destruction of the *Iewes* Kingdome, thrust themselues into the Citie, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonosor* took it. And to bee short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging to the consummation of the victory, eleuen hundred thousand soules: and the City was so beaten downe and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly belecue that there had beene any such place or habitation. Onely the three *Herodian* towers (workes most magnificent, and ouer-topping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the *Roman* garriisons, as that thereby their victorie might bee the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after ages might iudge what the rest were; and their honour bee the greater and more shining, that there-ouer became victorious.

1st. 1. c. 4. v. 35.

After this, such *Iewes* as were scattered here and there in *Iudea*, and other Prouinces, began againe to inhabite some part of the Citie; and by degrees to rebuild it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the *Roman* State: but after 65. yeares, when they againe offered to reuolt, and rebell, *Aelius Adrianus* the *Emperour* slaughtered many thousands of them, and ouerturned those three *Herodian* Towers, with all the rest, making it good which *Christ* himselfe had foretold; That there should not stand one stone vpon another, of that vngratefull Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appeased, and the Prophecie accomplished, he tooke one part without the wall, wherein stood *Mount Caluarie*, and the Sepulchre of *Christ*, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he againe made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, *Aelia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, hee caused a Sow to bee cut in Marble, and set in the front thereof, which hee did in despite of the *Iewes* Nation: making an *Edict*, that they should not from thence forth euer enter into the City, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place ouertopping it.

But

But the *Christian Religion* flourishing in *Palastina*, it was inhabited at length, by all Nations, and especially by *Christians*; and so it continued 500. yeeres.

Guil. Tir. Bel.

Sa. l. 14. c. 12.

It was afterward in the 636. yeare after *Christ*, taken by the Egyptian *Saracens*, who held it 400. and odde yeeres.

O. ap. phris Chro.

In the yeare 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the *Saracens*; which *Godfrey*, when he was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, because *Christ*, for whom hee fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recovery, it remained vnder the successors of *Godfrey* more score and tigh yeares: till in the yeare 1197. it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt* and lastly, in the yeare 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the *Turkes* cast out the *Egyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbaree*, or the Holy Citie. Neither was *Ierusalem* alone that hath so oftentimes beene beaten downe and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the World haue with their Inhabitants, in seuerall times and ages, suffered the same shipwracke. And it hath beene Gods iust will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the impiety of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slaughter; but hee hath reuenged himselfe of the very places they possesse; of the walls and buildings, yea, of the foyle and the beasts that fedde thereon.

G. Tir. l. 8. c. 5.

18. 19. &c.

For, euen that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect lost all her fertilitie, and fruitfulness; witness the many hundreds of thousands which it fed in the dayes of the Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel*; it being at this time all ouer, in effect, exceeding stony and barraine. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from heauen, the Cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very soile it selfe hath felt, and doth feele the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beasts that belonged to *Amalek*, no nor any small number of them to be sacrificed to himselfe: neither was it enough that *Achan* himselfe was stoned, but that his moueables were also consumed and brought to ashes.

§. IIII.

Of the vaine and malicious reports of Heathen writers, touching the ancient Iewes.

OF the originall of the *Iewes*, prophane writers haue conceiued diuerfly and inuiously. *Quintilian* speaks infamously of them, and of their Leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians*. Others affirme that while *Ihs* gouerned *Egypt*, the people were so increased, as *Ierusalem* and *Iuda* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidentall, because he was taken vp and saued out of the waters. But *Iustine* of all other most malicious, doth deriue the *Iewes* from the *Syrian* Kings; of whom, *Damasius*, saith he, was the first: and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He againe supposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that *Israel* had ten sonnes, among whom hee diuided the land of *Iuda*; so called of *Iudas* his eldest; who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sonnes of *Israel* he calleth *Ioseph*: who being brought vp in *Egypt*, became learned in magicall Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and signes prodigious; and this *Ioseph* (saith he) was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foule diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the Desarts they suffered extreame thirst and famine, and therein found reliefe the seuenth day, for this cause euer after obserued the seuenth day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselues, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. Hee addeth also, that they might not marrie out of their owne Tribes, lest discouering their vncleanenesse, they might also be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Egyptians*. These and the like fables hath *Iustine*.

Iustine. l. 35.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grossly belie them, in affirming, that in the inmost Oratorie of their Temple, they had the golden head of an *Asse*, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himselfe, hauing in the first booke of his owne Historie truly confessed of the *Iewes*, that they worshipped one only God: and thought it most prophane to represent

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Nehem. 12.

34. &c.

The first of the Egyptian Kings after Alexander Macedon, who dissolving his Religion came vnto Iherusalem to offer Sacrifice: 10f. 12. and 13.

ACT. 6. pro Syria.

difficultie enough: and the Citie meanelly inhabited, and without walls or other defenses, for some 60. and odde yeares, till *Nehemia* by the fauour of *Artaxerxes* rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citie spoyled by *Bagojes*, or *Vagofes*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by * *Ptolomeus* the first; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and againe by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Crassus* in his *Parthian* expedition tooke as much as hee could of that which *Pompey* spared.

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§. III.

Of the destruction of Ierusalem by the Romans.

IN this flourishing estate, it was at the comming of our *Sauour Christ Iesus*: and after his death and ascension, it so continued about 40. yeares. But then did *Titus* the Roman, being stirred vp by God, to be the reuenger of *Christ* his death, and to punish the *Iewes* sinfull ingratitude, incompasse it with a *Roman* armie, and became Lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the *Iewes*, from all parts, were come vp to the celebration of the *Passouer*: so as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts; and no manner of prouision or store for any such multitudes. An extreame famine, with the ciuill dissension, oppressed them within the walls; a forcible enemy assailed them without. The *Idumeans* also, who lay in waite for the destruction of the *Iewes* Kingdome, thrust themselves into the Citie, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonosor* tooke it. And to bee short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging to the consummation of the victory, eleven hundred thousand soules: and the City was so beaten downe and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly beleue that there had beene any such place or habitation. Onely the three *Herodian* towers (workes most magnificent, and ouer-topping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the *Roman* garriisons, as that thereby their victorie might bee the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after-ages might iudge what the rest were; and their honour bee the greater and more shining, that there-ouer became victorious.

1st. 1. 6. 4. v. 15.

After this, such *Iewes* as were scattered here and there in *Iudea*, and other Prouinces, began againe to inhabite some part of the Citie; and by degrees to rebuild it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the *Roman* State: but after 65. yeares, when they againe offered to reuolt, and rebell, *Aluis Adrianus* the Emperour slaughtered many thousands of them, and ouerturned those three *Herodian* Towers, with all the rest, making it good which *Christ* himselfe had foretold; That there should not stand one stone vpon another, of that vngatefull Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appeased, and the Prophecie accomplished, he tooke one part without the wall, wherein stood *Mount Caluarie*, and the Sepulchre of *Christ*, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he againe made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, *Alia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, hee caused a Sow to bee cut in Marble, and set in the front thereof, which hee did in despight of the *Iewes* Nation: making an *Edit*, that they should not from thence forth euer enter into the City, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place ouertopping it.

But

But the Christian Religion flourishing in *Palæstina*, it was inhabited at length, by all Nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued 500. yeeres. It was afterward in the 636. yeare after *Christ*, taken by the Egyptian Saracens, who held it 400. and odde yeares.

Gail Tir. Bel. Sa. 1. 14. c. 12. Ouphrins Chro.

In the yeare 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the *Saracens*; which *Godfrey*, when he was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, because *Christ*, for whom hee fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recouery, it remained vnder the successors of *Godfrey* morecore and dighe yeares: till in the yeare 1197. it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt* and lastly, in the yeare 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the *Turkes* cast out the *Egyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbaree*, or the Holy Citie. Neither was it *Ierusalem* alone that hath so oftentimes beene beaten downe and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the World haue with their Inhabitants, in severall times and ages, suffered the same shipwracke. And it hath beene Gods iust will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the impiety of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by flauerie; but hee hath reuenged himselfe of the very places they possesse; of the walls and buildings, yea, of the soyle and the beasts that feede thereon.

For, euen that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect lost all her fertilitie, and fruitfulness; witness the many hundreds of thousands which it fed in the dayes of the Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel*; it being at this time all ouer, in effect, exceeding stony and barraine. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from heauen, the Cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very soile it selfe hath felt, and doth feelee the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beasts that belonged to *Amalek*, no nor any small number of them to be sacrificed to himselfe: neither was it enough that *Achan* himselfe was stoned, but that his moueables were also consumed and brought to ashes.

§. IIII.

Of the vaine and malicious reports of Heathen writers, touching the ancient Iewes.

OF the original of the *Iewes*, prophane writers haue conceiued diuersly and inuiously. *Quintilian* speaks infamously of them, and of their Leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians*. Others affirme that while *Isis* gouerned *Egypt*, the people were so increased, as *Ieropolymus* and *Iudas* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidentall, because he was taken vp and saued out of the waters. But *Iustine* of all other most malicious, doth deriue the *Iewes* from the *Syrian* Kings; of whom, *Damasceus*, saith he, was the first: and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He againe supposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that *Israel* had ten sonnes, among whom hee diuided the land of *Iuda*; so called of *Iudas* his eldest; who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sonnes of *Israel* he calleth *Ioseph*: who being brought vp in *Egypt*, became learned in magicall Arts, and in the interpretations of *Dreames*, and signes prodigious; and this *Ioseph* (saith he) was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foule diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the Desarts they suffered extreame thirst and famine, and therein found reliefe the seuenth day, for this cause euer after obserued the seuenth day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselves, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. Hee addeth also, that they might not marrie out of their owne Tribes, lest discovering their vncleanenesse, they might also be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Egyptians*. These and the like fables hath *Iustine*.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grossly belie them, in affirming, that in the inmost Oratorie of their Temple, they had the golden head of an *Asse*, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himselfe, hauing in the first booke of his owne Historie truly confessed of the *Iewes*, that they worshipped one only God: and thought it most prophane to represent

sent the *Pette* by any materiall figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature: and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or representation, no not so much as in any City by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*, who also makes *Judas* with *Idumea*, the first parents of the *Jewes*.

Cited by Strabo in lib. 16. p. 171.

Claudius Iulius drawes them from *Judeus*, whose parents were *Spartan* and *Thebis*; whence it came that the *Spartans* or *Lacedemonians* challenged kindred of the *Hebrewes*; but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Iosephus*. Some of these reports seeme to haue beene gathered out of diuine letters; though wrested and perverted; according to the custome of the Heathen. For so haue they obscured and altered the Storie of the Creation, of *Paradise*, of the Flood; and giuen new names to the children of *Adam* in the first age: to *Noah* and his sonnes, in the second: and so to *Abraham*, *Isake*, and *Iacob*; *Moses*, and the rest of the Fathers, and leaders of the *Hebrewes*: all which fainings, as touching the *Jewes* and their originalls, *Iosephus* against *Appian*, and *Tertullian* haue sufficiently answered. For that the *Hebrewes* were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubreth: and so *Chaldeans* originally, taking name either of *Heber*, the sonne of *Sale*, or else (saith *Montanus*) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greeke Grammarian, deriue the *Hebrewes* or *Jewes*, from *Arabeus*, hauing mistaken the name of *Abraham*; who was the sonne of *Heber*, in the sixth descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of *Abraham*: for after *Iacob*, otherwise *Israel*, the chiefe part were called *Israel*, another part after *E. 20* *Isau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Iacob*, being most of the Tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name of *Judas*, the sonne of *Iacob*, and became *Judeans* or *Jewes*: as also for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the sonne of *Ioseph*, the chiefe of the *Patriarches* of the ten Tribes, the rest of the ten Tribes were comprehended: but were first rooted out when the Kingdome of *Israel* fell. The *Judeans* continued their names, though they suffered the same seruitude not long after, vnder *Nabuchodonosor*.

Test. in Apol.

dele. f. 63.

The gouernement which this Nation vnder-went, was first paternall: which continued till they serued the *Egyptians*. They were secondly ruled by their Captaines and Leaders, *Moses* and *Iosua*, by a policie Diuine. Thirdly, they subiected themselves to Iudges. Fourthly, they desired a King, and had *Saul* for the first: Of whom and his successours, before we intreat, we are first to speake of their Gouernment vnder Iudges, after the death of *Iosua*: with somewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about these times.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of *Iosua* to the Warre of *Troy*: which was about the time of *Iephtha*.

40

§. I.

Of the inter-regnum after *Iosua*'s death: and of *Othoniel*.



hen *Iosua* was now dead, who with the aduice of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held authoritie ouer the people, and ordered that Common-weale: it pleased God to direct the Tribe of *Juda* (in whom the Kingdome was afterward established) to vndertake the Warre against the *Canaanites*, ouer whom (with Gods fauour, and the assistance of *Simcon*) they became victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they not only slew tenne thousand, but made *Adonibezek* prisoner: the greatest and cruellest Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizites*. This tyrants crueltie, as elswhere hath beene signified, they returned in the same kinde vpon his owne head: and so by the torments which hee now felt in his owne person (before no otherwise knowne vnto him but by his malicious

cious

The desert Area

Saccæa

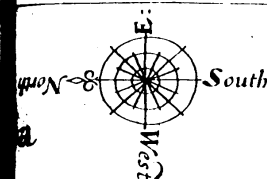
Agræi

Sane or Saba from whence the Sabæans sprang



Arabia the stonie

Agubeni



clouds imagination) made him confesse and acknowledge Gods Judgements against himselfe.

The Tribes of *Ruda* and *Sindon* did also master and possesse during this *Inter-regnum* (or at some think, before the death of *Iosua*) the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, *Ekron* and *Hebron*, which they burnt; and the *Tabasites* after recedified. They took also the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathsepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be not set downe in expresse words that any one person commanded in chiefe over the people, as *Moses* and *Iosua* did: yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authority among them; and that he, with the aduice of *Phineas*, directed and ordered their waies. For if any think that they proceeded without a Chiefe, the good successe which followed their vndertakings, witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb* euen while *Iosua* gouerned, as appeares, *Ios. 14. 30.* that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the *Captaines* for the performance of which enterprise, hee promised his Daughter *Aspa*, which he performed to *Aban*, his younger brother after the conquest. Whose boldness in that service was such, that next vnto the ordinance of God, it gaue him the greatest reputation among them; and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for that first Iudge. For while those of *Ruda* made warre with their borderers, from whom they onely recovered the mountainous Countreies (for they could not drive out the inhabitants of the Valleyes; because they had chariots of *Iudg. 1. 19.* *Iran.*) The rest of the Tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their owne Territories. In which waies they laboured with variable successe: for as the house of *Ioseph* recovered *Bezek*, *Onian*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Manassites* recover from *Dan* all the plaine Countreies, and for the warlike themselves in the Mountaines. And now the *Israelites* were vnmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often hee had miraculously afore-time defended them; and made them victorious against their enemies (the Elders being also consumed, who beuge aduised them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not onely sojourn themselves in marriage with the heathen Nations, but (that which was more detestable) they seruiced the Idols of *Baal*, and *Ashtoreth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the Lord God whom they had provoked with their idolatries, deliuer them into the hands of the *Amorites* of *Mosopotamia*: whom *Chushan Rishathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight yeares, it pleased him to haue compassion on his people, and to raise vp *Othniel* to be their Iudge and leader: who by Gods assistance, deliuered his brethren from oppression: and inforced the *Amorites* to returne into their owne Deserts, and into *Mosopotamia*, radiouning yether which the *Israelites* had peace fourtie yeares, during all the time of *Othniels* gouernment. This *Othniel* is thought by *Tassius* to haue bene the younger brother of *Caleb*; for as much as in the booke of *Iudges* hee is twice called *Ophniel* the sonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother. Others doe rather interpret those words [*Calebs* younger brother] as if they signified the meanest of his kindred: Indeed it is not likely, that *Calebs* Daughter should marrie with her owne Vncle; yet it followes not therefore that *Othniel* should haue bene the meanest of the kindred: Wherefore wee may better thinke that hee was the Nephew of *Caleb*, as some learned men expound it; and as the very words of Scripture seeme to enforce. For *Caleb* was the sonne of *Iephunneh*, and *Othniel* the sonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brothers sonne; to whom it was not onely lawfull, but commendable to marry with his Cousin German *Calebs* daughter.

How long it was from the death of *Iosua* to the gouernment of *Othniel*, it cannot be found: but it seemes to haue bene no short time. For many Warres were made in that space against the people of the Land. *Eglon* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Moabites*, and the best Writers are of opinion, that betwene the times of *Iosua* and *Othniel*, that ciuill Warre brake out betwene the *Beniamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Leuite* Wife. For it is written, that in those dayes there was nothing in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his owne eyes. And as *Iosua* led the people against the *Canaanites* during the *Inter-regnum*, so was hee commanded to doe against *Beniamin*, euen by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a Iudge to appoint what should bee done; which sheweth it to haue bene when *Iosua* was dead, & before the gouernment of *Othniel*, especially considering, that all

other times wherein they wanted Gouvernors, were spent vnder such oppression of strangers, as would haue giuen them no leaue to haue attempted such a ciuill Warre; & their power had beene as great, as it was in the managing of this action; wherein they so weakened the body of their estate, by effusion of bloud, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

§. II.

Of the memorable things of this age in other Nations: and of the difficultie in the computation of times.



Here liued in this Age of *Othaniel*, *Pandon* or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the first King of *Athens*; who began to rule in the twentieth yeare of *Othaniel*, and gouerned fortie yeares. He was Father to *Erichon*: his Daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Camus also about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whose Daughter *Semele* was borne *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater*: vnder whom *Linus* the *Musician* liued. In his time also the Cities of *Aelus*, *Paphus*, and *Tarsus* were built.

Ida and *Dactylus* flourished in this age, who are said to haue found out the vse of Iron: but *Genesis* hath taught vs the contrary, and that *Tubalcaim* long before wrought cunning-ly both in Iron and Brasse, Not long after this time, *Amphion* & *Zethus* gouerned *Thebes*: whom diuers *Chronologers* finde in *Ehuds* time. But *S. Augustine* making a repetition of those fables, which were deuised among the Grecians and other Nations, during the gouernment of the Iudges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose parentage there is as little agreement. *Vines* vpon the thirteenth Chapter of *S. Augustine* de *Ciuitate Dei*; and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progenie, where hee that desires his pedigree may finde it. *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* make him native of *Africa*: and the sonne of *Elenusius* King of *Elenus*: which *Elenusius* by carefull industrie had fed the people of that Territorie in the time of a great famine. This, when vpon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Galley or long Boar, which carried in her Prow a grauen or carued Serpent; who because hee made exceeding great speed to returne and to relieue his people with Corne, from some neighbour Nation: it was fained by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the ayre.

Whether the times of these Kings which liued together with *Othaniel*, and after him with the rest of the Iudges and Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set downe, I cannot auow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars, to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of better iudgement. For whether *Eusebius* and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves so conuersant with these ancient Kings, and with the very yeare when they began to rule) haue hit the marke of time, of all other the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the ancientest *Chronologers* haue borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne workes, but coniecture: Secondly, because their owne disagreement and contention in those elder dayes, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans vnderstanding, saue his owne; but that he is greedily distracted, after what patterne to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not onely in the raignes of Heathen Kings & Princes, but euen in the computation of those times which the indisputable authority of holy Scripture hath summed vp, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the Iudges and the oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the egression to the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the Persian Empire, the seuentie Weekes, and in what not? Wherefoeuer the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men haue sought by so many waies to vncouer the Sunne, that the dayes thereby are made more darke, and the clouds more condensed than before: I can therefore giue no other warrant, than other men haue done in these computations: and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdomes tooke beginning in this

or that yeere; I auow it do otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a priuate opinion: which I submit to better iudgements. *Nam in prisco rebus veritas non ad vnguem quaerenda; in ausiens things wee are not to require an exact narration of the truth, sayes Diadore.*

§. III.

Of *Ehuds* time, and of *Proserpina*, *Orithya*, *Tereus*, *Tantalus*, *Tityus*, *Admetus*, and others that liued about those times.

After the death of *Othaniel*, when *Israel* fell backe to their former Idolatrie, God incouraged *Moab* to invade and suppress them: to performe which he ioyned the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* vnto his owne, and so (as all kinde of miserie readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to make them feele the difference betweene his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easie conquest ouer *Israel*: whom God himselfe exposed to those perills: within which they were so speedilie folded vp. In this miserable estate they continued full eightene yeeres vnder *Eglon* King of the *Moabites*, and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, hee turned not his cares from their crying repentance: but raised vp *Ehud* the sonne of *Gerat* to deliuer them: by which weak man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the iustnesse of his quarrell, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, hee resolved to attempt vpon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguish, hee assured himselfe of the following victory: especially giuing his Nation no time to reestablish their gouernment, or to choose a King to command and direct them in the Warres. According to which resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embassadour to *Eglon*, loaden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appease him; and obtaining priuate access vpon the pretence of some secret to be reuealed, he pierc't his body with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge; and shutting the doores of his closet vpon him, escaped.

It may seeme that being confident of his good successe, hee had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readinesse. For suddenly after his returne, he did repasse *Jordan*, and invading the Territory of *Moab*, ouerthrew their Army consisting of 10000 able and strong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victorie, and that *Samgar* his Successour had miraculously slaine 600. *Philistims* with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of *Israel* liued in peace vnto the end of fourescore yeeres from the death of *Othaniel*, which terme expired in the Worlds yeete 2691.

In the dayes of *Ehud*, *Naomi* with *Eliamelech* her husband, and with her two sonnes, traiailed into *Moab*, and so the storie of *Ruth* is to bee referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourescore yeeres which are gluen to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Molossians*, otherwise *Pluto*, stole *Proserpina*, as shee walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hippotionium* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pausanias*) by the Riuer *Cephisus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chemus*, if hee meane not two distinct Riuers. This stealth being made knowne to *Pyrius*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* ioyned themselves, they agreed together to recover her: but *Pluto* or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they say) a very huge Dogge, which fastened on *Pyrius*, and tare him in peeces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him: and by strength tooke, and mastered the Dogge *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his deliuering *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zeux*, as I take it, hath written this story somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrius*, faith hee, attempted to steale *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Molossians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proserpina*: *Proserpina* being a generall name also for all faire women. This purpose of theirs being knowne to *Aidonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrius* were both taken; and because *Pyrius* was the principall in this conspiracie, and *Theseus* drawne on by a kinde of affection or enforcement, the one was giuen for food to *Aidonius* his great Dogge *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner, till *Hercules* by the instigation of *Enrichus* deliuered him by strong hand. The *Molossi* which *Stephanus* writes with a single (S) were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting neere the Mountaines of *Pindus*: of which Mountaines

Oeta is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himselfe. The Riuer of *Acheron* (which the Poets describe to bee in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Molossi* in *Thessali*: but these are neighbours to the *Cassiopei*, saith *Plutarch* in his Greeke questions.

The rape of *Orithya* the Daughter of *Erichon*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the Northwinde, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athens*. In his time also *Terens* rauished *Philomela*, of which the fable was deuised of her conuersion into a Nightingale. For *Terens* hauing married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her sister, forced her in her passage, and withall cut out her tongue, that shee might not complaine; perfwading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother in lawes mercilesse behauiour towards her, *Philomela* expressed by her needle vpon cloth, and sent it to *Progne*. In reuenge whereof *Progne* caused her onely sonne *Irys* to bee cut in peeces, and set before *Terens* her husband, so drest as it appeared to bee some other ordinary food: of which when hee had eaten his fill, shee caused his head, hands and feet, to bee presented vnto him: and then fled away with such speed towards *Athens* where her Father *Pandion* yet liued, as the Poets fained, that shee was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* findes to bee *Daulis* in *Phocis*: and the Tombe of *Terens*, *Pausanias* hath built neere the Rockes *Mergi*, in the Teritorie of *Athens*. By which, as also by the name *Daulis*, where these things are supposed to haue beene done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digression in his *Peloponnesian* Warre, That this *Terens* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryse*, (as the Poets call him *Odrysius*) but that *Phocis* a Countrie in *Greece* not farre from *Attica*, a Citie whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandions* time inhabited by *Thracians*: of which this *Terens* was King: whence *Pandion*, to haue amitie with his neighbours, made him his sonne in law: as it is good to belecue, saith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom hee might haue succour, rather than with any *Terens*, that should haue held the Kingdome of *Odryse*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may seeme to haue beene partly because, as *Pausanias* sayes; *Daulide nec nidificans, nec habitans in tota circum regione Hirundines*; as if a Swallow, remembering the wrong that was there done to her, and her sister, did for euer after hate that place.

Neere this time *Melampus* (who is said to haue vnderstood the voyces of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. Hee restored to their former health the Daughters of *Praxus* King of the *Argines*, who (as the Poets please) were made mad by *Iuno*: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to bee constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries where the ground was light, they did vse often to plough with Kine.

In the seuen and fortieth yeare of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to raigne in *Dardania*, and gaue it his owne name; about which time *Phemone* the chiefe Priest of *Apollo* in *Delpes*, deuised the Heroicall Verse.

Of the same date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Eusebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and also of that part of which the people were anciently *Maemes*. Of *Tantalus* was deuised the fable that some Poets haue applied to the passion of loue: and some to the covetous that dare not inioy his riches. *Eusebius* calls this *Tantalus* the sonne of *Iupiter*, by the *Nymph Plesia*: *Dionysius* and *Didymus* in *Zeze*, giue him another Mother. He was said to be the son of *Iupiter*: as some will haue it; because hee had that Planet in his ascendent, betokening wisdom and riches. It is said that when he made a feast to the Gods, hauing nothing more precious: he caused his owne sonne to be slaine and drest to the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the shoulders: whereby was signified that those men which seek after Diuine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children, of all else the most dearest. And where it was deuised, that hee had alwayes Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwise and to higher desires transported, he enioyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Onid*:

Quarit

Quarit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia capat
Tantalus, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Here *Tantalus* in water seekes for water, and doth misse
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted vpon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught wisdom and vertue to morall men: which *Storie Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwise, and say, That *Tantalus*, though hee excelled in riches, yet being thirstie of more abundance, was neuer satisfied. Of whom *Horace* against couetousnesse:

Tantalus à labijs sitiens fugientia capat
Flumina; quid rides? mutato nomine de se
Fabula narratur.

The thirsting *Tantalus* doth catch at streames that from him flee.
Why laughest thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceiue where it is fained of *Tantalus*, that he gaue the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the gods to vaine and vnworthy men, that hee was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quod furatus,
Cœtancis conuiuiis
Nectar Ambrosiamque dedit.

Because that stealing immortalitie,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* giue
To guests of his owne age, to make them liue.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of Diuinitie ought not to be imparted to the vnpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneest meates in a foule stomacke, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reuerend mysteries are often perueried by an vnclane and defiled minde.

To you it is giuen (saith *Christ* in *Marke*) to know the mysterie of the Kingdome of God, but vnto them that are without, all things bee done in parables. So is it said of him, that hee expounded all things to his Disciples apart. And therefore doth *Gregorie Nazianzene* inferre vpon a place of *S. Paul*: *Quod si Paulo licuisset effarisea, quorum ipsi cognitionem celum certum & vñ, ad illud progressio suppeditauit, fortasse de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius constaret*; if *Paul* might haue uttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third heauen, and his going thither did bring vnto him, peradventure wee might know somewhat more of God.

Pythagoras, saith *Remelin*, thought it not the part of a wise man, *Asino lyram exponere, aut mysteria, que ita reciperet, ut suis subam, & fidem graculis, & vnguenta Scarabæis*: quare silentium indixit discipulis, ne vulgo dinorum arcana patefacerent, que meditando facilius, quam loquendo apprehendantur. To set an Asse to a harpe, or to leaue mysteries: which hee would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a lay a viall, or Scarabæis and vnclane flies seueraigne oymment: wherefore hee commanded silence to his disciples, that they should not disclose diuine mysteries to the common sort, which are easier learnt by meditation than by babbling. And therefore did the Egyptians communicate their mysteries among their Priests in certaine Hieroglyphick letters, to the end that their secrets might bee hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their couered meanings.

But to proceed with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is also said, that *Tityus* liued whom *Apollo* slew, because hee sought to force his Mother *Latona*. *Emphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the sonne of *Elara*, the Daugliter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloued of *Iupiter*, to auoid *Iuno*'s reuenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where she was deliuered of *Tityus*: whose Mother dying, and himselfe therein nourished, he was therefore called the sonne of the earth. *Pausanias* speaking of the graue of this Gyant, affirms that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lip of his stature out of *Homer*:

Por-

Hom. Od. 11.

*Porrectusque nouem Tityus per ingera terre,
Assiduas atque viscere possiduit.*

Nine furlongs stretch lyes *Tityus*, who for his wicked deeds,
The hungry birds with his renewing liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a Cite in *Phocis*, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still liued, and had his flesh renewed.

Admetus King of *Theffalie* liued also in this Age, whom it is said that *Apollo* first serued as a Herd-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him aduanced; but hauing slaine *Hyacinthus*, he crost the *Hellefont*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in *Ouid*, which saith:

*Ilion aspicias, firmataque turribus altis.
Mania, Apollineæ structa canore lyre.*

Strong Ilion thou shalt see with walls and towers high,
Built with the harpe of wise *Apollo's* Harmonic.

Thus the Poets: but others, that hee laboured with his hands, as hired in this worke, And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megariens* witnesseth, saith *Panfanus*.

In these daies also of *Ehud*, or (as some finde it) in the dayes of *Deborah*, liued *Perseus*, the sonne of *Iupiter* and *Danae*, by whose Souldiers (as they failed out of *Peloponnesus*, to seeke their aduention on *Africa* side) *Medusa*, the Daughter and Successor of *Phorcus*, being weakly accompanied as she hunted, neere the Lake *Triton*, was surprisid and slaine: whose beauty, when *Perseus* beheld, he caused her head to be embalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty wherof was such and so much admired, and the beholders so astonished which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Medusa's* head, were turned into stones.

Cecrops, the second of that name, and 7. King of *Athens*, and *Acrisius* the 13. or after *Ensebius*, the 14. King of the *Argines*, began also their reignes, as it is said, in the time of this Iudge: of which the first ruled 40. yeares, and the second 31. yeares. Also *Bellerophon* liued in this age, being the sonne of *Glaucus*, the sonne of *Sisyphus*: who inticed by *Antea* or *Stenobia*, the wife of *Pratus* of the *Argines*, to accompany her, but refusing it, she accused him to her husband that he offered to force her: whereupon *Pratus* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affaires of weight, betwene him and his sonne in law *Iobates*: giuing secret order to *Iobates* to dispatch him: but *Iobates* thinking it dishonourable to lay violent hands on him, imployed him against *Chimera*, a Monster, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pitying his innocence, sent him the winged Horse *Pegasus*, sprung vp of the blood of *Medusa*, formerly slaine by the souldiers of *Perseus* in *Africa*, to transport him; a horse that none other could master or bridle but *Minerva*: vpon which beast *Bellerophon* ouer-came *Chimera*: and performed the other seruices giuen him in charge: which done, as hee returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to haue slaine him: but being victorious also ouer all those, he arrived to *Iobates* in safetie: whom *Iobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdome: after which hee grew so insolent, as hee attempted to flye vp to heauen vpon his *Pegasus*: whose pride *Iupiter* disdainig, caused one of his stinging flyes so to vex *Pegasus*, as he cast off *Bellerophon* from his back, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blinde: of which burthen *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew backe to heauen: and being fed in *Iupiter's* owne stable, *Aurora* beg'd him of *Iupiter* to ride on before the *Sunne*. This tale is diversly expounded, as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieue men in their innocent and undeserued aduersitie, and to cast downe those which are too high minded: according to that which is said of *Bellerophon*: that when he was exposed to extreame hazzard, or rather certaine death, hee found both deliuerance and honour: but waxing overproud

proud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, hee was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of sorrow, and euel during miserie. Secondly by others, That vnder the name of *Chimera*, was meant a cruell Pyrat of the *Lycians*, whose ship had in her prow, a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the stearne, of which three beasts this Monster *Chimera* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* pursued with a kinde of Galley, of such swiftnesse, that it was called the flying Horse: to which the inuention of styles (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not valikelly, that *Chimera* was the name of a ship, for so *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest ships of *Aeneas*.

Ion also, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their parent *Ianan*) deriue their name of *Iones*; is said to haue bene about *Ehud's* time: *Homer* calls them *Iawes*, which hath a neere resemblance to the word *Ianan*. Perhaps it might bee so that *Ion* himselfe tooke name from *Ianan*: it being a custome obseruable in the Histories of all times, to renew the ancient name of a fore-father; in some the principall of his issue.

The invasion of *India* by *Liber-Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: but *S. Augustine* makes him farre more ancient: placing him betwene the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Iosua*.

About the end of the 80. yeares, ascribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flourished: who gaue name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

S. IIIL.

Of *Deborah* and her Contemporaries.

AFTER *Israel* had liued in peace and plenty to the end of these 80. yeares, they againe began to forget the giue of all goodnesse, and many of those being wome out, which were witnesses of the former miserie, and of Gods deliuerance by *Ehud*, and after him by *Samgar*, the rest began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandements. For as Plentie and Peace are the parents of idle securitie; so is securitie as fruitfull in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subuersion: of which all estates in the world haue tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their finnes were againe ripe for punishment, *Ben King* of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the Territorie of *Israel*; and hauing in his seruice 900. iron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subiection twenty yeares; till it pleased God to raise vp *Deborah*, the Prophetesse, who incouraged *Barak* to leuie a force out of *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon*; to encounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nephtalim* were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seeme to haue proceeded partly from the authoritie that *Barak* had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grieuance; which in them was more sensible, than in others, because *Hazor*, *and Hazor* the chiefe holds of *Labin*, were in *Nephtalim*. So in the dayes of *Iephtha* the *Gileadites* took the greatest care, because the *Ammonites* with whom the Warre was, pressed most vpon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliuer *Israel* from the *Moabites*: and by the counsaile and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*; and to kill the valiant *Sisara* by *Iael* the *Kenites* wife: so was it his will at other times, to worke the like great things by the weakest meanes. For the mighty Assyrian *Nabuchodonosor*, who was a King of Kings, and resistlesse, he ouerthrew by his owne imaginations, the causers of his brutish melancholy: and changed his matchlesse pride into the base humility of a Beast: And to approue that hee is the Lord of all power, hee sometime punisheth by inuisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Armie of *Senacherib* by his Angell, or as hee did the Egyptians in *Moses* time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharao* by the waues of the Sea; and the *Canaanites* by haile-stones in the time of *Iosua*: sometimes by the ministrie of men, as when he ouerthrew the foure Kings of the East, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the household seruants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to set vpon their owne confederate the Army of the *Edomites*; and hauing slaine them to kill one another in the fight of *Iehoshaphat*: and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Prophetesse speake vnto *Barak* in these words: But this journey that thou takest, shall not bee for shine honour, for

the Lord shall sell Silers into the hands of a woman. In which victory all the strength of the Canaanite *Iabin* fell to the ground, even to the last man in the end of which Warre it Remeth that *Iabin* himselfe also perished, as appeared by the last Verse of the Tenth of Judges. After all which, *Deborah* giueth thanks to God; and after the acknowledgement of all his power, she sheweth the weaker state whereinto *Israel* was brought for their Idolatrie by the Canaanites, and other bordering Nations, in these words: *Was there a shield aspeare streame among forty thousand of Israel?* She also sheweth how the Israelites were leuured and amaled, forsooke their habitation, and durst not ioyne themselves to the rest, as those of *Beniamin* in *Gilad*: that the *Asherites* kept the Sea-coast, and forsooke their habitations towards the Land; and the children of *Manasse* who neighbored the Sea, cropt into their ships for safetie, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. Shee then curseth the Inhabitants of *Meraz*, who dwelling neere the place of the battaile (belike fearing the successe) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then blesteth *Iael* the wife of *Heber* the Kenite, who nailed *Sisera* in her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the Israelites. For though the Familie of *Heber* were inforced in that miserable time of subiection, to hold correspondence with *Iabin* the Canaanite, yet when occasion offered them means, they witnessed their loue and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, shee derideth the Mother of *Sisera* who promised her sonne the victorie in her owne hopes: and fancied to her selfe, and described the spoiles both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, shee directeth her praise and thanks to God onely victorious.

From the beginning of *Iabins* oppression to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased vnto *Israel*, there passed 40. years: In which time the Kingdome of *Argos*, which had continued 544. yeares, was translated to *Mycene*: The translation of this Kingdome first out of *Pausanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Ephesus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the children of *Abas* the sonne of *Lyneus* divided the Kingdome: of which *Acrisius* being eldest held *Argos* it selfe: *Perseus* his brother possesse *Epheia* or *Corinth*, and *Tyrnthus*, and other Cities, with all the Territorie towards the Sea, there being many monuments in *Tyrnthus*, which witness *Perseus* possession, saith *Pausanias*.

Now *Acrisius* was fore-told by an Oracle, that hee should bee slaine by the sonne of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon hee caused her to bee inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Lady being exceeding faire, it is faigned that *Iupiter* turned himselfe into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings sonne, or other worthy man, corrupted her Keepers with gold, and enioyed her, of whom *Perseus* was borne; who when hee grew to mans estate, either by chance (saith *Cicero*) or in shewing his grand-father the inuention of the discus, or leaden ball, slew him unwillingly. After this *Perseus*, to auoide the infamie of Parricide in *Argos*, changed Kingdome with his Vncle *Proetus*: and built *Mycene*. This imprisonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise: and that shee was inclosed in a brazen vault, vnder the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Vpon this close custodie *Horace* hath this witty obseruation:

*Inclusam Danaen, turris aenea,
Robustae, fores, & vigilum canum
Tristes excubis, munerant fasces
Nocturnis ab adulteris:*

*Si non Acrisium Virginis abditae
Castodem panidum, Iupiter & Venus
Resissent, fore animi summissor & patris,
Conuerso in praesidium Deo.*

*Aurem per medios ire satellites,
Esse rumpere amat saxa, potensque
16th fulmineo.*

The brazen Tower with double close bar,
And watchfull bandogs frightfull guard,
Keep fast the maidenhead
Of Danae from secret loue:
Till snailing Time, and wile Time

Beguill'd her Fathers dread,
For change of a golden shower,
The god into her lap did poure,
Himselfe, and took his pleasure,
Through guardes, and stonie walls to breake.
The thunder-bolts are more weakes,
Then is a golden treasure.

The first Kings of the Argiues were these.

Perseus the first King, who began to raigne in the first year of *Iacob*, and the 61. of *Isaac*: from which time to the end of *Schemelus*, *Ostor* misreckoneth 400. yeares. This Kingdome before the translation, *Eusebius* accounteth to haue stood 544. yeares, others but 417. So was the Daughter of this *Inachus*: whom the Egyptians called *Ist*.

Phoroneus,
Aph.,
Argar,
Pirafus,
Pherbas,
Tripas,
Crotopus,
Sthenelus,
Danaus,
Lynceus,
Abas,
Acrisius,
Pelops.

After the translation to *Mycene*, *Mar. Scotus* findes these Kings:

Perseus,
Schemelus,
Eurythens,
Aureus and *The sonnes of Pelops* by *Hippodamia*: *Atrcis* by
Thyestes: *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.
Agamemnon,
Aegisthus,
Orestes,
Tisamenus,
Penthilus and
Cometes.

Of these Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leaue out the two first, and the last: beginning with *Eurythens*: and ending with *Penthilus*. In *Tisamenus* time the *Heraclidae* returned into *Peloponnesus*: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Deborah*, were *Midas* who raigned in *Phrygia*: and *Ilius* who built *Ilium*: with others mentioned in our *Chronologicall* table, as contemporaries with *Deborah*.

§. V.

Of *Gidion*, and of *Dedalus*, *Sphinx*, *Minos*, and others that lived in this age.

Deborah and *Barac* being dead: the Midianites assisted by the Amalekites infested *Israel*. For when, vnder a Iudge who had held them in the feare of the Lord, they had enioyed any quiet or prosperity: the Iudge was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious idolatrie: Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did

did to master them in a short time, (the hand of God being with-held from their detence) as to save themselves, they crept into caues of the mountains, and other the like places of hardest access: their enemies possessing all the plains and fruitfull vallies: and in harvest time by themselves, and the multitude of their cattell, destroying all that grew vp: couering the fields as thicke as grasse-hoppers: which multitude lasted seuen years.

Jud. 6.

Jud. 6. v. 5.

Jud. 6. 6. & 7.

Then the Lord by his Angell stirred vp *Gideon*, the sonne of *Joash*, afterward called *Jerubbab*: whole teare and vnwillingnesse, and how it pleased God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precisely set downe in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, namely 300. out of 30000. men, to make them know that he onely was the Lord of Hosts, each of the 300. by *Gideon*s appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terour than force, with which hee gaue the great Armie of their enemies an alarm: who hearing so toad a noyse, and feeling at the cracke of so many pitchers broken (so many lights about them, esteeming the Armie of *Israel* to be infinite, and stricken with a sodaine feare, they all fled without stroke stricken) and were slaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and slaine. In his returne the Ephraimites began to quarrell with *Gideon*, because he made warre without their assistance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprize) would no doubt haue held themselves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeasing them with a milde answer, followed after the enemy, in which pursuite being tyred with trauaile, and weary euen with the slaughtering of his enemies, hee desired reliefe from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreshed) hee might ouer-take the other two Kings of the Midianites: which had saved themselves by flight. For they were foure Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and wasted *Israel*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Salmunna* which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, sought the like reliefe from the Inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatened therefore the reuenge, which in his returne from the prosecution of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that he would teare the flesh of those of *Succoth* with Thornes and Briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and Citie of *Penuel*: Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse reliefe to their brethren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a victorie: if I may presume to make coniecture, it seemes likely, first that those Cities set ouer *Jordan*, and in the way of all inuasions, to be made by the Moabites, Ammonites and Midianites, into *Israel*, had either made their owne peace with those nations, and were not spoiled by them: or else they knowing that *Zebah* and *Salmunna* were escaped with a great part of their army, might feare their reuenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men: as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the warre, that both enue and malignant others, if they performe any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safety of their owne Countrey, though themselves may be assured to beare a part of the smart of contrary successe. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Countrey should suffer hazzard and want, than that such men as they milke, should bee the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

A place in *Sam.* said, as it is thought. Jud. 8. 10.

Now *Gideon*, how or where soeuer it were that hee refreshed himselfe and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet hee followed the opportunity, and pursued his former victory to the victuall: and finding *Zebah* and *Salmunna* in *Karkor* (suspecting no farther attempt vpon them) he againe surprised them, and slaughtered those 15000. remaining: having put to the sword in the former attempt 120000. and withall hee tooke *Zebah* and *Salmunna* prisoners: whom because themselves had executed *Gideon*s brethren before at *Tabor*, he caused them both to be slaine: or (as it is written) at their owne request slew them with his owne hands: his Sonne whom he first commanded to doe it, refusing it; and in his returne from the consummation of this merueilous victory, he tooke reuenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiuing no offence committed against him: either by strangers or by his brethren the *Israelites*. But such meerey as he shewed to others, his owne children found soone after his death, according

to

to that which hath beene said before. The debtes of crueltie and mercy are neuer left vn-satisfied: for as he slew the 70. Elders of *Succoth*, with great and vnusuall torments, so were his owne 70. sonnes all, but one, murdered by his owne bastard *Abimelec*. The like Analogie is obserued by the *Rabbines*, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought vpon the Egyptians, who hauing caused the male children of the Hebrewes to bee slaine, others of them to be cast into the River and drowned: God rewarded them euen with the like measure, destroying their owne first borne by his Angell, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his Army in the read sea. And hercof a world of examples might bee giuen both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

In the end so much did the people reuerence *Gideon* in the present for this victorie, and their owne deliuerance, as they offered him the Soueraigntie ouer them, and to establish him in the Government; which hee refused, answering, *I will not raigne ouer you, neither shall my childe raigne ouer you, but the Lord shall, &c.* But hee desired the people that they would bestow on him the golden eare-rings, which euery man had gotten. For the *Ismaelites*, neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites*, vsed to weare them: the waight of all which was a thousand and seuen hundred Shekles of gold, which makes of ours 2380. li. if wee follow the account of the Shekle vulgar. And because hee conuerted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew silke, purple, scarlet and fine linnen, belonging to the High Priest onely, and set up the same in his owne Citie of *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatrie, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house.

There was another kinde of *Ephod* besides this of the High Priests, which the *Leuites* vsed, and so did *David* when he danced before the *Arke*: and *Samuel*, while hee was yet young, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demand how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300. men to destroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained; wee may remember, that although *Gideon* with 300. gaue the first alarme, and put the *Midianites* in rout and disorder: yet all the rest of the Armie came into the slaughter, and pursuite: for it is written, *That the men of Israel being gathered together, out of Nephtalie, and out of Asher, and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianites*: for this armie *Gideon* left in tents behinde him, when he went downe to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyse of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution.

There liued with *Gideon*, *Agamemnon*, the sonne of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*: *Eurystheus* King of *Mycena*: *Atreus* and *Thyestes* the sonnes of *Pelops*, who bare dominion ouer a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Eurystheus*, the Kingdome of *Mycena* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus*, who holding his brother in ialousie, as an attempter, both of his wife and Crowne, slew the children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be dreist, did therewith feast their father. But this cruelty was not vnreueged. For both *Atreus* and his sonne *Agamemnon* were slaine by a base sonne of *Thyestes*, yea the grand children, and all the linage of *Atreus* died by the same sword.

In *Gideon*s time also those things were supposed to haue beene done, which are written of *Dedalus* and *Icarus*. *Dedalus*, they say, hauing slaine his Nephew *Arctus*, fled to *Minos*, King of *Crete*, for succour; where for his excellent workmanship he was greatly esteemed, hauing made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth*, like vnto that of *Egypt*. Afterward he was said to haue framed an artificiall Cowe for *Pasiphae* the Queene, that shee, being in loue with a faile Bull, might by putting her selfe into the Cowe, satisfie her lust; a thing no lesse vnnatural than incredible, had not that shamelesse Emperour *Domitian* exhibited the like beastly spectacle, openly before the people of *Rome*, in his Amphitheater; of purpose, as may seeme, to verifie the old fable. For so it appeares by those verses of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable shew, as a goodly Pageant, in those vicious times.

*Iunlam Pasiphaen Dilleo credite Tauro
Vidimus, accipis fabula prisca fidem.
Nec semivatus Caesar, longana venustus
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.*

But concerning that which is reported of *Pasiphae*, *Seruius* makes a lesse vnhopest
M m con.

contruction of it, thinking that *Dadalus* was of her counsaile, and her *Pandar* for the en-
ticing of a Secretarie of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which signifieth a Bull, who begat her with
childe; and that she being deliuered of two sonnes, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other
her husband *Minos*, it was fained that she was deliuered of the Monster *Minotaur*, halfe a
Man and halfe a Bull. But this practice being discouered, and *Dadalus* appointed to bee
slaine, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicily*: in which passage he made such expe-
dition, as it was fained that he fashioned wings for himselfe and his sonnie to transport
them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with boates which had oares onely, *Dadalus* fra-
med sailes both for his owne boate, and for his sonnes, by which hee outwent those that
had him in chase. Vpon which new inuention, *Icarus* bearing himselfe ouerbold, was 30
ouerborne and drowned.

It is also written of *Dadalus*, that he made Images that could moue themselves, and goe,
because he carued them with legs, armes, and hands; whereas those that preceded him,
could onely present the body & head of those men, whom they cared to counterfeit, and
yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had seene some of those
that were called the Images of *Dadalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the Theban, the son of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore*, who
instructed *Thamaris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the Sunne and
Moones course, and of the generation of liuing Creatures, but in the end he was slaine by
Hercules his scholler with his owne harpe. 30

Againe, in this age those things spoken of *Sphinx* and *Oedipus*, are thought to haue
beene performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by sea and land, was by the *Corin-*
thians Armie, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propoun-
ding of riddles, to those whom shee mastered, was meant by the rockie and vnaccessible
mountaine neere *Thebes*, which she defended; and by *Oedipus* disoluing her probleme,
his victorie ouer her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the
body of a Lyon for her cruelty. But that which *Palapharus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more
probable, did not the time disproue it, for he calls her an Amazonite, and the wife of *Cad-*
mus: who when by her helpe he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) hee mar-
ried the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despightfull part, with her owne troope 30
she held the mountaine by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharpe warre vpon the
Thebans, till by *Oedipus* ouerthrowne. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother
out of *Crete*, and held sharpe warre with the *Megarians*, and *Athenians*, because his
sonne *Androgens* was slaine by them. Hee posselt himselfe of *Megara*, by the treason
of *Sylla*, Daughter of *Nisus* the King. Hee was long Master of the sea, and brought
the *Athenians* to the tribute of deliuering him euery yeare seuen of their sonnes: which
tribute *Theseus* released, as shall be shewed, when I come to the time of the next Iudge
Thola. In the end he was slaine at *Camerinus* or *Camirus* in *Sicilia*, by *Cocalus* the King,
while he pursued *Dadalus*: and was esteemed by some to be the first law-giuer to those
Islands. 40

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Anteus* the Gyant,
who was said to haue 60. and odder cubits of length, which though *Plutarch* doth con-
firme, reporting that there was such a body found by *Sertorius* the Roman, in *Lybia*, where
Hercules slew *Anteus*: yet for my selfe I thinke it but a lowd lye. That *Anteus* was of
great strength, and a cunning wrestler, *Eusebius* affirmeth: and because hee cast so many
open to the ground, he was iudged to be the sonne of the earth. *Plinie* saith, that he inha-
bited neere the gardens *Hesperides* in *Africania*. *S. Augustine* affirmes, that this *Hercu-*
les was not of *Greece*, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* also which he overcame, *Plato* expoun-
deth to be a subtle Sophister. 50

f. VI.

Of the expedition of the Argonautes.

ABout the eleuenth yeare of *Gideon*, was the famous expedition of the *Argo-*
nautes: of which many fabulous discourses haue beene written, the summe of
which is this.

Pelias the sonne of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers side to *Aeson*, who was *Aesons* fa-
ther, reigning in *Iolus* a town of *Thessalie*, was warned by the Oracle of *Apollo* to take heed
of

of him that wore but one shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, inuited *Ia-*
son to him, who coming hastily, lost one shoe in passing ouer a brooke: whereupon
Pelias demanded of him what course hee would take (supposing hee were able) against
one, of whom an Oracle should aduise him to take heed: to which question when *Ia-*
son had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Cholcos*, to fetch the golden Fleece,
Pelias immediately commanded him to vndertake that seruice. Therefore *Iason* prepa-
red for the voyage, hauing a ship built by *Argus*, the sonne of *Phryxus*, by the coun-
sell of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the brauest men of *Greece* to saile with him: as
Typhis the Master of the ship, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Castor* and *Pollux* the sonnes of
Tyndarus, *Telamon* and *Peleus*, sonnes of *Acacus*, and fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Her-*
cules, *Theseus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged sonnes of *Boreas*, *Amphiaras* the great
Soothsayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon* that slew the great wilde Boare: *Ascalaphus* and *Ial-*
menus or *Almenus* the sonnes of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last warre of *Troy*,
Laertes the father of *Ulysses*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgin, *Idus* and *Lyncus* the sonnes of
Aphareus, who afterwards in fight with *Castor* and *Pollux* slew *Castor*, and wound-
ded *Pollux*, but were slaine themselves: *Lyncus* by *Pollux*, *Idus* by *Iupiter* with
lightning.

These and many other went with *Iason* in the ship *Argo*: in whose prow was a ta-
ble of the Beech of *Dodona*, which could speake. They arriued first at *Lemnos*; the wo-
men of which Island, hauing slaine all the males, purposing to lead an Amazonian life,
were neuertheless contented to take their pleasure of the Argonautes. Hence they came
to the Countrie about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: ouer whom then
reigned one *Cyzicus*: who entertained them friendly: but it so fell out, that loosing
thence by night they were driuen by contrary windes backe into his port, neither know-
ing that it was the same Hauen, nor being knowne by the *Doliones*, to bee the same men:
but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which meanes they fell to
blowes, in somuch that the Argonautes slew the most part of the *Doliones*, together with
their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceiued, with many teares they
solemnized his funeral. Then departed they againe and arriued shortly in *Myisia*, where
they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the sonne of *Elates*, who went to seeke *Hylas* the dar-
ling of *Hercules*, that was rauished by the *Nymphes*. 30

Polyphemus built a towne in *Myisia*, called *Cios*, wherein hee reigned. *Hercules* returned
to *Argos*. From *Myisia* the Argonautes sailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by
the *Bebrices*, the ancient Inhabitants of the Countrie, ouer whom *Amysius* the sonne
of *Neptune* was then King. Hee being a strong man, compelled all strangers to fight
with him, at whorle bats, in which kinde of fight he had slaine many, and was now him-
selfe slaine by *Pollux*. The *Bebrices* in reuenge of his death slew all vpon *Pollux*, but his
companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They sayled from hence
to *Salmydessus*, a towne in *Thrace* (somewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a Sooth-
sayer dwelt, who was blinde and vexed with the *Harpyes*. The *Harpyes* were said to bee
a kinde of birds, which had the faces of women and foule long clawes, very filthy crea-
tures, which when the table was furnished for *Phineus*, came flying in, and deuouring or
carrying away the greater part of the viuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not
be endured. When therefore the Argonautes craued his aduise, and direction for their
voyage: You shall doe well (quoth he) first of all to deliuer me from the *Harpyes*, and then
afterwards to aske my counsaile. Whereupon they caused the table to be couered, and
meat set on, which was no sooner set downe, than that presently in came the *Harpyes*, and
played their accustomed pranks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young men saw this,
they drew their swords, and pursued them through the ayre: some say that both the *Har-*
pyes and the young men died of wearinesse in the fight, & pursuit. But *Apollonius* saith that
the *Harpyes* did couenant with the youths, to doe no more harme to *Phineus*, and were
thereupon dismissed. For this good turn *Phineus* gaue them informations of the way, and
advertised them withall of the dangerous rockes, called *Symplegades*, which by force of
winds running together, did shut vp the passage: wherefore he willed them to put a Pige-
on before them in the passage: & if that passed safe, then to aduventure after her: if not, then
by no means to hazard themselves in vain. They did so, & perceiuing that the Pigeon had
onely lost a piece of her taile, they obserued the next opening of the rocks, and then row-
ing with all their might, passed through safe, onely the end of their poope was bruised.

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* haue stood still: for the gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a ship, they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonauts* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteously. Here *Idmon* a Sooth-sayer of their company was slaine by a wilde Boare; also here *Typhis* died: and *Aeneas* undertooke to steere the ship. So they passed by the river *Thermodon*, and mount *Caucasus*, and came to the river *Phasis*, which runs through the land of *Colchis*. When they were entred the haue, *Iason* went to *Aetes* the King of *Colchis*, and told him the Commandement of *Pelias*, and cause of his comming, desiring him to deliuer the golden Fleece, which *Aetes*, as the Fable goeth, promised to doe, if hee alone would yoake together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, sowe Dragons teeth, which *Minerua* had giuen to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sowe at *Thebes*. These Bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had giuen them to *Aetes*.

Whilest *Iason* was in a great perplexitie about this taske, *Medea* the daughter of *Aetes* fell into a most vehement loue of him, so farre forth, that being excellent in Magique, she came priuily to him, promising her helpe, if he would assure her of his marriage. To this *Iason* agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gaue she to him a medicine wherewith she bad him to annoint both his body and his armour, which would preserue him from their violence: further shee told him, that armed men would rise out of the ground, from the teeth which he should sowe, and set vpon him. To remedy which inconuenience, she bad him throwe stones amongst them as soone as they came vp thicke, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in such wise that hee might easily slay them. *Iason* followed her counsaile; whereto when the euent had answered, hee againe demanded the Fleece. But *Aetes* was so farre from approuing such his desire, that hee deuised how to destroy the *Argonauts*, and burne their ship; which *Medea* perceiving, went to *Iason*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oak in the groue of *Mars*, where, they say, it was kept by a Dragon, that neuer slept. This Dragon was by the Magique of *Medea* cast into a sleepe: so taking away the golden Fleece, shee went with *Iason* into the ship *Argo*; hauing with her, her brother *Abysrtus*.

Aetes vnderstanding the practises of *Medea*, provided to pursue the ship, whom when *Medea* perceiued to be at hand, she slew her brother, and cutting him in peeces, shee scattered his limbs in diuers places; of which *Aetes* finding some, was faine to seeke out the rest, and suffer his daughter to passe: the parts of his son he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the Greeke word signifieth *Diuisiōn*. Afterwards he sent many of his subiects to seeke the ship *Argo*, threatening that if they brought not backe *Medea*, they should suffer in her stead. In the meane while the *Argonauts* were driuen about the Seas, and were come to the Riuer *Eridannus*, which is *Po* in *Italic*.

Iupiter, offended with the slaughter of *Abysrtus*, vexed them with a great tempest, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the Ilands *Abysrtides*, there the ship *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to them and said, that the anger of *Iupiter* should not cease, till they came to *Ausonia*, and were cleansed by *Circe*, from the murther of *Abysrtus*. Now they thereupon sayling betwene the coasts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and passing through the Sea of *Sardinia* and along the coast of *Hetruria*, came to the Ile of *Aea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleansed them. Thence they sayled by the coast of the *Syrens*, who sang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other side sang so well that he stayed them. Onely *Butes* swamme out vnto them, whom *Venus* rauished, and carried to *Lylibaum* in *Sicilie* to dwell.

Hauing past the *Syrens*, they came betwene *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the stragling rocks which seemed to cast out great store of flames and smoake. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conueyed them safe through at the appointment of *Iuno*. So they coasted *Sicilie* where the becuies of the Sunne were, and touched at *Coreyra*, the Iland of the *Phaeaces*, where King *Alecinous* reigned. Meane while, the men of *Colchis*, that had beene sent by *Aetes* in quest of the ship of *Argo*, hearing no newes of it, and fearing his anger, if they fulfilled not his will, betooke themselves to new habitations: some of them dwelt in the mountaines of *Coreyre*, others in the Ilands *Abysrtides*, and some comming

to the *Phaeaces*, there found the ship *Argo*, and demanded *Medea* of *Alecinous*: whereto *Alecinous* made answer, that if shee were not *Iasons* wife, they should haue her; but if shee were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arese*, the wife of *Alecinous*, hearing this, married them: wherfore they of *Colchis* not daring to returne home, stayed with the *Phaeaces*; so the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iland, *Minos* reigned, who had a man of brasie giuen to him (as some of the Fable say) by *Vulcan*. This man had one veine in his body reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was closed up with a brazen naile, his name was *Talus*: his custome was to runne thence aday about the Iland for the defence of it. When hee saw the ship *Argo* passe by, hee threw stones at it, but *Medea* with her Magique destroyed him. Some say that he slew him by potions, which made him mad; others; that promising to make him immortall, shee drew out the naile that stopt his veine, by which meanes all his blood ranne out, and he died; others there are that say he was slaine by *Pean*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the *Argonauts* sailed to *Aegina*, where they were faine to fight for fresh water. And lastly, from *Aegina* they sailed by *Euboea* and *Locris* home to *Iolcos*, where they arriued, hauing spent foure whole moneths in the expedition.

Some there are that by this journey of *Iason*, vnderstand the myserie of the Philosophers stone, called the golden Fleece, to which also, other super-fine *Chymists* drawe sother twelve labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinkes that by the golden Fleece was meant a golden booke of Parchment, which is of sheepe-skin, and therefore called golden, because it was taught therein how other metalls might be transmutated. Others would signifie by *Iason*, wisdom, and moderation, which ouercommeth all perils: but that which is most probable, is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the story of such a passage was true, and that *Iason* with the rest went indeed to rob *Colchis*, to which they might arriue by boate. For not farre from *Caucasus* there are certaine steepe falling torrents which wash downe many graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world; and the people there inhabiting vse to set many fleeces of wooll in those descents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water passeth thorow, which *Strabo* witnesseth to be true. The many rockes, straits, sands, and currents, in the passage betwene *Greece* and the bottom of *Pontus*, are Poetically converted into those fiery bulls, the armed men rising out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleepe, and the like. The man of brasie, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazards and aduentures which they fell into in the *Mediterran* sea, disfigured, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, vnder Poeticall moralls: all which *Homer* afterward vsed (the man of brasie excepted) in the description of *Plysses* his traualles, on the same Inland-seas.

§. VII.

Of Abimelech, Tholan, and Iair, and of the Labytha, and of Theseus, Hypolytus, &c.

After the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his base sonne begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembering what offers had beene made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his three perpetuall Princes; and as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modesty) that some of his brethren might take on them the Soueraigntie, practised with the Inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himselfe, who being easily moued with the glory, to haue a King of their owne, readily condescended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed 70. pieces of silver of their Idoll *Baalberith*, with which treasure he hyred a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assist his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his 70. brethren, the sonnes of *Gideon*, begotten on his wiues, of which he had many; of all which none escaped but *Jotham* the youngest, who hid himselfe from his present furie: all which he executed on one stone, a cruelty exceeding all that hath beene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition; a monster that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose reuenges are without date and for euerlasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which labourereth the preservation of euery being: but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beautie which neuer dieth, and with loue that hath no end. All other

passions and affections, by which the soules of men are tormented, are by their contraries often- times resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is it selfe the childe and darling of *Satan*, looketh onely towards the ends by it selfe set downe, forgetting nothing (how fearefull and inhumane soeuer) which may serue it: remembreing nothing, whatsoeuer iustice, pietie, right or religion can offer and alledge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weaknesse of the vnder takers, and rather praiseth the aduenture than feareth the like successe. It was the first sinne that the world had, and began in *Angels*: for which they were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The punishment also preceded his creation, yet hath the Duell which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practise the other, as besitting every age, and mans condition.

Iotham, the youngest of *G. dions* sonnes, hauing escaped the present perill, sought by his best perswasions to alienate the *Sechemites*, from the assisting of this mercilesse tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happy estate of moderate subiection, had refused to receiue as vnlawfull, what others had no power to giue, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his owne peculiar people) had appointed them by whom and how to bee gouerned. This hee taught them by the Oliue, which contented it selfe, with its fatnesse, the Figge tree with its sweetnesse, and the Vine with the good iuyce it had: the Bramble onely, who was most base, cut downe all the rest, and accepted the Soueraintie. Hee also foretold them by a Propheticall spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and consume the Cedars of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an easie matter to call those men backe whom rage without right led on) *Gaal* the sonne of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem*, from the seruice of *Abimelech*, who therefore after some assaults entred the place, and mastered it; and in conclusion fired the towne, wherein their Idoll *Baalberith* was worshipped, and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the Castle or Tower of *Teber*, himselfe was wounded in the head with a stone throwne ouer the wall by a woman; and finding himselfe mortally bruised, he commanded his owne Page to pierce his body, thereby to auoid the dishonour of being slaine by so feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* vsurped the Gouernment, the *Lapithæ* and *Centaures* made warre against the *Thebanes*. These Nations were descended of *Apollo*, and were the first in those parts that deuised to manage horses, to bridle and to fit them: insomuch as when they first came downe from the mountaines of *Pindus*, into the plaines, those which had neuer seene horsemen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the *Mexicans* when *Ferdinando Cortes* the Spaniard first inuaded that Empire.

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Tholo* of *Issachar* gouerned *Israel* 23. yeares, and after him *Iair* the *Gileadite* 22. yeares, who seemes to be descended of *Iair* the sonne of *Masse*, who in *Moses* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his owne name, *Hanoth Iair*. For to this *Iair* there remained thirtie of those Cities, which his ancestor had recovered from the *Amorites*. Of these Iudges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument that during all their times, *Israel* liued without disturbance and in peace.

When *Iair* iudged *Israel*, *Priamus* began to raigne in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* sacked *Ilium*, was carried away captiue with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ranfome, he rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and adorned *Troy*, and so farre enlarged his Dominions, as hee became the supreme Lord in effect of all *Asia* the lesse. He married *Hecuba* the daughter of *Cissus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (with *Gecubæ*) fiftie sonnes, whereof seenteene by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his aunt *Hesione*, tooke *Helena* the wife of *Menelaus*, the cause of the warre which followed.

Theseus the tenth King of *Athens* began likewise to raigne in the beginning of *Iair*: some writers call him the sonne of *Neptune* and *Aethra*: but *Plutark* in the Storie of his life, finds him begotten by *Agæus*, of whom the *Grecian* sea betwene it and *Asia* the lesse tooke name. For when *Minos* had mastered the *Athenians*, so far as he forc'them to pay him

him seuen of their sonnes euery yeare for tribute, whom he inclosed within a *Labyrinth*, to be deuoured by the monster *Minotaur*: because belike the sonnes of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Pasiphae* the Queene, had the charge of them: among these seuen *Theseus* thrust himselfe, not doubting by his valour to deliuer the rest, and to free the Countrie of that slaueerie occasioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos* his sonne.

And hauing posselt himselfe of *Aradnes* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, he receiued from her a boucome of thred, by which he conducted himselfe through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the Citie of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by meane whereof hauing slaine *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to returne. But whereas his father *Agæus* had giuen order, that if hee came backe with victorie and in safetie, he should vse a white saile in signe thereof, and not that mournefull blacke saile, vnder which they left the port of *Athens*. This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Agæus* descrying the Shippe of *Theseus* with a blacke saile, did cast himselfe ouer the rockes downe into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Agæum*.

One of the first famous acts of *Theseus*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a passage betwene *Megara* and the *Peloponnesian Isthmos*, and threw all whom hee mastered into the Sea, from the high rockes. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wrestling, who vsed by that Art to kill others. Hee also ridde the Countrie of *Procrustes*, who vsed to bend downe the strong limbes of two trees, and fastened by cordes such as hee tooke, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by the springing vp tare them asunder. So did hee root out *Periphetes* and other mischieuous theeves and murderers. Hee ouerthrew the Armie of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vastations, entred the Territorie of *Athens*. *Theseus* hauing taken their Queene *Hippolyta* prisoner, begat on her *Hippolytus*; with whom afterward his mother in law *Phædra*, falling in loue, and hee refusing to abuse his fathers bed, *Phædra* perswaded *Theseus* that his sonne offered to force her: after which it is fained, that *Theseus* besought *Neptune* to reuenge this wrong of his sonnes, by some violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of aduantage, sent out his Sea Calues, as *Hippolytus* passed by the sea shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the Coach ouer, hee was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which miserable and vnderfered destinie, when *Phædra* had heard of, she strangled her selfe. After which it is fained, that *Diana* entreated *Asculapius* to set *Hippolytus* his pieces together, and to restore him to life: which done, because he was chaste, she led him with her into *Italie*, to accompany her in her hunting, and field sports.

It is probable that *Hippolytus*, when his Father sought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receiue many wounds in forcing his passage and escape; which wounds *Asculapius*, to wit, some skilfull Physitian, or Chirurgion healed againe; after which hee passed into *Italie*, where he liued with *Diana*, that is, the life of a hunter, in which hee most delighted. But of those ancient prophane Stories, *Plutarch* saith well, that as *Cosmographers* in their descriptions of the world, where they finde many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange Beasts, Birds, and Fishes; and with *Mathematicall* lines; so doe the *Græcian* Historians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that *Theseus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom hee made his patterne, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians*, from being disperfed in thinne and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for deuising them Lawes to liue vnder, and in order, hee was by the beggerly, mutable, and vngatefull multitude, in the end banished. Some say, per *Ostracismum*, by the Law of *Lotes*, or names written on shells, which was a deuice of his so owne.

He stole *Helen* (as they say) when he was fiftie yeares old, from *Aphidna*, which City *Cassir* and *Pollux* ouerturned, when they followed after *Theseus* to recover their sister. *Erasistratus* and *Pausanias* write that *Theseus* begot her with childe at *Argos*, where hee erected a Temple to *Lacina*: but her age makes that tale vnlikely to bee true, and so doth *Ouid*, *Nontamen ex suo fructum tulit ille perisum*, &c. The rape *Ensebius* findes in the first of *Iair*, who gouerned *Israel* 22. yeares, to whom succeeded *Iephthæ* or *Iephthæ* sixe yeares, to whom *Iezabab* who ruled seuen yeares, and then *Habdon* eight yeares: in whose time was the fall of *Troy*. So, as if *Theseus* had a childe by her in the first of *Iair*, (at which

Palæphatus l. 1. de mirabilib.

Deut. 3. 14. Num. 11. 17.

Iudg. 10.

2901.

1a Tusi.

Strab. lib. 9.

Paulin. con.

1a Epist. 1. c. 1.

Iudg. 10. 3.

Dr. H. Chron.
Liber. 1. c. 17.
Habit. 1.

Aug. de Clus.
Dei. 1. c. 17.

which time wee must count her no lesse than fifteene yeares old, for the women did not commonly begin so young as they doe now) shee was then at least two and fiftie yeares old at the destruction of *Troy*: and when shee was stollen by *Paris*, eight and thirtie: but herein the *Chronologers* doe not agree. Yet *Ensebius* and *Bunting* with *Halicarnassus* doe in effect consent, that the City was entred, and burnt in the first yeare of *Demophon* King of *Athens*, the successor of *Mnestheus*, the successor of *Theseus*, seuentee dayes before the *Summer Tropique*; and that about the eleuenth of *September* following, the *Troians* crost the *Hellespont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there, and in the next spring they migrated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the second yeare, the next summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But *Saint Augustine* hath otherwise, That when *Polyphides* gouerned *Sicyon*, *Mnestheus*, *Athens*; *Tantanes*, *Affyria*; *Habdon*, *Israel*; then *Aeneas* arrived in *Italie*, transporting with him in twentie ships the remainder of the *Troians*: but the difference is not great: and hereof more at large in the storie of *Troy* at hand.

In *Sicyonia Phaeus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight yeares, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His successours, *Adrastus*, who reigned foure yeares, and *Polyphides* who reigned thirteene, are accounted to the time of *Iair*, so is also *Mnestheus* King of *Athens*, and *Atreus*, who held a great part of *Poloponnesus*. In *Affyria*, during the government of these two peaceable Iudges, *Mistrens*, and after him *Tantanes*, reigned. In *Egypt* *Amenophis*, the sonne of *Ramses*, and afterwards *Annenicenes*.

6. VII.

Of the warre of *Thebes* which was in this age.

IN this age was the warre of *Thebes*, the most ancient that euer Greeke Poet or Historian wrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly against the *Peripateticke*) that the world had a beginning, vigeth them with this obiection.

*Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumq; & mundi, semperque aeterna suere,
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troie,
Non aliam alij quoque res cecidere poeta?*

If all this world had no originall,
But things haue euer beene as now they are:
Before the siege of *Thebes* or *Troyes* last fall,
Why did no Poet sing some elder warre?

It is true that in these times *Greece* was very saluage, the inhabitants being often chased from place to place, by the Captains of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whercon hee dwelt his owne longer than he could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercoure they vsed little, neither did they plant many trees, or sowe more corne than was necessary for their sustenance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in *Greece*, when *Homier* did write who measures the valew of gold and brasse by the worth in cattell; saying that the golden armour of *Glaucus* was worth an hundred Becues, and the copper armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Robberies by land and sea were common and without shame, and to steale horses or kine was the vsuall exercise of their great men. Their townes were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycena* the principall Citie in *Poloponnesus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the rest were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancie, and though in some small townes of that halfe Ile of *Poloponnesus*, the Inhabitants might haue enjoyed quietnesse within their narrow bounds, as likewise did the *Athenians* because their Countrie was so barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the land in generall was very rude, it will easily appeare to such as consider, what *Thucydides* the greatest of their Historians hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his Historie. Wherefore, as in these later times

times, idle *Chronicles* vsd when they want good matter, to fill whole books with reports of great frosts, or dry summers, and other such things which no man cares to reade, so did they who spake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember onely the great fouds which were in the times of *Opyges*, and *Deucalion*: or else rehearse fables of men changed into birds, of strange monsters, of adulterie committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that fauoured of humanitie before the time of the warre of *Thebes*: the briebe whereof is this.

Oedipus the sonne of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, hauing beene cast forth when he was an infant, because an Oracle foretold what euill should come to passe by him, did afterwards in a narrow passage contending for the way, slay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who he was. Afterward hee became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queene *Iocasta*, called by *Homier* *Epicaste*: on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, hee begat two sonnes, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proesse of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his parents, hee vnderstood the grievous murder and incest hee had committed, hee tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and left the Citie. His wife and mother did hang themselves. Some say that *Oedipus*, hauing his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly cursing his sonnes, because they suffered their father to be cast out of the Towne, and ayded him not. Howsoever it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement; that the one of them should raaigne one yeare, and the other another yeare; and so by course rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obserued. For when *Polynices* had after a yeares government resigned the Kingdome to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had raigned the first yeare, hee refused to giue ouer the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fledde vnto *Argos*, where *Adrastus* the sonne of *Talaus* then raigned, vnto whose palace coming by night, he was driuen to seeke lodging in an our-houle, on the backside.

There he met with *Tydeus* the sonne of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calydon*: with whom struing about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. *Adrastus* hearing the noyse, came forth and tooke vp the quarrell. At which time perceiuing in the shield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lyon, hee remembered an olde Oracle, by which hee was aduised to giue his two daughters in marriage, to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly hee did bestow his daughter *Argia* vpon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* vpon *Polynices*, promising to restore them both to their Countries. To this purpose leuying an Armie, and assembling as many valiant Capitaines as hee could draw to follow him, he was delirious among others to carrie *Amphiarus* the sonne of *Oicleus* a great Soothsayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiarus*, who is said to haue foreseene all things, knowing well that none of the Capitaines should escape, saue onely *Adrastus*, did both vterly refuse to bee one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphiarus*, offering vnto her a very faire bracelet, vpon condition that shee should cause her Husband to assist him. The Soothsayer knowing what should worke his destinie, forbad his Wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eye so precious a Iewell, that shee could not refuse it. Therefore whereas a great controuersie, betwene *Amphiarus* and *Adrastus*, was by way of compromise put vnto the decision of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by solemne oath to stand to her appointment: shee ordered the matter so, as a Woman should that did loue a bracelet better than her Husband. Hee now finding that it was farre more easie to foresee than auoide destinie, sought for such comfort as reuenge might afford him, giuing in charge vnto his sonnes, that when they came to full age, they should kill their mother, and make strong warre vpon the *Thebanes*.

Now had *Adrastus* assembled all his forces, of which, the seuen chiefe leaders were, himselfe, *Amphiarus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (instead of whom some name *Meestes*) all Argiues, with *Polynices* the Theban, *Tydeus* the *Aetolian*, and *Parthenopeus* the *Arcadian*, sonne of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the Armie came to the *Nemæan* Wood, they met a woman whom they desired to helpe them to some water: shee hauing a childe in her armes, laid it downe, and led the Argiues to a spring: but ere shee returned, a Serpent had slaine the childe. This woman was *Hypsipyle* the daughter of *Thous* the *Lemnian*, whom shee would haue saued when the women of the Ile slew all the

the males by conspiracie, intending to lead an Amazonian life. For such her pietie, the Lemnian wiues did sell her to Pyrates, and the Pyrates to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Countrie about *Nemæa*, whose young sonne *Opheltus* or *Archemorus*, the did nurse, and lost, as is shewed before. When vpon the childes death shee hid her selfe for feare of her master, *Amphiaras* told her sonnes where they should finde her: and the Argiues did both kill the Serpent which had slaine the childe, and in memorie of the chance, did institute solemne funerall games called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adrastus* wanne the prize with his swift horse *Arion*, *Tydeus* with the worlebars, *Amphiaras* at running and quoying, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Parthenopaus* at shooting, and one *Laodocus* in daiting. This was the first institution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who thinke that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus* a Lacedæmonian. Some say by *Hercules*, when he had slaine the *Nemæan* Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here set downe.

From *Nemæa* the Argiues marching onwards, arriued at *Cithæron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them sent Embassadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Couenants betweene him and *Polynices*. This message was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was thoroughly resolu'd to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiuing, and intending partly to get honour, partly to trie what mettle was in the *Thebans*, he made many challenges, and obtained victorie in all of them; not without much enuie and malice of the people, who laid fiftie men in ambush to intercept him at his returne to the Armie, of which fiftie he slew all but one, whom hee sent backe to the Citie as a reporter and witness of his valour. When the Argiues vnderstood how resolu'd *Eteocles* was, they presented themselves before the Citie, and incamped round about it. *Thebes* is said to haue had at that time seuen gates, which belike stood not far asunder, seeing that the Argiues (who afterward when they were very farre stronger, could scarce muster vp more thousands than *Thebes* had gates) did compass the Towne, *Adrastus* quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygian*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiaras* at *Proëtis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopaus* at *Electa*, and *Polynices* at *Hypsisia*. In the meane season, *Eteocles* hauing armed his men, and appointed Commanders vnto them, took aduise of *Tiresias* the Soothsayer, who promised victorie to the *Thebans*, if *Menæcius* the sonne of *Creon* a principall man of the Citie, would vow himselfe to be slaine in honour of *Mars* the god of warre. So full of malice and pride is the Diuell, and so enuious at his Creators glory, that hee not onely challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and sacrifice with all Diuine worship, but commandeth vs to offer our selues, and our children vnto him, when hee hath sufficiently clowded mens vnderstanding, and bewitched their wils with ignorance and blinde deuotion. And such abominable sacrifice of men, maides, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Galles*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were most filled with superstition. But as they grew more wise, so did he waxe lesse impudent in cunning, though not lesse malicious in designing the continuance of such barbarous inhumanitie. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without aduise of any Oracle, made the Idoll of that Countrey rest contented with an Oxe in stead of a man. *Tiberius* forbad humane sacrifices in *Africke*, and crucified the Priests in the groues where they had practised them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drowne men of hay in stead of the liuing: yet among the saluages in the West *Indies* these cruell offerings haue bene practised of late ages: which as it is a sufficient argument that *Satans* malice is onely couered and hidden by this subtiltie among ciuill people: so may it serue as a probable Coniecture of the barbarismes then raigning in *Greece*. For *Menæcius*, as soone as he vnderstood that his death might purchase victorie to his people, bestowed himselfe (as hee thought) vpon *Mars*, killing himselfe before the gates of the Citie. Then was a battaile fought, wherein the Argiues preuailed so farre at the first, that *Capaneus* aduancing ladders to the walls, got vp vpon the rampart: whence, when he fell or was cast downe, or (as Writers haue it) was stricken down by *Iupiter* with a thunder-bolt, the Argiues fled. Many on each parte were slaine in this battaile, which caused both sides to desire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might trie out the quarrell in single fight: whereto the two brethren according, flew each other.

Another battell was fought after their death, wherein the sonnes of *Astacus* behaued themselves very valiantly: *Ismarus* one of the sonnes slew *Hippomedon*, which was one of

of the seuen Princes: *Parthenopaus* being another of the seuen (who was said to haue beene so faire, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slaine by *Amphidicus*, or as some say, by *Periclymenus* the sonne of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus* by *Menalippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought vnto him by *Amphiaras*, which hee cruelly tore open, and swallowed vp the braines. Vpon which fact, it is said, that *Pallus*, who had brought from *Iupiter* such remedie for his wounds, as should haue made him immortall, refused to bestow it vpon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might haue continued immortall, did perish through the beastly rage that he shewed at his death.

The host of the Argiues being wholly discomfited, *Adrastus* and *Amphiaras* fled. of whom *Amphiaras* is said to haue bene swallowed quicke into the earth, neere to the riuer *Ismenus*, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peraduenture overwhelmed with dead carkasses, or drowned in the riuer: and his body, when found, nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good horse *Arion*, and came to *Athens*: where sitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercie, hee made supplication for their aide to recouer their bodies. For *Creon* hauing obtained the Government of *Thebes* after the death of *Eteocles*, would not suffer the bodies of the Argiues to bee buried: but caused *Antigone*, the onely daughter then liuing of *Oedipus*, to bee buried quicke, because shee had sought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creons* Edict. The *Athenians* condescending to the request of *Adrastus*, did lend forthan Armie vnder the conduct of *Theseus*, which tooke *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the Argiues to Sepulture: at which time *Enadne* the Wife of *Capaneus*, threw herselfe into the funerall fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little contented the sonnes of those Capitaines which were slaine at *Thebes*, that any lesse reuenge should be taken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the Citie: wherfore tenne year after hauing leuied forces, *Aegialeus* the sonne of *Adrastus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopaus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Thersander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripylus* of *Macisseus*, marched thither vnder the conduct of *Alcmaon*, the son of *Amphiaras*: with whom also went his brother *Amphilochus*. *Apollo* promised victorie if *Alcmaon*, who were their Captaine, whom afterward by another Oracle hee commanded to kill his owne mother.

When they came to the Citie, they were incountred by *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles*, then King of the *Thebans*, (for *Creon* was onely Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battaile, and slue *Aegialius*, yet was hee put to the worst, and driuen to flie, or (according to *Apollodorus*) slain by *Alcmaon*. After this disaster the citizens began to desire composition: but in the meane time they conuayed themselves with their wiues & children away from thence by night, and so began to wander vp and downe, till at length they built the Town called *Eslicia*. The Argiues, when they perceiued that their enemies had quitted the Town, entering into it, sacked it, threw downe the walls, and layd it waste: howbeit it is reported by some, that the Towne was saued by *Thersander*, the sonne of *Polynices*, who causing the Citizens to returne, did there raigne over them. That hee saued the City from vnter destruction, it is very likely, for he raigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the Warre of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

§. VIII.

Of *Iephtha*, and how the three hundred yeares which he speaketh of, *Iud. 11. v. 28.* are to be reconciled with the places, *Act. 13. 20.* & *Reg. 6. 1.* together with some other things touching Chronologic about these times.

After the death of *Sair* (neere about whose times these things hapned in *Greece*, and during whose gouernment, & that of *Thola*, *Israel* liued in peace and in order) they revolted again from the law & seruice of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than euer. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal*, & *Asteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen nations adioyning, and embraced the idolls of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Mobabites*, & *Ammonites*: with those of the *Philistims*. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: so now he scourged them by the *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philistims*.

Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most oppressed, because they bordered vpon

Iud. 10.
The persecutio
of the *Am
monites* lasted
18. yeares, and
ended in the
yeare of the
World 2810.
in which yeare
Iephtha began,
Iud. 11.

Iud. 11. 33.

Ber. in Iud.

Iudg. 12.

2925.

2942.

Iud. 11. 28.
Act. 13. 20.
1 Kings 6. 1.Id facit, nume-
ro certo pro in-
certo, propositio.

upon the Amonites, they were inforced to seeke *Iephtha*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base borne; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of diuellish hatred and reuenge, was content to lead the Gileadites to the Warre; upon condition that they should establish him their Governour after victory. And when hee had disputed with *Ammon* for the Land, disproued *Ammons* right, and fortified the title of *Israel* by many arguments, the same preuailling nothing, he began the warre; and being strengthened by God, overthrew them: and did not onely beare them out of the plaines, but forc't them ouer the mountaines of *Arabia*, euen to *Minith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities exprest heretofore in the description of the holy Land. After which victory it is said, that he performed the vaine vow which he made, to sacrifice the first living creature hee encountered, comming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and onely childe, who with all patience submitted her selfe, and onely desired two moneths time to bewaile her Virginie on the mountaines of *Gilead*; because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion, that shee was not offered, is more probable, which *Borkeus* and others proue sufficiently.

After these things the children of *Israel*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either enuious of *Iephtha's* victorie, or otherwise making way to their future calamitie, and to the most grievous slavery that euer *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Iephtha*, that they were not called to the Warre; as before time they had contested with *Gideon*. *Iephtha* hereupon inforced to defend himselfe against their fury, in the encounter slew of them two and forty thousand, which he weakened the body of the Land, as the Philistims had an easie conquest of them all not long after. *Iephtha*, after he had iudged *Israel* sixe yeares, died: to whom succeeded *Ibzan*, who ruled seuen yeares: after him *Elon* was their Iudge tenne yeares: in all which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* findes not *Elon*, whom hee calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Iudge was omitted.

Now before I goe on with the rest, it shall be necessary vpon the occasion of *Iephtha's* account of the times, *Iud. 11. 28.* (where he sayes that *Israel* had then posselt the East side of *Jordan* 300. yeares) to speake somewhat of the times of the Iudges, and of the differing opinions among the Diuines & Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point, seeming repugnant, or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute betwene *Iephtha* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of *Saint Paul*, *Act. 13.* the third is that which is in the first of *Kings*. *Iephtha* here challengeth the possession of *Gilead* for 300. yeares: *Saint Paul* giueth to the Iudges, as it seemes, from the end of *Iosua*, to the last of *Heli*, 450. yeares. In the first of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Salomons* Temple, there were consumed 480. yeares. To the first *Berosaldus* findeth *Iephtha's* 300. yeares to be but 266. yeares, to wit, 18. of *Iosua*, 40. of *Othniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Debora*, 40. of *Gideon*, 30. of *Alimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Iair*: But *Iephtha* (saith *Berosaldus*) putteth or propoeth a certaine number, for an vncertaine: *Sic ut dicat annum agi prope 40 trecentissimum, ex quo nullus licet ea de re moneret Israeli; Sobee* speaketh (saith he) as meaning, that then it was about or wel-nigh the three hundredth yeare, since *Israel* possessed those Countries, no man making question of their right. *Codoman* on the contrary findes more yeares than *Iephtha* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were spent in *Israels* captiuitie, at severall times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Iephtha* forbore to reapeate the whole summe or any great part, lest the Ammonite should haue iustly objected, that 71. of those yeares, the Israelites were in captiuitie and vassals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred yeares, it was enough for prescription, hee omitted the rest.

To iustifie this account of 365. yeares, besides the 71. yeares of captiuitie or affliction, to be added to *Berosaldus* his 266. hee addeth also 28. yeares more, and so maketh vp the summe of 365. These 28. yeares hee findeth out thus: twenty yeares hee giues to the *Seniors* betwene *Iosua* and *Othniel*: and where *Berosaldus* alloweth eightene yeares to *Iosua* his gouernment, *Codoman* accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to *Iosephus*; whereas *Saint Augustine* and *Eusebius* giue him 27. *Melanchton* 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28. yeares is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though wee admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the yeares of affliction (to wit, 34. yeares of the 71.) if wee adde them to the 266. yeares

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of *Berosaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, we haue the iust number of 300. yeares. Neither is it strange that *Iephtha* should leaue out more than halfe of these yeares of affliction: seeing, as it is already said, the Ammonites might except against these 71. yeares, & say, that during these yeares, or at least a good part of them, the Israelites had no quiet possession of the countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making those 300. yeares remembered by *Iephtha*, to be 306. which odde yeares, saith he, *Iephtha* omitteth. But because the yeares of euerie Iudge as they reigned, cannot make vp the number of 306, but do only compound 266, therefore doth *Luther* adde to this number the whole time which *Moses* spent in the Desarts of *Arabia Petraea*; which forty yeares of *Moses* added to the number which *Berosaldus* findeth of 266, make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* iudgement herein: for in the dispute betwene *Iephtha* & *Ammon* for the land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon*, in these words: *Because Israel tooke my Land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Iaboc &c. now therefore restore those lands quietly, or in peace.* So by this place it is plaine, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moses* departure out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the land was posselt. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam, Behold Israel tooke my land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Iephtha's* answer also confirmeth in these words: *When Israel dwelt in Hesbbon, and in her Townes, and in Aroer, and in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 300 yeeres: why did ye not then recover them in that space?* So as this place speakes it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300. yeeres: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that *Israel* had to possesse it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for we do not vse to reckon the time of our conquests in France, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

Iunius neuertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, & sayes, that this time of 300. yeers hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Iephtha's* narration: when he makes a brieffe repetition of *Moses* whole iourney: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleuenth Chapter of *Iudges*, in our translation in these words: *But when Israel came up from Egypt, &c.* and therefore *Moses* his 40. yeeres (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. yeeres: and not only the time in which *Israel* posselt *Gilead*, according to the Text & *Iephtha's* own words: of which I leaue the iudgement to others; to whom also I leaue to iudge, whether we may not begin the 480. yeeres, from the deliuerance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, euen from the first departure out of *Egypt*, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of *Saint Pauls* and *Iephtha's* account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet haue bene signified. For first, touching *Iephtha's* three hundred yeeres of possession of the East side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembered, that for a good while before the Israelites posselt it, *Sehon* and *Og* had disposselt *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the Israelites had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Iephtha* might say that they had posselt those Countries 300. yeeres, reckoning 266. yeeres of their own possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the Israelites had by the law of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of *S. Paul*, *Act. 13.* that from the end of *Iosua* to the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450. yeeres. And this place *Luther* vnderstandeth also besides the letter (as I find his opinion cited by *Fabius Krentzheimius*, and *Beza*) for I haue not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses* to the last yeere of *Heli*, but 357. yeeres: and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the first of *Kings* 6. is said to be 480. yeeres.

Now forasmuch as *S. Paul* (as it seemes) finds 450. yeers from the death of *Iosua*, to the last of *Heli*, & leaues but thirty yeeres for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who gouerned 40. for *Dauid* who ruled 40. and for *Salomon* who wore the Crowne three whole yeeres ere the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was error in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of *S. Paul*; to wit, *Then afterward hee gaue vnto them Iudges about 450. yeeres; vnto the time of Samuel the Prophet: the words then afterward*, being cleerly referred to the death or after the death

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of *Iofua*, as shall be hereafter proued. But where Saint *Luke* rehearsing the words of Saint *Paul*, wrote 350. yeeres (saith *Luther*) the Scribe in the transcription being deceived by the affinity of those two Greeke words, wherof the one signifieth 300. & the other 400. wrote *Tetracosois*, for *Triacosois*; 400. yeeres, for 300. yeeres; and 450. for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary iudgement to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moses* death, he takes his account from the death of *Iofua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. yeeres: to wit of the *Judges* (not reckoning *Sampsons* yeeres) 319. and of yeeres of seruitude and affliction vnder strangers, 111. The reason why he doth not reckon *Sampsons* twenty yeeres, is because he thinks that they were part of the 40. yeeres, in which the *Philistims* are said to haue oppressed *Israel*. For it is plaine, that during all *Sampsons* time they were Lords ouer *Israel*. So then of the *Judges*, besides the 111. yeeres of seruitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I haue said) 319. yeeres, which two summes put together make 430. yeeres. And, whereas Saint *Paul* nameth 450. yeeres, he findes 20. yeeres to make vp Saint *Pauls* number, to haue beene spent after the death of *Iofua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captiuitie of *Cusban*, or the election of *Othoniel*: which 20. yeeres added to 430. make 450. according to Saint *Paul*. To approue this time of the *Elders*, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of *Iofua*, and the second of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel serued the Lord all the dayes of Iofua, and all the dayes of the Elders that ouer-lined Iofua*: so as to these times of the *Elders*, *Codoman* giueth 20. yeeres, which make as before 450. according to S. *Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficultie in this opinion, if heere also the 20. yeeres of the *Seniors* between *Iofua* and *Othoniel*, should be denied. For they which denie these yeeres, and make *Othoniels* 40. to begin presently vpon the death of *Iofua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning, they haue 20. yeeres lesse than *Codoman*, so toward the end of it (when they reckon the yeeres of affliction apart from the yeeres of the *Judges*) in the number of *Sampsons* yeeres, and of the 40. yeeres of the *Philistims* oppressing the *Israelites*, they haue 20. yeeres more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40. yeeres of oppression all of them a-part from *Sampsons* 20. but *Codoman*, as is said, makes *Sampsons* 20. to be the one halfe of the 40. of the *Philistims* oppressions; so that if the 20. yeeres of the *Seniors*, be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seemes to enforce) that the *Philistims* in any *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampson* iudged *Israel*, vexed the *Israelites* 40. yeeres besides the 20. while *Sampson* was their *Judge*; & so the reckoning will come to 450. yeeres between the end of *Iofua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors* betweene *Iofua* and *Othoniel*: For, if the times of their affliction be summed, they make 111. yeeres, to which if we adde the yeeres of the *Judges*, which are 339. wee haue the iust summe of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seeme to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, & read with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceiue that this time of 350. 40 yeeres, is to begin immediately, or soone after the death of *Moses*: certainly the place of S. *Paul* doth evidently teach the contrary, though it be receiued for true that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these be Saint *Pauls* words: *And about the time of fortie yeeres, God suffered their manners in the wildernesse: And he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of Canaan, and diuided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward hee gaue vnto them Iudges about 450. yeeres, vnto the time of Samuel the Prophet.* So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of *Moses* and of his yeeres spent in the wildernesse, then in the nineteenth verse he commeth vnto the acts of *Iofua*; which were, that he destroyed seven Nations in the land of *Canaan*, and diuided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth verse it followeth, *then afterward hee gaue them Iudges about 450. yeeres, &c.* and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moses*, is wide of S. *Pauls* meaning, so farre as my weake vnderstanding can pierce it. The onely inconuenience of any waight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is, that it seemes irreconcilable with the account, 1. Reg. 6. 11. For if indeed there were spent 450. yeeres between the end of *Iofua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there must needs be much more than 480. yeeres between the beginning of the *Israelites* iourneying from *Egypt*, & the foundation of the Temple by *Salomon*. To this difficultie

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Codoman answereth, that these 480. yeeres, 1. Reg. 6. 11. must begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their iourneying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25. yeeres after the beginning of *Othoniels* gouernment; from whence if wee cast the yeeres of the *Judges*, with the yeeres of seruitude (which summes according to his account, of which we haue already spoken, make 397. yeeres) and so to these yeeres adde the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *Dauid*, and the 3. of *Salomon*, wee shall haue the iust summe of 480. yeeres. Neither is it hard (saith hee) that the *annus egressionis*, 1. Reg. 6. 11. should be vnderstood *egressionis non incipientis sed finitæ*, the yeere of their coming out of *Egypt* (for so it is in the originall) or the yeere after they came out of *Egypt*, may well be vnderstood for the yeere after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandering from thence. For so wee finde that things which were done 40. yeeres after they had fet foot out of *Egypt*, are said to haue beene done in their going out of *Egypt*, as *Psalm* 114. *When Israel came out of Egypt, Iordan was driuen backe, &c.* *Deut. 4. 45. These are the testimonies which Moses spake when they came out of Egypt.* And thus farre it seemes wee may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exiissent*, or *ab exitu finitæ*: for if *Ianius*, *Deut. 4. 45.* doe well reade *quum exiissent*, for *in exitu*, as it seemes that herein hee doth well, why may not wee also, to auoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *postquam exiissent*?

The next point to be cleared, is how their iourneying should be said not to haue had end vntill the 25. yeere after the victory of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end til when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not vntill this time: at which time the *Danites* at length seated themselves, as it is declared, *Iud. 18.* For doubtlesse to this time the expedition may most conueniently be referred. And thus without any great inconuenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Iephtha*, and S. *Paul*, with that in the first of *Kings*, c. 6. Now whereas it is said that the expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Israel*: to this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessary that wee should suppose that *Othoniel* liued all those 40. yeeres of rest, of which *Iud. 3. 11.* so that by the 25. yeere after his victory, either hee might haue beene dead, or at least, as *Gideon* did, he might haue refused all souerainty, and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit, the 25. yeere after *Othoniels* victorie) there was no King in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other Chronologers grounding their opinions on the plaine Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it selfe round enough and coherent, might perhaps be receiued as good: especially considering, that the speeches of S. *Paul* haue not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they found, and are set downe. But seeing that he wanteth all helpe of authority, we may iustly suspect the supposition wherupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Lais*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth yeere of *Othoniel*? Or what other probability hath hee than his owne coniecture, to shew that *Othoniel* did so renounce the office of a *Iudge* after five and twenty yeeres, that it might then be truly said there was no King in *Israel*, but euery man did that which was good in his owne eyes?

Now concerning the rehearsal of the Law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Iordan*, they might indeed be properly said to haue beene, when *Israel* came out of *Egypt*; like as we say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when hee came out of *Egypt*; Land, for so all iournies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I thinke that hee can finde no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a iourney by an accident, or faith by conuerting the proposition, when *Iordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. Indeed most vnproper it were to giue date vnto actions comenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely to say, that King *Edward* at his arriual out of *Palestina*, did winne Scotland, or died at *Carlisle*. How may we then beleue that enterprize performed so many yeeres after the diuision of the Land (which followed the conquest at the iourneys end) should be said to haue been at the time of the departure out of *Egypt*? Or who will not thinke it most strange, that the most notable account of time, seruing as the onely guide for certaine ages in sacred Chronologic, should not take name and beginning

from that illustrious deliuerance out of Egypt, rehearsed often by God himself among the principall of his benefits to Israel, whereof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the yeere and moneth wherein it expired) & the forme of the yeere vpon that occasion changed; but should haue reference to the surprizing of a Town by sixe hundred men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to worke in Gods name? For this accident wherupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time giuen to it, or a time far different from that which he supposeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a yeere, because it best stood with his interpretation so to haue it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it selfe.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirme that the Apostle *S. Paul* did not herein labour to set downe the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but onely to shew that God, who had chosen Israel to be his people, deliuered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Judges* and *Prophets*, vnto the time of *Saul*, did raise vp out *Lord Iesus Christ* out of the seede of *Dauid* the King, in whose succession the Crowne was established, and promise made of a Kingdome that should haue no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherin hee sheweth Christ to haue bin the true *Messias*) the Apostle was so farre from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the History being so well knowne & beleueed of the Iewes to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40. yeeres consumed in the wildernesse, whereof no man doubted, saying, that God suffered their manners in the wildernesse about 40. yeeres. In like manner he proceeded, saying, that from the diuision of the Land vnto the daies of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whose time they required to haue a King, there passed about 450. yeeres. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an hundred and eluen yeeres of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. yeeres of the *Judges*: for this had bene an impertinent digression from the argument which hee had in hand. Wherefore it is not a worke so needfull as laborious, to search out of this place that which the Apostle did not here intend to teach, when the summe of 480. yeeres is so expressely and purposely set downe.

Now that the words of *S. Paul* (if there be no fault in the Copiethrough error of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of *Chronologie*, but must be taken, as hauing reference to the memory & apprehension of the vulgar, it is evident by his ascribing in the same place 40. yeeres to the reigne of *Saul*: whereas it is manifest that those yeeres were diuided between *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that farre the greater part of them were spent vnder the gouernment of the Prophet, how fouler they are here included in the reigne of the King. As for those that with so much cunning forsake the generall opinion, when it fauoureth not such exposition as they bring out of a good minde, to hope where the need is not ouer-great, I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of *S. Paul* were sufficiently iustified by *Bersaldu*,²⁵ hauing reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those dayes, that the 111. yeeres of seruitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339. yeeres ascribed to the *Judges*, which account, the Apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *quasi*, where he saith, *quasi quadringentes & quinquaginta annis; As it were foure hundred and fifty yeeres*. But *Codoman* being not thus contented, would needs haue it be so indeed, and therefore dis-ioynes the members to make the account euen. In so doing he dasheth himselfe against a notable Text, wherupon all Authors haue builded (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precisely doth cast vp the yeeres from the departure out of Egypt, vnto the building of *Solomons* Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it selfe.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) hauing already giuen faith to his owne interpretation of *Saint Paul*, he thinketh it more needfull to find some new exposition for that which is of it selfe most plaine, and to examine his owne coniecture vpon a place that is full of controuersie. Thus by expounding, after a strange methode, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loseth himselfe in those waies wherein before him neuer man walked. Surely if one should vrge him to giue reason of these new opinions, he must needs answer, That *Othaniel* could not gouerne about 25. yeeres, because ther was the taking of *Lais*, at which time there was no King in *Israel*; That the

Danites

Danites must needs haue taken *Lais* at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might bee termed the coming of Israel out of Egypt, without excluding the yeeres of seruitude; And that the yeeres of seruitude must needs be included, for that otherwise hee himselfe should haue spent his time vainely, in seeking to pleasure *S. Paul* with an exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to vphold a Paradoxe, I leaue it to the decision of the iudicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our storie. To the time of *Iephta* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the prouisions which her husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenae*, made for her recouerie. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth yeere of *Ishban*: from which time, if the warre of *Troy* (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the Greeks had sixe yeeres to prepare themselves: the rule holding not true in this War, *longa preparatio belli celerem affert victoriam; That a long preparation begets a speedy victory*: for the Greekes consumed tenne yeeres in the attempt: and *Troy*, as it seemes, was entred, sackt and burnt in the third yeere of *Iiabdon*.

Three yeeres after *Troy* taken, which was in the sixt yeere of *Iiabdon*, *Aeneas* arrived in *Italie*. *Iiabdon* in the eighth yeere of his rule, died, after hee had bene the Father of 40. sonnes and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is supposed, that the 40. yeeres of Israels oppression by the Philistims (of which *Iud. 13. v. 1.*) tooke beginning from the ninth yeere of *Zair*, and ended with the last of *Iiabdon*: I see no reason for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrell against *Iephta*, for not calling them to War ouer *Jordan*, if the Philistims had held them in seruitude in their own Territories: and if *Ephraim* could haue brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they werethen oppressed: and had it bene true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather haue fought against the Philistims with so powerfull an Armie for their owne deliuerance, than against their owne brethren the Israelites? But *Ammon* being ouerthrowne, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore these 40. yeeres must either bee supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Sampson*, and afterwards: or else they must be referred to the inter-regnum betwene the death of *Iiabdon*, and the deliuerance of Israel by *Sampson*, such as it was.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Warre of Troy.

§. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets how they haue observed Historically truth.



HE Warre at *Troy* with other stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this Citie, by most *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Iiabdon*, Iudge of *Israel*, whom in the last place I haue mentioned) I rather choose here to intreat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineall descent of their Princes, than to break the story into pieces by rehearsing a-part in diuers yeeres, the diuersity of occurrents.

The Historie of the ancient Kings of *Troy* is vncertaine, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the two founders of that Kingdome. This is the opinion of *Virgil*: which if hee (as *Reineccius* thinks) tooke from *Berosus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it of him, then it rests vpon the authority of *Virgil*, who saith thus:

*Creta Iouis magni medio iacet insula Ponto:
Mons Idaeus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostrae.*

N^o 3

Centum

*Centum Vrbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:
Maximus unde Pater (si rite audita recorder)
Teucus Rheteas primum est aduectus ad oras:
Optauitque locum regno. Nondum illum & arces
Pergameæ steterant: habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiæque era,
Idæumque nemus.*

In the maine Sea the Ile of Crete doth lie:
Whence Ioue was borne, thence is our progenie.
There is mount Ida: there in fruitfull Land
An hundred great and goodly Cities stand.
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
Teucer the eldest of our grand-fires came
To the Rhætean shores: and reigned there
Ere yet faire Ilion was built, and ere
The Towers of Troy: their dwelling place they fought
In lowest vales. Hence Cybels rites were bought:
Hence Corybantian Cymbals did remoue:
And hence the name of our Idæan groue.

Thus it seemeth by Virgil, who followed surely good authority, that Teucer first gaue name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere Troy was built by Dardanus: of which Dardanus in the same booke he speaks thus:

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ,
OEnotrii coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes: hinc Dardanus ortus:
Iasusque Pater, genus à quo principe nostrum.*

Hesperia the Grecians call the place:
An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race,
OEnotrians held it; now the later progenie
Giues it their Captaines name, and calls it Italie;
This seate belongs to vs, hence Dardanus,
Hence came the Author of our stock, Iasus.

Alfo Aruicā. l. 3.

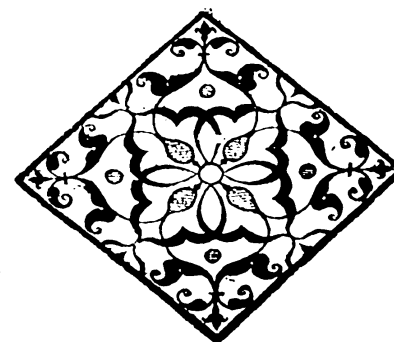
*Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Aruncos ita ferre senes, hic ortus ut agris
Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetrauit ad vrbes,
Threiciæque Sinum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhena ab sede profectum,
Arcæ nunc solio stellantis regia cæli
Accipit, &c.*

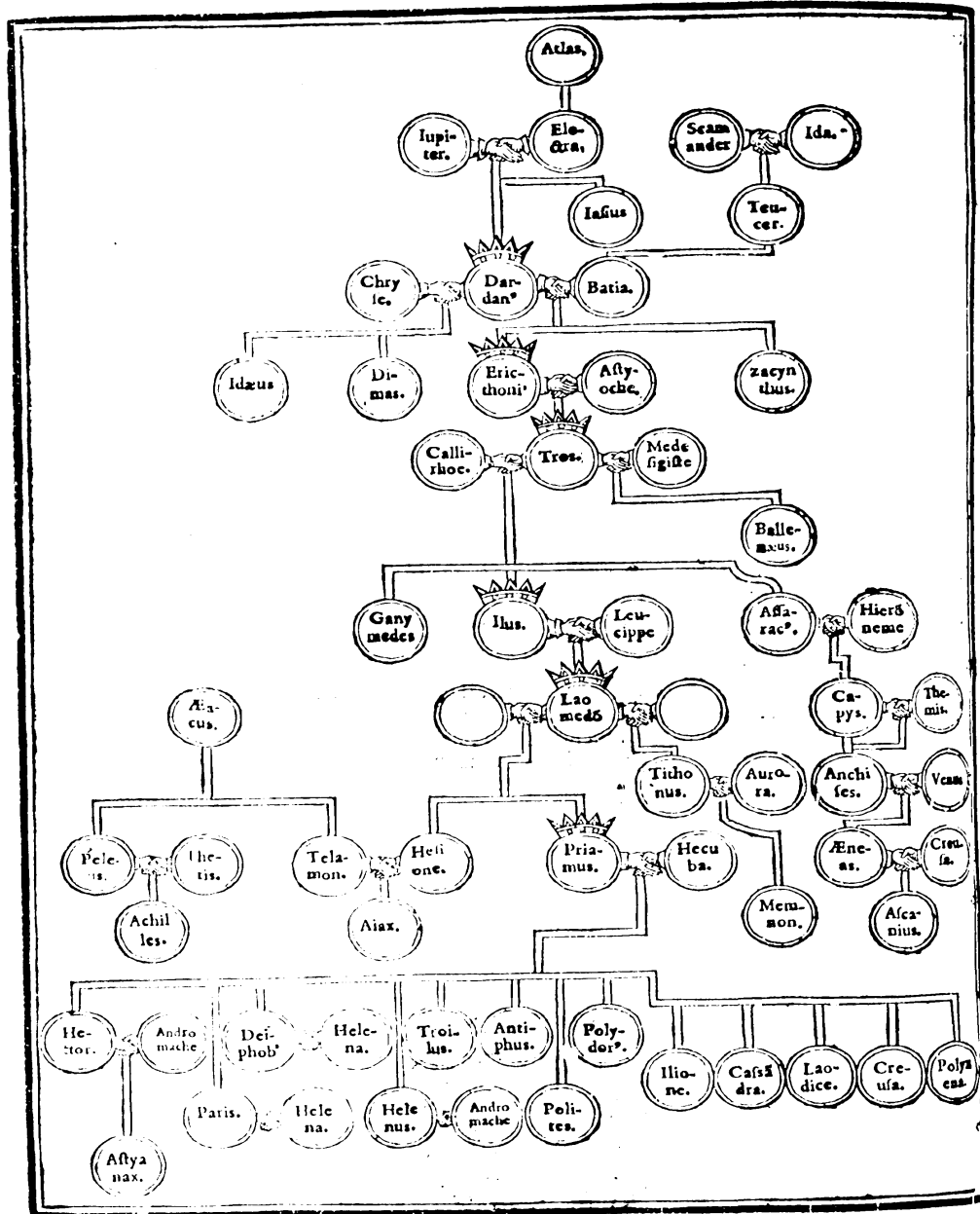
Some old Aruncans, I remember well,
(Though time haue made the fame obscure) would tell
Of Dardanus, how borne in Italie:
From hence he into Phrygia did flie.
And leauing Tuscaine (where he earst had place)
With Corytus did saile to Samothrace,
But now inthronized he sits on high,
In golden Palace of the starrie skie.

But contrary to this, and so many Authors, approuing and confirming it, Reineccius thinks that these names, Troes, Teuceri, and Thraces, are deriued from Tiras or Thiras the son of Iaphet: and that the Dardanians, Mysians, & Ascanians, mixt with the Troians,

were

were Germane Nations, descended from Asbkenaz, the sonne of Gomer: of whom the Countre, Lake, and riuer of Ascanius in Asia tooke name. That Asbkenaz gaue name to those places and people, it is not vnlikely: neither is it vnlikely, that the Ascanii, Dardani, and many others, did in after-times passe into Europe: that the name of Teucer came of Tiras, the coniecture is somewhat hard. Concerning Teucer, whereas Halicarnassæus makes him an Athenian, I finde none that follow him in the same opinion. Virgil (as is before shewed) reporteth him to be of Crete, whose authoritie is the more to be regarded, because hee had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that hee carefully sought, and in this did follow, seeing it no way concerned Augustus (whom other-whiles hee did flatter) whether Teucer were of Crete or no. Reineccius doth rather embrace the opinion of Diodorus, and others that thinke him a Phrygian, by which report he was the Sonne of Scamander and Ida, Lord of the Countrey, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece Batia was the second wife of Dardanus, founder of Troy. Reineccius further thinks that Atlas reigned in Samothracia, and gaue his daughter Electra to Corytus, or Coritus: and that these were Parents to Chryse, first wife to Dardanus. Virgil holds otherwise, and the common Tradition of Poets makes Dardanus the sonne of Electra by Jupiter, which Electra was the daughter of Atlas, and wife to Coritus King of Hetruria, to whom she bare Iasus. Annus out of his Berosus findes the name of Cambolascon, to whom he giues the addition of Corytus, as a Title of dignitie, making him Father of Dardanus and Iasus; and further telling vs very particularly of the faction betweene these Brethren, which grew to such heate, that finally Dardanus killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into Samothrace. The obscurity of the historie giues leaue to Annus of saying what he list. I, that loue not to vse such libertie, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if Dardanus were the Sonne of Jupiter, it must haue beene of some elder Jupiter than the Father of those that liued about the Warre of Troy. So it is likewise probable that Atlas the Father of Electra was rather an Italian than an African, which also is the opinion of Boccace. For (as hath often been said) there were many Jupiters, and many or almost euery name of Gods; but it was the custome to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my self with making any narrow search into these fabulous antiquities, but set down the Pedigree according to the generall fame; allowing to Teucer such Parents as Diodorus giues, because others giue him none, and carrying the line of Dardanus in manner following.





Concerning the beginning and continuance, the Trojan Kingdome, with the length of every Kings reigne, I have chosen good Authors to be my guides, that in a Historie, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the Greekes, I might not follow incertainties; ill cohering with the consent of Writers, and generall passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of Troy, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that Citie whilest it stood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* *Diod. l. 4.* to be 780. yeeres more ancient than the beginning of the nintie fourth *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore 372. did passe between the beginning of the *Olympiads* and the first yeere of the 94. it is manifest that the remainder of 780. yeeres, that is, 408. yeeres went betweene the destruction of Troy, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authoritie of *Diodorus* be good prooffe, who elsewhere tels vs, that the returne of the *Heracleide*, which was 80. yeeres after the fall of Troy, was 328. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*.

Hereunto agrees the authoritie of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who placing the foundation of Rome in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*, that is, foure and twentie yeeres after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432. later than the fall of Troy. *Solinus* in express words, makes the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 480. yeeres later than the destruction of Troy. The summe is easily collected by necessarie inference out of diuers other places in the same booke. Hereunto doth *Eusebius* *Euseb. de rap. l. 1. c. 2.* reckon exclusively agree; and *Erastosthenes*, (as he is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes vp out of many particulars, the same totall summe, wanting but one yeere, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

The other collections of diuers Writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, doe neither cohere any way, nor depend vpon any collaterall Historie, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of Troy being in the yeere before the *Olympiads* foure hundred and eight: we must seeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of *Eusebius*, who leades vs from *Derdanus* on-wards through the reignes of foure Kings, by the space of two hundred and fife and twenty yeeres, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed vnder *Laomedon*, we are faine to doe, as others haue done before vs, and take it vpon trust from *Annus* his Authors; believing *Manetho* so much the rather, for that in his accompt of the former kings reignes &c. of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may giue vs leaue to thinke that *Annus* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we neede not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no Historie or accompt of time depends vpon the reigne of the former Kings, but onely vpon the ruine of the Citie vnder *Priamus*, it may suffice that we are carefull to place that memorable accident in the due yeere.

True it is, that some obiections appearing waightie, may be alleaged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answers I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those yeeres, wherein the Greekes knew no good forme of a yeere; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of Troy was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprize that was vnderaken by generall consent of all Greece, was the last warre of Troy, which hath bin famous euen to this day, for the numbers of Princes, and valiant Commanders there assembled: the great battailes fought with variable success: the long indurance of the siege; the destruction of that great Citie; and the many Colonies planted in sundry Countries, as well by the remainder of the Trojans, as by the victorious Greekes after their vnforgotten returne. All which things with innumerable circumstances of especiall note, haue bene deliuered vnto posteritie, by the excellent wits of many writers, especially by the Poets of that *Homer*, whose verses haue giuen immortallitie to the action, which might else perhaps haue bene buried in obliuion, among other worthy deedes, done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith;

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi sed omnes illecebrabiles
Vrgentur, ignotiq. longa
Nocte: carent quia vate sacro:

Many by valour haue deseru'd renowne
 Ere *Agamemnon*: yet lie all opprest
 Vnder long night, vnwept for, and vnknowne:
 For with no sacred Poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilest these writters haue with strange fables, or (to speake the best of them) with Allegories farre strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble vndertakers: they haue both drawne into suspition that great vertue which they sought to adorne, & filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the Historie, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that we seeke for the knowledge of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of Poets, in whose workes are both profit and delight: yet small profit to those which are delighted otherwise; but such as can interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall finde matter in *Poems*, not vnworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disgracement of Authors, written of this great war. All writers consent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the son of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking arms: but how he was hereunto emboldned, it is doubtfull.

§. II.

Of the Rape of Helen: and strength of both sides for the warre.

Herodotus fetcheth the cause of this rape from very farre; saying, That whereas the Phœnicians had rauished *Io*, and carried her into Egypt, the Greekes to be reuenged on the Barbarians, did first rauish *Europa*, whom they brought out of *Phœnicia* into Creta, and afterward *Medea*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of *Io*. By these deedes of the Greekes, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirms) was emboldened to doe the like, not fearing such reuenge as ensued. But all this narration seemes friuolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to doe with the iniurie of the Phœnicians? Or how could the Greekes, as in reuenge of *Io*, pleade any quarrell against him, that neuer had heard the name of Phœnicians? *Thucydides* a writer of vnquestionable sinceritie, maketh it plain, that the name of Barbarians was not vsed at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the warre of Troy; and that the Greekes themselves were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were vnreasonable to thinke, that they should haue sought reuenge vpon all Nations, as barbarous, for the iniurie receiued by one: or that all people else should haue esteemed of the Greeks, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that euen then when as the Greekes had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probabilitie say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redeliuery of *Hesione*, King *Priamus* his sister, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and giuen to *Telamon*. This may haue bene true. For *Telamon* (as it seemes) was a cruell man, seeing his owne sonne *Teucer* durst not come in his sight, after the warre of Troy, but fled into Cyprus, onely because his brother *Ajax* (which *Teucer* could not remedie) had slaine himselfe. Yet, were it so, that *Hesione* was ill intreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her brother would seeke to take her from her husband, with whom she had liued about thirtie yeeres, and to whom shee had borne children which were to succeed in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hesione*: but was meereley incited by *Venus*, that is, by his lust, to doe that which in those dayes was very common. For not only Greeks from Barbarians, and Barbarians from Greeks, as *Herodotus* discourseth; but all people were accustomed to steale women and cattell, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and hauing stollen them, either to sell them away in some farre Countrey, or keepe them to their owne vse. So did *Theseus*, and *Pirryshom* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) rauish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appears in *Thucydides*, were so common, that none durst inhabite neere vnto the Sea, for feare of pyracie, which was accounted a trade of life no lesse lawfull than merchandise: wherefore *Tyndareus* the father of *Helen*, considering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theseus* had made, caused all her wooers, who were most of the principall men

in Greece, to binde themselves by solemne oath, that if she were taken from her husband, they should with all their might helpe to recouer her. This done, he gaue free choyce of a husband to his daughter, who chose *Menelaus*, brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause which drew the Greekes vnto Troy in reuenge of *Helen*s rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made vnto her father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon*, besides his great Dominions in Peloponnesus, was Lord of many Ilands: he was also rich in money; and therefore the Arcadians were well contented to follow his pay, whom hee embarked for Troy in his owne ships, which were more than any other of the Greeke Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all Greece, either as bound by oath, or led by reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprize, take armes against the Troians. The Greekes Fleet was (by *Homers* account) 1200. sayle, or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ships with decks, onely they vied, as *Thucydides* (saith) small ships, meet for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fiftie men, the greatest 120. euery man (except the Captaines) being both a Marriner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appears that the Grecian army consisted of 100000 men, or thereabout. This was the greatest armie that euer was raised out of Greece: and the greatnesse of this armie doth well declare the strength and power of Troy, which ten whole yeers did stand out against such forces: yet were the Troians which inhabited the Citie, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* said in the second of *Homers* *Ileads*, but their followers and aydes were very many and strong. For all Phrygia, Lycia, Mysia, and the greatest part of Asia the lesse, tooke part with the Troians. The Amazons also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of Thrace, and *Memnon* out of Assyria (though some thinke, out of Æthiopia) came to their defence.

§. III.

Of the Grecians journey, and Embassage to Troy, and of Helenacs being detained in Egypt; and of the Sacrificing of Iphigenia.

Herefore the Greekes vnwilling to come to triall of armes, if things might be compounded by treaty, sent *Menelaus* and *Vlysses* Embassadors to Troy, who demanded *Helen* & the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his house. What answer the Troians made hereunto it is vncertaine. *Herodotus* from the report of the Egyptian Priests, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his returne to Troy. The summe of his discourse is this.

Paris in his returne with *Helen*, being driuen by foule weather vnto the coast of Egypt, was accused for the rape of *Helen* by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Proteus* then King of Egypt, finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because he was a stranger. When therefore the Greekes demanding *Helen* had answer, that she was in Egypt, they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of Troy. But when after the Citie taken, they perceiued indeed she had not bene there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to aske his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer* and the whole Nation of Poets (except *Enripides*) vary from this Historie, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more gracefull to their Poems, for the retaining of a faire Lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to redeliuer her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odysses*, *Homer* speakes of *Menelaus* his being in Egypt, before he returned home to *Sparta*, which voyage it were not easily beleueed, that he made for pleasure: and if he were driuen thither by contrary windes, much more may wee thinke that *Paris* was likely to haue bene driuen thither by foule weather. For *Paris* immediately vpon the rape committed, was enforced to flye, taking such windes as he could get, and rather enduring any storme, than to commit himselfe to any Hauen in the Greekes seas: whereas *Menelaus* might haue put into any Port in Greece, and there haue remained with good entertainment, vntill such time as the winde had come about, and serued for his Navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirme the saying of the *Egyptian* Priests, which is, that if *Helen* had bene at *Troy*, it had bene viter madnesse for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befall him, during the warre, and so many of his sonnes slaine for the pleasure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for *Hector* was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seeme that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly than truly, when he said that *Helen*, at the war of *Troy*, was almost as old as Queene *Hecuba*, considering that she had beene ransished by *Theseus* the companion of *Hercules*, who tooke *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that she was sister to *Castor* and *Pollux* (she and *Pollux* being said by some to haue bene twins) who sailed with the *Argonautes*, hauing *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* in their company before the time that *Hesione* was taken, on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principall Commander in the *Troian* warre. But whether it were so that the *Trojans* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Embassadors returned ill contented, and not very well intreated; for there wanted not some that aduised to haue them slaine. The Greekes hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to haue bin a runnagate *Troian*, though no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Capitaines & all the Hoaste with many troublesome answers & diuinations. For he would haue *Agamemnons* daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger, he said, withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the goddesse was contented with a Hinde, it is not needfull here to be disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the diuell, which awaits for all opportunities, is neuer more importunate, than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the Greekes, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible, till some fatall impediments were remoued: and that till ten yeeres were past, the towne should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding, the Greekes proceeded in their enterprise, vnder the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his brother *Menelaus*; *Achilles* the most valiant of all the Greekes, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phoenix*; *Ajax* and *Teucer*, the sons of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor*, and his sonnes *Antilocheus*, and *Thrasymedes*; *Vlysses*, *Athenes* the sonne of *Petrus*, Captaine of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the son of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wife and learned *Palamedes*; *Ascalaphus*, and *Ialmenus*, the sons of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonautes*; *Philoctetes* also the sonne of *Pean*, who had the arrowes of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said, that the Citie could not be taken; *Ajax* the sonne of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Thoas*, *Enmelus*, *Tysandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sibemelus*, *Tlepolemus* the son of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Maechus*, the sonnes of *Ascalapius*: *Epheus*, who is said to haue made the wooden horse, by which the towne was taken; and *Protesilaus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatned death to him that landed first.

§. IV.

Of the Acts of the Gracians at the siege.

THese, and many other of lesse note, arriuing at *Troy*, found such sharpe entertainment, as might easily perswade them to thinke that the warre would be more than one yeeres worke. For in the first encounter, they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, & many other, without any great harme done to the *Trojans*: save only that by their numbers of men, they won ground enough to incampe themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principall impediment which the Greekes found, was want of victuals, which grew vpon them by reason of their multitude, and the smalnesse of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an armie. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground, in *Cherroneesse*: others to rob vpon the Sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the war protracted nine whole yeeres, & either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the towne receive little losse by them, hauing equall numbers to maintaine the field against such Greekes as continued the siege, and a more safe retrait if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Onias* saith, That from the first yeeres, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: & *Heraclide* commends as very credible, the report of *Herodotus*; That the Greekes did not lye before *Troy* the first nine yeeres: but onely did beare vp & down the seas

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exercising drail men, and enriching themselves; and so by wasting the enemies Countrie did blocke up the towne, vntill the fatall time drew neere when it should be subuerb.

This is confirmed by the enquirie which *Priamus* made, when the Greeke Princes came into the field, the tenth yeere; for he knew none of them; and therefore sitting vpon an high tower (as *Homer* tells) hee learned their names of *Helen*; which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all haue been supposed that hee should bee ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the towne so many yeeres together. Betwene these relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, the difference is not much; the one saying, that a few of the Greekes remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purveyance by land and by sea: the other, that the whole armie did spend the time in wasting the sea-coasts. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many townes and Ilands wasted, and the people carried into Captiuitie, in which actions *Achilles* was imployed, whom the armie could not well, nor would haue spared, if any seruice of importance had bene to bee performed before the Citie. Howsoeuer it was, this is agreed by generall consent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great pestilence arose among the Greekes: which *Homer* saith, that *Apollo* sent in reuenge of his Priests daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let goe, for any rancome: but *Heracles* interpreting the place, saith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne, who rayed pestilent Fogs, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well bee that the campe was ouer-pestered with those, who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: hauing also grounded their ships within the fortifications.

About the same time arose much contention betwene *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the bootie, whereof *Agamemnon*, as Generall, hauing first chosen for his part a captiue woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himselfe another, then *Ajax*, *Vlysses*, and so the rest of the chiefe Capitaines in order: When the Soothsayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman should be restored to her father *Apollo's* Priests, that so the Pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and say, that hee alone would not lose his part of the spoyle, but would either take that which had bene giuen to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Vlysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was faine to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to reuenge her losse otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Capitaines. But the Greekes, encouraged by their Capitaines, presented themselves before the Citie without him and his troups.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour Countries hauing sent them aide: partly drawne to that warre by their Commanders, who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith hee abounded when the warre began (as appeares by his words in *Homer*), or for loue of himselfe and his sonnes, or hope of marriage with some of his many and faire daughters; partly also (as we may well ghesse) incited by the wrongs receiued of the Greekes, when they wasted the Countries adioyning vnto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* issued out of the towne, hee was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Capitaines in the *Troian* armie, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, and the other sonnes of *Priamus*: *Eneas*, *Antenor*, and his sonnes, *Polydamas*, *Sarpedom*, *Glaucus*, *Asius*, and the sonnes of *Panthus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slaine the first night of his arriuall; *Memnon*, Queene *Penthesilea*, and others who came towards the end of the warre. Betwene these and the Greekes were many battels fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tombe of King *Ilus* vpon the Plaine: and another at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein *Hector* brake through the fortifications of the Greekes, and began to fire their ships; at which time *Ajax*, the sonne of *Telamon* with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining vnwounded, made head against *Hector*, when the state of the Greekes was almost desperate.

Another battell (for so antiquitie calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who hauing obtained leaue, drew forth *Achilles* troopes, relieuing the weary Greekes with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Vlysses*, and the rest of the Princes, though sore wounded, yet were driuen to put on armour, and with helpe of *Patroclus*,

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§. IV.

Of the Aets of the Gracians at the siege.

THESE, and many other of lesse note, arriuing at *Troy*, found such sharpe entertainment, as might easily perswade them to thinke that the warre would be more than one yeeres worke. For in the first encounter, they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, & many other, without any great harme done to the *Troians*: save only that by their numbers of men, they won ground enough to incampe themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principall impediment which the Greekes found, was want of victuals, which grew vpon them by reason of their multitude, and the smalnesse of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an armie. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cherroneesse*; others to rob vpon the Sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the war protracted nine whole yeeres, & either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the towne receive little losse by them, hauing equall numbers to maintaine the field against such Greekes as continued the siege, and a more safe retreat if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Onid* saith, That from the first yeere; till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: & *Heraclide* commendeth as very credible, the report of *Herodotus*; That the Greekes did not lye before *Troy* the first nine yeeres: but onely did beare vp & down the seas

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exercising their men, and enriching themselves; and so by wasting the enemies Countrie did blocke vp the towne, vntill the fatall time drew neere when it should be subuerted.

This is confirmed by the Enquiritia which *Priamus* made, when the Greeke Princes came into the field, the tenth yeere; for he knew none of them; and therefore sitting vpon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) hee learned their names of *Helen*; which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all haue been supposed that hee should bee ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the towne so many yeeres together. Betwene these relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, the difference is not much; the one saying, that a few of the Greekes remained in the Campe before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purueyance by land and by sea: the other, that the whole armie did spend the time in wasting the sea-coasts. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many townes and Ilands wasted, and the people carried into Captiuitie; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the armie could not well, nor would haue spared, if any seruice of importance had beene to bee performed before the Citie. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by generall consent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great pestilence arose among the Greekes: which *Homer* saith, that *Apollo* sent in reuenge of his Priests daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let goe, for any rancome: but *Heracles* interpreting the place, saith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne, who raysed pestilent Fogs, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well bee that the campe was ouer-pestered with those, who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: hauing also grounded their ships within the fortifications.

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Another battell (for so antiquitie calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who hauing obtained leaue, drew forth *Achilles* troopes, relieuing the weary Greekes with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Plysses*, and the rest of the Princes, though sore wounded, yet were driuen to put on armour, and with helpe of *Patroclus*, repelled

repelled the Troians very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought backe into the Campe: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torne from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of those warres, hauing slaine a man, to strip him and hale away his body, nor restoring it without ranfome, if hee were one of mark. Of the vulgar, little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, slightly armed, and commonly followed the successe of their Captaines; who rode not vpon horses, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horses, which were guided by some trustie followers of theirs, which draue vp and downe the field, as they were directed by the Captaines, who by the swiftnesse of their horses presenting themselves where neede required, threw first their Iauelins, and then alighting, fought on foot, with swords and battel-axes, retiring into the ranks of footmen, or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began againe with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost, or broken. Their armes defensive were helmets, brest-plates, bootes of brasle, or other metall, and shields commonly of leather plated ouer. The offensive were swords and battel-axes at hand; and stones, arrowes or darts when they fought at any distance. The vse of their Chariots (besides the swiftnesse) was to keepe them from wearinesse, whereto the leaders were much subiect, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest ware heauiest: also that from them they might throw their Iauelins downwards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driuen to returne to their tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change or none; euery man (speaking of the chiefe) carried his owne compleat, of which if any piece were lost or broken, he was driuen to repaire it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from some Captaine whom he had slaine, and stripped: or else to borrow of them that had by such meanes gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had lost his armour which *Hector* (as is said before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was faine to await the making of new; ere hee could enter the fight: whereof he became very desirous, that he might reuenge the death of *Patroclus* his deare friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himselfe vnto *Achilles*, not onely restoring his concubine *Briseis*, but giuing him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might. In the next battell *Achilles* did so behaue himselfe, that hee did not onely put the Troians to the worst, but also leue the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may heerein be beleued) he chased three times about the wals of Troy. But great question may be made of *Homer*'s truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would stay alone without the Citie (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the Troians, were fled into it: nor that he could leape ouer the riuers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as hee must haue done in that flight: nor that the Troians perceiuing *Hector* in such an extremitie, would haue forborne to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported onely to grace *Achilles*, who hauing (by what meanes soeuer) slaine the noble *Hector*, did not onely carrie away his dead body, as the custome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leatherne thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him shamefully about the field, selling the dead body to his father *Priamus* for a very great ranfome. But his cruelty and couetousnesse were not long vnreunget; for he was shortly after slaine with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* sayes, in the Scæan Gate; or as others, in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to haue married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too farre in loue, hauing slaine so many of her brethren; and his body was ranfomed (as *Lycophron* saith) at the selfe-same rate that *Hector*'s was by him sold for. Nor long after this, *Penthesilea* Queene of the Amazons arriued at Troy, who after some proofe giuen of her valour, was slaine by *Pyrhus* the sonne of *Achilles*.

§. V.

Of the taking of Troy, the wooden Horse, the Booke of Dares and Dyctis, the Colonies of the reliques of Troy.



nally, after the death of many worthy persons on each side, the Citie was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the treason of *Aeneas* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden Horse, as the Poets, and common fame (which

(which followed the Poets) haue deliuered, it is vncertaine. Some write that vpon one of the gates of Troy, called *Scæa*, was the image of a horse, and that the Greekes entring by that gate, gaue occasion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificall horse. It may well be that with some woodden engine, which they called an Horse, they either did batter the wals, as the Romanes in after-times vsed to do with the Ramme; or scaled the wals vpon the sudden, and so tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a woodden horse, it had been a desperate aduenture, and seruing to no purpose. For either the Troians might haue perceiued the deceit, and slaine all those Princes of Greeke, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintaine this report they are said to haue thought vpon;) or they might haue left it a few dayes without the Citie (for it was unlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude vpon the bringing it into the towne, and breake downe their wals vpon the sudden to doe it;) by which meanes they who were shut into it, must haue perished for hunger, if they had not by issuing forth vnseasonably discovered the inuention. Whereas further it is said, that this horse was so high and great, that it could not bee brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that therefore the Troians were faine to pull downe a part of their wall to make way for it, through which breach the Greekes did afterwards enter: it is heereby manifest, that the inclosing of so many principall men was altogether needlesse, considering that without their helpe there was way sufficient for the armie, so that the surprising of any gate by them was now to no purpose.

Iohn Baptista Gramay in his Historie of *Asia*, discoursing of this warre, saith that the Greekes did both batter the wals with a woodden engine, and were also let into the Citie by *Antenor*, at the Scæan gate: the townsmen sleeping and drinking without feare or care, because the fleet of the Grecians had hoisted saile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the Troians into security. That the City was betrayed, the books of *Dares* & *Dyctis* must proue, which whether we now haue the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who haue made mention of these writers in ancient times, would not as they did, haue followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictorie in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they hauing serued in that warre made against the common report: had it not bene that either those bookes were euen in those times thought friuolous; or else contained no such repugnantie to the other authors as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slaine in this warre, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* say to haue bene about 600000. on the Trojan side, and more than 800000. of the Greekes, it is a report meereley fabulous; for as much as the whole Fleet of the Greekes was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their armie and decedes as much as hee could, to be somewhat lesse than 1200. saile, and the armie therein transported ouer the Greeke seas, not much about 100000. men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of men to extoll the deeds of their Ancients: for which cause both *Homer* magnified the Captaines of the Greekes that serued in the warre, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the Troians and their Citie, from which the Romanes descended. Yea, the Athenians long after in the warre which *Xerxes* the Persian King made against all Greeke, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Mnefews* the son of *Petens* had shewed, in marshalling the Grecian army before Troy: wherupon, as if it had bin a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeeld vnto *Gelon* King of almost all Sicily, the Admiraltie of their Seas, notwithstanding that hee promised to bring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanitie possessed many other Cities of Greeke, and many Nations in these parts of the world, which haue striven to bring their descent from some of the Princes, that warred at Troy: all difficulties or vnlikelihoods in such their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which in deede, or in most probabilitie came of the Troians, were the Albanes in Italy; and from them the Romanes, brought into that Countrey by *Aeneas*: the Venetians first seated in Padua, and the Countrey adioyning by *Antenor*: the Chaonians planted in Epirus by *Helenus*, the sonne of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellenicus* addeth, that the posteritie of *Hector* did resemble such of the Troians as were left, and reigned ouer them about Troy.

§. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greekes returning from Troy.

Concerning the Greekes, they tasted as much miserie as they had brought vpon the Troians. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driuen by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: some were slaine anon after their arriual: others were debarred from the Soueraintie among the people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seeme to haue bene the dispersion of the Armie, which, weakened much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell iniuries, being diuided into so many pieces vnder seuerall Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising vpon the diuision of the bootie, and the like occasions) at the time when they should haue set saile, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and performe some sacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, halfe the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them sailed to the Ile of *Tenedos*; where when they arriued, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned backe to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his owne course. But the whole fleet was sore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be perswaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor* and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Orestes* afterwards slew: also *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who neuertheless, as *Virgil* tells, were driuen soone after to seeke new seats: *Idomeneus* among the Salentines, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italic*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slaine by his wife, and by the adulterer *Aegisthus*, who for a while after vsurped his Kingdom. *Menelaus* wandring long vpon the Seas, came into *Egypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seeme) to fetch her. *Vlysses*, after ten yeares, hauing lost all his company, got home in poore estate, with much adoe recovering the mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driuen into exile, and faine to seeke out new habitations.

Alex the sonne of *Oileus* was drowned; *Tener* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to *King Dardanus*, who was Lord of the lapyges in *Apulia*; some of the *Locrians* were driuen into *Africke*, others into *Italic*, all the haltpart whereof was called *Magna Gracia*, by reason of so many Townes which the Greekes were driuen to erect vpon that coast. Finally, it appears in *Homer*, that the *Græcian* Ladyes, whose husbands had bene at the warre of *Troy*, were wont to call it, The place where the Greekes suffered miserie, and the vnluckie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy*, and those that warred there: the ouerthrow of which Citie, as hath bene said, happened in the time of *Habdon* Iudge of *Israel*, whom *Samson* after a variance or *Inter regnum* for certaine yeares succeeded.

CHAP. XV.

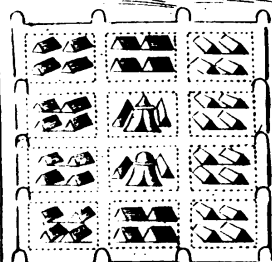
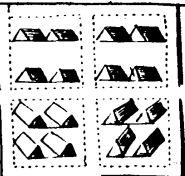
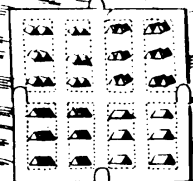
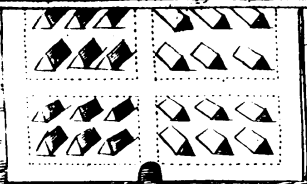
Of Samson, Eli, and Samuel.

§. I.
Of Samson.

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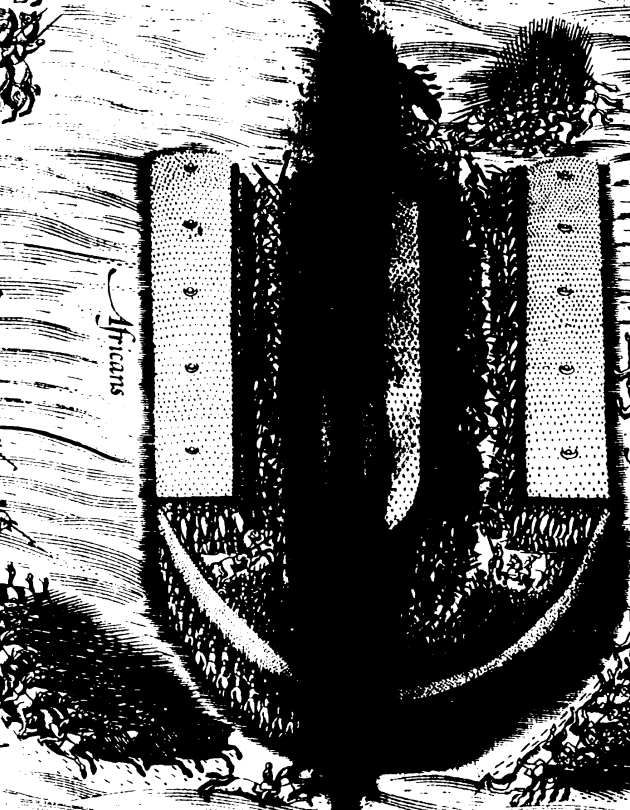


HE birth and acts of *Samson* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that Storie. First, that the Angell of God forbad the wife of *Manoah* the mother of *Samson*, to drinke Wine or strong drinke, or to eat any vncleane meate, after she was conceived with childe; because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrink the childe in the mothers wombe. Though this were euen the counsell of God himselfe, and delivered by his Angell, yet it seemeth that many women of this age haue not read,



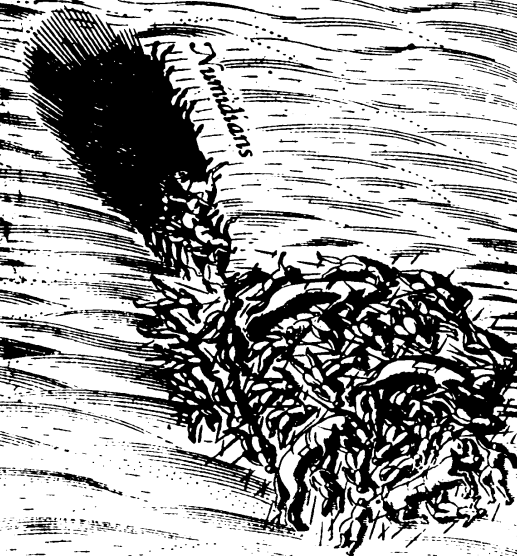
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that least will not beleue this precept: the most part forbearing nor drinks, nor meats, how strong or vncleane soeuer, filling themselves with all sorts of wines, and with artificiall drinks farre more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are borne into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angel of God* refused the sacrifice which *Manoah* would haue offered him, commanding him to present it vnto the Lord: and therefore those that professe diuination by the helpe of Angels, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are Diuels who accept thereof, and not good Angels, who receive no worship that is proper to God.

10 Thirdly, this *Samson* was twice betrayed by his wiues, to wit, by their importunitie and deceitfull teares: by the first he lost but a part of his goods: by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas enertit; whom no force could overcome, Voluptas non fuisse ouerturned.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliuer Israel from the oppression of the Philistims; though in some sort he reuenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slaine 30. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corne in haruest time, and giuen them a great ouerthrow instantly vpon it: yet so much did Israel feare the Philistims, as they assembled 3000. men out of Iuda, to besiege *Samson* in the rocke or mountaine of Etam, vsing these words: *Knowest not thou that the Philistims are Rulers ouer vs, &c.* After which they bound him, and deliuered him vnto the Philistims, for feare of their reuenge; though he was no soouer loosened, but hee gaue them another ouerthrow, and slew 1000. with the iawbone of an Asse.

Lastly, being made blinde, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, hee was content to end his owne life, to bee auenged of his enemies, when hee pulled downe the pillars of the house at the feast whereto they sent for *Samson*, to deride him; till which time hee bare his affliction with patience: but it was truely said of *Seneca*; *Patientia sepe lesa veritas in furorem*; *Patience often wounded is conuerted into furie*: neither is it at any time so much wounded by paine and losse, as by derision and contumelie.

30

§. II.

Of *Eli*, and of the Arke taken; and of *Dagons* fall, and the sending backe of the Arke.



He storie of *Eli* the Priest, who succeeded *Samson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickednesse of his sonnes, which he suppressed nor, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whose sins were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Leui Ben Gerson*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the sons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the Israelites vnder the swords of the Philistims; 40 of whom there perished in the first incounter 4000. and in the second battell 30000. footmen; among whom the sonnes of *Eli* being slaine, their father (hearing the lamentable successe) by falling from his chaire, brake his necke. Hee was the first that obtained the High Priesthood of the stocke of *Ishamar* the sonne of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successuely in the race of *Eleazar* the eldest brother of *Ishamar*: for *Eleazar* was the first, *Eleazer* the second, *Phineas* the sonne of *Eleazer* the third, *Abisue* the sonne of *Phineas* the fourth, his sonne *Becai* the fifth, *Ozi* the sonne of *Becai* the sixth, and then *Eli*, as *Iosephus* and *Lycanus* out of diuers Hebrew authors haue conceiued. In the race of *Ishamar* the Priesthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Salomon* who cast out *Abiathar*, and established *Sadock* and *Achimam* and their successors. The Arke of 50 God which Israel brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the Philistims. For as *David* witnesseth, God greatly abhorred Israel, so that hee forsooke the habitation of *Shilo*: even the Tabernacle where hee dwelt among men, and deliuered his power into captivity, &c.

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the Arke whereby himselfe was represented, should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did hee permit the Chaldeans to destroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the Romans to ouerthrow the second Temple; and the Turkes to ouerthrow the Christian Churches in Asia and Europe. And had not the Israelites put more confidence in the sacrament,

sacrament, or representation which was the Arke, then in God himselfe, they would haue obserued his Lawes, and serued him onely: which whensoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captiuitie they had no Arke at all, nor in the times of the Machabees: and yet for their pietie it pleased God to make that familie as victorious as any that guarded themselves by the signe in stead of the substance. And that the Arke was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an ensigne, *David* witnessed when hee fled from *Abalon*. For when the Priests would haue carried the Arke with him; hee forbade it, and caused it to be turned into the Citie, vsing these words: *If I shall finde fauour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me againe: if not, let him doe to me as seemeth good in his eyes.*

2 Sam. 15.

The Troians beleueed that while their *Palladium* or the image of *Minerva* was kept in *Troy*, the Citie should neuer be ouerturned: so did the Christians in the last fatal battell against *Saladine* carry into the field, as they were made beleuee, the very Crosse whereon Christ died; and yet they lost the battell, their bodies and the wood. But *Chrysostome* vpon Saint *Matthew* (if that be his worke) giueth a good iudgement, speaking of those that wore a part of Saint *Iohns* Gospell about their neckes, for an amulet or preseruatiue: *Si tibi ea non profunt in auribus, quomodo proderunt in collo? If those words doe not profit men in their eares, (to wit, the hearing of the Gospell preached) how should it profit them by hanging it about their neckes?* For it was neither the wood of the Arke, nor the wood of the Crosse, but the reuerence of the Father, that gaue the one for a memorie of his Couenant; and the Faith in his Sonne, which shed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and vs, either in this life or after it.

The Philistims returning with the greatest victorie and glory which euer they obtained, carried the Arke of God with them to *Azotus*, and set it vp in the house of *Dagon* their Idoll: but that night the Idoll fell out of his place, from aboue to the ground, and lay vnder the Arke. The morning following they tooke it vp, and set it vp, and set it againe in his place. And it fell the second time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the armes, shewing, that it had nor power nor vnderstanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute strength) were sundred from the armes. For God and the diuell inhabite not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not endure the representation of the true God, it is not to be maruailed, that at such time as it pleased him to couer his onely begotten with flesh, and sent him into the world, that all the Oracles, wherein the Diuell derided and betrayed mortall men, lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that true light which neuer had beginning of brightness, brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, shining vpon the earth which had bin long obscured by Idolatrie, all those foule and stinking vapours vanished. *Plutarch* telleth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he stileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his braines for many reasons of so great an alteration: yet findes he none out but friuolous. For not onely this Idoll did then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as *Apollo*, *Iupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole

rabble became speechlesse. Now while the Philistims triumphed after this victory, God strooke them with the grievous disease of the *Hemorrhoides*, of which they perished in great numbers. For it is written, that the Lord destroyed them. It was therefore by generall consent ordered, that the Arke should be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth*, another of the five great Cities of the Philistims; to proue, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately: but when it was brought to *Gath* and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortall. For the hand of the Lord was against this Citie with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the Citie both small and great, &c. And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* sent the Arke to *Eckron* or *Accaron*, a third Citie of the Philistims: but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out, that themselves and their people should be slaine thereby; For there was a destruction and death throughout all the Citie. In the end, by the aduice of their Priests, the Princes of the Philistims did not onely resolute to returne the Arke, but to offer gifts vnto the God of Israel, remembring the plague which had fallen on the Egyptians, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his seruice by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the God of Israel to bee almighty, & that their owne Idols were subiect thereunto, they agreed to offer a sinne offering,

vsing these words; *So yea shall giue glory to the God of Israel, that he may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approue our cause? according to *Aristotle*; *Pulchrum est testimonium, quod nostra probantur ab hostibus.* So did *Pharao* confesse the liuing God, when he was plagued in Egypt: and *Nabuchodonosor*, and *Darius*, when they had seene his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counsell therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden *Hemorrhoides*, and the golden Mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to be chosen, such as had not bene yoked, and a new Cart or carriage to be framed: but they durst not driue or direct it to any place certaine, thereby to make tryall whether it were indeed the hand of God that had stricken them. For if the Arke of God were carried towards *Bethshemesh* and into the territorie of Israel: then they should resolute that from God only came their late destruction. For the Philistims knew that the milch Kine which drew the Arke, could not be forced from their Calues, but that they would haue followed them wherefoeuer; much lesse when they were left to themselves would they trauell a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world, if calues be removed from their dammes, the kine will follow them through woods, and desarts by the foote, till they finde them. But the kine trauelled directly towards *Bethshemesh*: and when they came into the fieldes thereof, to wit, of one *Iosua* of the same Citie, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the Philistims perceiued, they returned to *Eckron*. After which, God spared not his owne people the *Bethshemites*, in that they presumed to looke into the Arke. And because they knew God and his commandments, and had bene taught accordingly: he strook them more grievously than he did the Heathen, for there perished of them fiftie thousand and seuentie. From hence the Arke was carried to *Kiriath-iearim*, and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twentie yeares in the charge of *Eleazar* his sonne, vntill *David* brought it to *Hierusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the meane while the Arke was in *Nob*, *Mispah*, and *Calgala*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time secured from the Arke; or at least, it was for the present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to

30 Kiriath-iearim.

2 Sam. 6. 2.
1 Chron. 13.
See in this
book, ch. 13.
§. 1. in the
margent.

§. III. Of Samuel, and of his Government.

These Tragedies ouerpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while he was yet a childe, became now Iudge and Gouverneur of Israel. He was descended of the familie of *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Leui* had three sonnes; *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Anram*, and *Izaar*; of *Anram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*, of *Izaar*, *Chore*; and of the familie of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father, *Elcana*, a Leuite, was called an Ephraim; nor that the Leuites had any proper inheritance, but because he was of Mount Ephraim, like as *Iesse*, *Dauids* father was called an Ephraim, because borne at Ephrata, or *Bethleem*. *Hanna*, his mother being long fruitlesse, obtained him of God by prayers and teares: it being an exceeding shame to the Iewish women, to be called barren in respect of the blessing of God both to *Abraham* that his seed should multiply as the Starres of Heauen, and the Sands of the Sea; as in the beginning to *Adam*, Increase and multiply, &c. and in *Deuteronomie* the seventh; *There shall he multiply and increase his flock among you.*

Samuel was no sooner borne, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his seruice, to which she deliuered him euen from the dugges. For as the first borne of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be dedicated till they were five years old for five sheekles, and between five yeares and twentie for twentie sheekles; so was it required by the Law that any of the race of the Leuites, should bee called to seruice about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twentie yeares.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the Acts, the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the Writers of holy Scriptures, to whom usually this name of a Prophet was giuen, & yet did *Moses* account himselfe such a one; as in the 18. of *Deuteronomie*, *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like vnto mee, &c.* But hee is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as *beforetime in Israel, when a man went to seeke an*

b 1 Chron. 6. 24.

c Which register
on was called
Ephrata, as ap-
peareth, Iud. 12.
§. whence for
distinction we
read Iud. 1. 2.
Ephrata is
Bethlechem
Iehuda, the
towne of *Israhel*
the which is
Bethlechem in
Iuda, Gen. 35.
§. 5. from the
region of *E-*
phrata, which
is in Mount *E-*
phraim, whence
I. Iud. 13. v. 6.
Ephrata is put
for *Silo*, which
was in the
Tribe of
Ephraim.
I. Iud. 18.
answer 1 Sam. 9.

1 Sam. 17.
See in this
book, p. 12. §. 1.

answer of God, thus he spake; Come and let us go to the Seer: for hee that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer. And although it pleased God to appeare by his Angels to Moses, as before to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; yet in the time of Eli, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether with-drawne his grace from Israel: but as the Chaldaean Paraphrast hath it, those reuelations before Samuels time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein Samuel iudged were Matspa or Mitspa, seated on a hill in Benjamin neere Iuda: also Gilgal, and Bethel, of which wee haue spoken elsewhere.

* Plutarch reports of Numa the second King of Rome, that when as hee was sacrificing it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing dismayed, answered, Ego autem sacrifico. 1 Sam. 2. 10.

The Philistims taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation of Warre at Mitspa in the beginning of Samuels government, gathered their Armie, and marched towards the Citie: at whose approach the Israelites stricken with feare, and with the memorie of their former slaughters and seruitude, besought Samuel to pray to God for them, who was then performing his sacrifice when the Philistims were in view. But God being moued with Samuels prayers (as he was by those of Moses, when Israel fought against the Amalekites at their first entrance into Arabia:) it pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beate downe the Armie of the Philistims, according to the prophetic of Hanna, Samuels Mother, *The Lords aduersaries shall be destroyed, and out of heauen shall he thunder upon them, &c.* Iosephus affirms, that a part of the Philistims were swallowed with an earthquake: and that Samuel himselfe led the Israelites in the prosecution of their victorie. After which, Samuel erected a Monument in memorie of this happy successe, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which Iosephus called, *Lapidem sortem*: Samuel, Ebenezer, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunitie and advantage of the victorie, the Israelites recouered diuers Cities of their owne formerly lost, and held long in possession of the Philistims, who for a long time after did not offer any inuasion or reuenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the Israelites made peace with the Amorites, or Canaanites, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not bee assaulted from diuers parts at once; hauing the Philistims towards the West and Sea-coast, the Canaanite, toward the North and East, and the Idumite on the South. The estate being thus settled, Samuel for the ease of the people gaue audience and iudgement in diuers places by turns, as hath beene elsewhere said.

CHAP. XVI. OF SAUL.

§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the government into a Kingdome.



VT when age now began to ouer-take Samuel, and that hee was not able to vnder-goe the burthen of so carefull a gouernment, hee put off from himselfe the weight of the affaires on his sonnes, *Ishai* and *Abijah*, who iudged the people at Beersheba, a Citie; the very vmoost towards the South of Iudza. And as the place was inconuenient and farre away, so were themselves no lesse removed from the iustice and vertue of their Father. For the thirst of conuouitnesse, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth; and desirith, finding taste in nothing but gaine; to recouer which, they set the Law at a price, and sold Iustice and Iudgement to the best Chapman. Which when the Elders of Israel obserued, and saw that Samuel as a naturall man (though a Prophet) could not so well discern the errors of his owne, they prayed him to consent to their change of gouernment, and to make them a King, by whom they might bee iudged as other Nations were, who might also leade them to the Warre and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable successe which followed the rule of Eli his sonnes, when those of Samuel by their first blossomes promised to yeeld fruite no lesse bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they so much reuerenced, but by the choyce of a King.

In

In a case of so great consequence and alteration, Samuel sought counsaile from God: which surely hee did not for the establishing of his owne Sonnes, who being as they were, God would not haue approved his election. (Now as it appeares by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, hee vsed his best arguments to dishort them;) which when hee perceived to be ouer-feeble, hee deliuered vnto them from Gods reuelation, the inconueniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which hee fore-shewed was not intolerable; but such as hath beene borne, and is still borne by free consent of the Subjects towards their Princes. For first hee maketh them know, that the King will vse their sonnes in his owne seruice to make them his Horse-meny, Chariot-men, and Foot-men; which is not onely not grieuous, but by the Vassals of all Kings, according to their birth and condition, desired: it being very agreeable to subiects to chuse best qualitie to command for the King in his Warres, and to till the ground no lesse properly and profitably, to the King, than are thereto bred and brought vp: so are likewise the officers of war-men, seruants to dresse meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatened, *Hee will take your fields, and your Vineyards, and your best olīue trees, and giue them to his seruants;* with other oppressions; this hath giuen, and giues daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their owne discretion, to affirme that Samuel desired here vnto them the power of a King, gouerned by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others vpon further examination construe this Text thus: that hee teacheth vs what Subjects ought with patience to beare at their Soueraigns hand. The former opinion is grounded first vpon that place of *Deuteronomy*, where God forbiddeth this change of gouernment from Iudges to Kings; and after hee had forbidden many things vnto the Kings, as many wiues, couetousnesse, and the like: hee commandeth that the Kings which were to raigne ouer Israel, should write the Law before them, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the dayes of his life: that he may learne to feare the Lord his God; and so keepe all the words of this Law, and shew them vnto the people: that hee may prolong his daies in his Kingdome, hee and his Sonnes:* But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrary to the Lawes of God, in the same booke written. For it is said, *That which is iust and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayest liue.* Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canst eat out of another mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much lesse lawfull to take the vineyard it selfe from the owner, and giue it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (say they) such as doe warrant the Kings of Israel, or make it proper vnto them, to take away any thing from their vassals. For it is not said that it shall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your sonnes: and againe; This shall be the manner of the King that shall raigne ouer you. God thereby shewing what power, secured from piety (because it is accountable to God onely) will doe in the future. And herof we finde the first example in *Achab*, who took from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should be iudged with righte iudgement.* Wherefore, though the King had offered vnto *Naboth* compensation, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refused: yet because hee was falsly accused, and vniustly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grieuously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of Israel: For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a liuing Law, euen as *Dauid* testifieth of himselfe; *Posui me in caput gentium*: For this of *S. Augustine* is very true: *Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata aequitas, non est aequitas: sed duplicem peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio; Fained innocence, and fained equitie, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is therin doubled, in which there is both iniquitie and dissimulation.* Such in effect is their disputation, who thinke this place to containe the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well knowne to all, being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchies*: which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much lesse here to insert. Onely thus much I will say, that if practice doe shew the greatnesse of authoritie, euen the best Kings of Iuda and Israel were not so tied by any lawes, but that they did whatsoever they pleased, in the

the greatest things, and commanded some of their owne Princes, and of their own brethren to be slaine without any triall of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometimes nor. For though *David* confessed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Saul* for killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed unto him as any offence.

That the State of *Israel* should receive this change of government, it was not only foretold by *Moses* in *Deuteronomie*, but perceived by *Jacob* in this Scripture: *The Scepter shall not depart from Juda, &c.* It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing: For it was not only assured that his issues should innumerable as the stars in heaven, but that Kings should proceed of him. Which state seeing it is framed from the patterne of his sole rule, who is Lord of the Vniuersall; and the excellency thereof in respect of all other governments, hath bene by many iudicious men handled and proued, I shall not need to over-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Judges euery man hath obserued what ciuill Warre *Israel* had: what outrageous slaughters they committed vpon each other: in what miserable seruitude they liued for many yeeres: and when it farred best with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The Canaanites dwelt in the best valleys of the Countrey. The Ammonites held much of Gilead ouer Iordan; the Philistines the Sea-coasts, and the Iebusites Hierusalem it selfe, till *Dauids* time: all which that King did not onely conquer and establish, but hee mastered and subiected all the neighbour Nations; and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the Israelites were moued by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to liue vnder a Monarch, or whether by this means they fought to bee cleared from the sorbes of *Samuel*, they became deafe to all the perswasions and threats which *Samuel* vsed, insisting vpon this point, that they would haue a king, both to iudge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, hee sent euery man to his owne Citie and abiding.

§. II. Of the election of Saul.

Euer that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Mizpeh*, hee forbore the election of a king, till such time as hee was thereto directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would present vnto him a man of the Land of Benjamin, whom hee commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went vnto Ramath Sophim, to make a feast for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and *Saul* also hauing wandered diuers daies to seeke his fathers Asses, at length, by the aduice of his seruant, travelled towards Ramath, to find a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beasts. In which journey hee pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages, and persons) to elect *Saul*, who sought an Ass, and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheepe of *Jethro*; and after to make choyce of *Dauid* the youngest of eight sons, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beafts; and changed his sheephooke into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious king of Iuda and *Israel*. So *Iohn* and *James* were taken from casting their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apostles: a dignitie that died not in the graue, as all worldly Honours doe; but permanent and euerlasting in Gods euerlasting kingdom.

When *Samuel* was entred into Ramath, hee prepared a banquet for the king, whom hee expected, and stayed his arriuall at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom hee had foretold him of, that hee should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Iudge of *Israel*, much lesse knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the Citie the Seer dwelt. *Samuel* answered, that himselfe was the man hee sought, and prayed *Saul* to goe before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, about all that were inuited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the kingdom, and of Gods

Gods graces to bee bestowed on him, and the mornning following annointed him King of *Israel*.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward, that two men should encounter him by *Rahels* Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Asses were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of losing his beasts, to doubt the losse of his Sonne: that he should then meet three other men in the plaine of Tabor; then a company of Prophets: and that hee should be partaker of Gods Spirit, and prophetic with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and fauoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spirituall gifts, were not of the first and most reuerenced number, who by diuine reuelation foretold things to come, reprehended without feare the errors of their Kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were *Moses*, *Iosua*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Ahiah*, *Elias*, *Eliseus*, *Esay*, *Jeremie*, and the rest; for these Prophets, saith *S. Chrysostome*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, praterita, presentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom *S. Paul* speaketh of, *1. Cor. 14. 14.* who enriched with spirituall gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

At Mizpeh *Samuel* assembled the people, that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his owne Vncle therewith, when he asked him what had past betwene him and *Samuel*: for either hee thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reueale it, till hee were confirmed by generall consent. When the Tribes were assembled at Mizpeh, the generall opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. *Chimbi* thinks by the answer of **Vrim* and **Thummin*: that is, by the answer of the Priest, wearing that mysterie vpon his brest when he asked counsaile of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not onely much vsed among the Iewes, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promise was diuided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goates, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliuerance, for whose garments the Iewes also cast lots. *Cicero*, *Plautus*, *Pausanias*, and others haue remembered diuers sorts of lots, vsed by the Romans, Grecians, and other Nations: as in the diuision of grounds or honours; and in things to be undertaken: the two first kinds were called Diuifory; the third, Diuinatory; and vnto one of these three all may be reduced: all which kinds howsoeuer they may seeme chancefull, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*: *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And in like sort fell the kingdom of *Israel* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gaue *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himselfe in modestie, as both *Iosephus* confests it, and as it may bee gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when hee acknowledged himselfe the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* inlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and hee was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that hee was the chosen king of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and prayed for him; yet some there were that enuied his glorie (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents, as the manner was: of whom *Saul*, to auoide sedition, took no notice.

§. III. Of the establishing of Saul by his first victorie.

Sooner was *Saul* placed in the kingdom, but that he receiued knowledge that *Nabab* king of the Ammonites prepared to besiege Iabes Gilead: which nation since the great ouerthrow giuen them by *Iephtha*, neuer durst attempt any thing vpon the Israelites, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the Ammonites did alwaies attend vpon the aduantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the Amorite, & then *Israel* dispossessed them of; which they made the ground of their inuasion in *Iephtha*'s time; yet they neuer perswaded themselves of more aduantage, than at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the Israelites that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly, they were remembered that the Philistines had not long before slaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and besides had

Gen. 49.
Gen. 35.
Gen. 17.

1. Sam. 8.

1. Sam. 16.

Chry. in 1. f. 43.

* The *Vrim* and *Thummin* in the ornaments of the High Priest, were inserted within the pectoral, which therefore was duplicated, they were placed in the pectoral ouer against the hart of the High Priest. It is plaine that they were not the precious stones, nor any thing made by the Artificers. See *Exod. c. 28. c. de diuin. Pausan. Steph.*

1. Sam. c. 10.

used great care and policie that they should haue no Smithes to make them swords or speares: neither was it long before, that of the Bethshemeshites, and places adioyning, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000. and therefore in these respects, euen occasion it self inquired them to enlarge their Dominions vpon their borderers: Iabes Gilead being one of the neereſt. Besides, it may further be coniectured, that the Ammonites were unboldened againſt Iabes Gilead, in respect of their weakeneſſe: ſince the Iſraelites deſtroyed a great part of them, for not ioyning with them againſt the Beniamites; at which time they did not onely ſlaughter the men and male-children, but tooke from them their young women, and gaue them to the Beniamites: and therefore they were not likely to haue bene increaſed to any great numbers: and if they had recouered themſelues of this great calamitie, yet the Ammonite might flatter himſelfe with the opinion, that Iſrael hauing for long time been diſarmed by the Philiftims, was not apt to ſuccour thoſe whom they had ſo deeply wounded and deſtroyed. But contrariwiſe, when the tidings came to Saul of their danger, and that the Ammonites would giue them no other condition to ranſome themſelues, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they ſhould be vtterly diſabled for the Warre, as elſewhere hath been ſpoken: Saul, both to value himſelfe in his firſt yeeres reigne, and becauſe perchance hee was deſcended of one of thoſe 400. Maidſtaken from the Gileadites, and giuen to the Beniamites, gaue order to aſſemble the forces of Iſrael, hewing a yoke of Oxen into pieces, and ſending them by meſſengers ouer all the coaſts, proteſting thus: *That whoſoeuer came not forth after Saul and after Samuel, ſhould his Oxen be ſerued*: threatening the people by their goods, and not by their liues at the firſt. Seuen dayes had Saul to aſſemble an Armie, by reaſon that the Gileadites had obtained the reſpite of theſe ſeuen daies to giue *Nabab* the Ammonite an answer: who, could they haue obtained any reaſonable condition, were contented to haue ſeuered themſelues from Iſrael, and to become Vaſſals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while Saul aſſembled the forces which repaired vnto him at *Bezek*, neere *Jordan*, that he might readily paſſe the riuer, which done, he might in one day with a ſpee-

1. SAM. 11. 8.

The armie by Saul led, conſiſting of three hundred and thirty thouſand, hee returned an answer to thoſe of Iabes, that they ſhould aſſure themſelues of ſuccour by the next day at noone. For, as it ſeemeth, Saul marched away in the latter part of the day, and wear on all night; for in the morning watch he ſurprized the armie of *Nabab* the Ammonite. And to the end that hee might ſet on them on all ſides, hee diuided his forces into three parts, putting them to the ſword vntill the heate of the day, and the wearineſſe of Sauls troope enforced them to giue ouer the purſuit. Now the Ammonites were become the more careleſſe and ſecure, in that thoſe of Iabes promiſed the next morning to render themſelues and their Citie to their mercie. After this happie ſucceſſe, the people were ſo farre in loue with their new king, that they would haue ſlaine all thoſe Iſraelites that murmured againſt his election, had not himſelfe forbidden and reſiſted their reſolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent louers of the proſperous, and baſe Vaſſals of the time that flouriſheth; and as deſpightfull and cruell without cauſe againſt thoſe, whom any miſadventure, or other worldly accident hath throwne downe.

1. SAM. 11.

1. SAM. 12.

After the armie remoued, Samuel ſummoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where Saul was now a third time acknowledged, and as ſome Commenters affirme, anointed king: and here Samuel vſed an exhortation to all the Aſſembly, containing precepts, and a re-hearſall of his owne Iuſtice, during the beginning of his gouernment to that day. After Saul had now reigned one yeere before he was eſtabliſhed in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, he ſtrengthened himſelfe with a good gnard of 3000. choſen men, of which he aſſigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his ſonne at *Gibeah*, the Citie of his natiuitie: the reſt hee kept about his owne perſon in *Micmas*, and in the Hill of *Bethel*.

§. IIII.

Of Sauls diſobedience in his proceedings in the warres with the Philiftims and Amalekites, which cauſed his final reiection.

In *Jonathan* with his ſmall Armie or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of aduantage, ſurprized a Garrifon of Philiftims: the ſame, as ſome thinke, which Saul paſt by, when he came from *Rama*, where hee was firſt anointed by Samuel, which

which they thinke to haue bene *Cariath-ſearim*: becauſe a place where the Philiftims had a Garrifon, 1. Sam. 10. is called the Hill of God, which they vnderſtand of *Cariath-ſearim*: but *Iunius* vnderſtands this Garrifon to haue bene at *Gebah* in *Beniamin* neere *Gibba*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thouſand followers. Howſoeuer, by this it appeareth that the Philiftims held ſome ſtrong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territorie of *Iſrael*: and now being greatly enraged by this ſurprize, they aſſembled thirty thouſand armed Chariots, and fixe thouſand Horſe, wherewith they inuaded *Iudea*, and incamped at *Machmas* or *Michmas*, a Citie of *Beniamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Ieruſalem*, and in the middeſt of the Land betwene the Sea and *Jordan*. With this ſudden inuaſion the Iſraelites were ſtrucken in ſo great a feare, as ſome of them hid themſelues in the caues of the mountaines; other fledde ouer *Jordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: Saul himſelfe with ſome 2000. men of ordinarie, and many other people, ſtaid at *Galgala* in *Beniamin*, not farre from the paſſage of *Iofua* when he led *Iſrael* ouer *Jordan*. Heere Saul by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the comming of *Samuel* ſeuen daies: but when the laſt day was in part ſpent, and that Saul perceiued his forces to diminith greatly, he preſumed (as ſome expound the place 1. Sam. 13. 9.) to exerciſe the office which appertained not vnto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering vnto God, contrary to the Eccleſiaſticall lawes of the Hebrewes, and Gods Commandements: others expound the word, *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per Sacerdotem*, and ſo make the ſinne of Saul not to haue bene any intruſion into the Prieſts office, but firſt a diſobedience to Gods Commandement, in not ſtaying according to the appointment, 1. Sam. 10. 8. ſecondly a diffidence or miſtruſt in Gods helpe, and too great relying vpon the ſtrength of the people, whoſe departing from him he could not beare patiently; and laſtly a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the helpe which the prayers of ſo godly a man might procure him. But whatſoeuer was his ſinne, notwithstanding his excuſes, he was by *Samuel* reprehended moſt ſharply, in termes vnfitting hiſeltate, had not extraordinary warrant bene giuen to *Samuel* ſo to doe, from God himſelfe; at which time alſo *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome ſhould be conferred to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from *Saul* and his poſteritie.

After this, *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when hee had taken view of his armie, found it to conſiſt of 600. men: for the moſt were fled from him and ſcattered, yea and among thoſe that ſtaid, there was not any that had either ſword or ſpeare, but *Saul* and his ſonne *Jonathan* onely. For the Philiftims had not left them any Smith in all *Iſrael*, that made weapons; beſides, they that came to *Saul* came haſtily, and left ſuch weapons and armour as they had, behind them in their garrifons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* ſhould be able the yeere before, or in ſome part of this very yeere, to ſuccour *Iabes Gilead* with 300. and thirty thouſand men, if there had not now bene any yron weapon to defend themſelues withall, ſaue onely in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his ſonne. But howſoeuer, all the reſt of the people were formerly diſarmed by the Philiftims, and all thoſe craftſmen carried out of the Land that made weapons: there being left vnto the Iſraelites only files to ſharpen and amend ſuch ſtuſſe as ſerued for the Plough, and for nought elſe: yet that they had ſome kind of armes it is maniſeſt, or elſe they durſt not haue attempted vpon the Philiftims as they did. And it is not ſaid in the Text that there was not any ſword in all *Iſrael*, but onely that there was not any found among thoſe 600. ſouldiers which ſtayed with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it ſeemeth that when *Samuel* had ſharply reprehended *Saul*, that his owne guards forlooke him, hauing but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie ſouldiers, and of all the reſt that repaired vnto him, of which many were fledde from him before *Samuel* arriued.

With this ſmall troope he held himſelfe to his owne Citie of *Gibeah*, as a place of more ſtrength, and better aſſured vnto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obſcure how it ſhould come to paſſe that the Philiftims ſhould thus diſarme the moſt part of the Iſraelites, howſoeuer in the time of *Samuel* much had bene done againſt them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by ſword or ſpeare, but by thunder from heauen: and when theſe craftſmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Iſrael*, no manuell if they could not in a ſhort peace vnder *Samuel* be replanted againe. For this tyrannic of the Philiftims is to bee vnderſtood, rather of the precedent times, than vnder *Samuel*: and yet vnder

him it is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policie, not suffering their artificers to teach the *Israelites*, and so euen to the times of *Saul* kept them from hauing any store of armour. The same policie did *Nabuchodonosor* vs after his Conquest in *India*: *Dionysius* in *Sicilie*; and many other Princes else where in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the *Israelites* might repaire in *Gilead*, for ouer *Iordam* the *Philistims* had not invaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquitie vsed and their present necessity ministred vnto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and slings. For the *Beniamites* exceeded in casting stones in slings; and that these were the naturall weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in the first of *Chronicles* the 12. Chapter, it is written of those that came to succour *David* against *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, That they were armed with bowes, and could vse the right and the left hand with stones; and with a sling it was that *David* himselfe slew the Gyant *Goliath*.

While the State of *Israel* stood in these hard termes, the *Philistims* hauing parted their armie into three troupes, that they might spoile and destroy many parts at once; *Jonathan* strengthened by God, and followed with his Esquire onely, scaled a mountaine, whereon a companie of *Philistims* were lodged: the rest of their armie (as may bee gathered by the successe) being incamped in the plaine adioyning. And though he were discouered before he came to the hill top, and in a kinde of derision called vp by his enemies: yet he so behaued himselfe, as with the assistance of God he slew 20. of the first *Philistims* that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, feare, and ieaousie, they slaughtered one another in stead of enemies: whereupon those *Hebrewes* which became of their partie, because they feared to be spoyled by them, tooke the aduantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly, *Saul* himselfe taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Israelites* that shrouded themselves in mount *Ephraim*, set vpon them and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happie and glorious victory ouer them. Heere was that prophesie in *Deuteronomie* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, That one of these which feared God, should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand.

This done, the small armie of *Israel* made retreat from the pursuit. And although *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the eueniing, yet his sonne *Jonathan* being infeeble with extreame labour and emptinesse, tasted a drope of hony in his passage: for which *Saul* his father would haue put him to death, had not the people deliuered him from his crueltie.

The late miraculous victorie of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, seemes to haue reduced vnto the *Philistims* remembrance their former ouerthrow likewise miraculous in the daies of *Samuel*; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the meane while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, vnderooke by turnes all his bordering enemies; namely, the *Mosites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, against all which he preailed. He then assembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000. men, and receiving the commandment of God by *Samuel*, hee invaded *Amalec*, wasting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the *Desart* belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Hamilah* towards *Tigris* vnto *Shur*, which bordereth *Egypt*; in which warre hee tooke *Agag* their King prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all attempted *Israel*, when they left *Egypt* in *Moses* time: hee notwithstanding did not onely spare the life of *Agag*, but reserved the best of the beasts and spoyle of the Countrey, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the liuing God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know that God would cast him from his royall estate, to which he was raised when he was of base condition, and as the Text hath it, little in his owne eyes. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voyce of God by *Samuel*, had there beene no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not bee ignorant how severely it pleased God to inioyne the *Israelites* to reuenge themselves vpon that Nation, he was in all vnexcuusable. For God had commanded that the *Israelites* should put out the remembrance of *Amalec* from vnder heauen. For the cruelty which the predecessors of this *Agag* vsed against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were ouer-wearied, faint, sicke, and aged people, was now to be reuenged on him, and his Nation about 400. yeeres afterward; and now hee was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the

the innocent: himselfe hauing also sinned in the same kinde, as these words of *Samuel* witnesse: As thy sword hath made other women childelesse, so shall thy mother be childelesse among other women; at which time *Samuel* himselfe (after he had beene by many bootlesse intreaties perswaded to stay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in peeces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and soone after he departed to *Ramath*, and came no more to see *Saul*, untill the day of his death.

§. V.

Of the occurrents betwene the reiection of *Saul* and his death.

Now while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to choose a King for *Israel*, among the sonnes of *Isbah*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to performe, till it pleased God to direct him, how he might auoid both the suspition, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the prouidence of God, that by his cautious care and wisdom, he sought to auoid the inconuenience or dangers of this life, then doe these men mistake the nature of his diuine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath giuen them, doe no otherwise auoid the perills and dangers thereof, than as men stupified in the opinion of fate or destinie, neglecting either to beg counsaile at Gods hands by prayer, or to exercise that wisdom or foresight, wherewith God hath enriched the minde of man, for his preseruatiou. Neither did the all-powerfull God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant) disdain here to instruct *Samuel*, to auoid the furie of *Saul*, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the sonnes of *Isbah*, *Samuel*, by God directed, made choice of *David*, the youngest, hauing refused *Eliab*, the first borne: who though he were a man of a comely person and great strength; yet vnto such outward appearance, the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart. He also refusing the other fixe brethren, made choyce of one whom his Father had altogether neglected, & left in the field to attend his flocke; for of him the Lord said to *Samuel*, Arise and anoint him, for this is he: which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this that *Saul* began to seeke the life of *David*: in which bloody minde he continued till he died, ouercome in battell by the *Philistims*.

The *Philistims* hauing well considered (as it seemes) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilest they had sitten still & forborne to giue impediment to his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new triall of their fortune, as iustly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to *Israel*, might bee repayed with aduantage, if euer opportunity should serue their often iniured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Mosab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all warlike prouisions, the *Philistims* had reason to thinke themselves equall, if not superiours to *Israel*. The successe of their former wars had for the most part beene agreeable to their own wishes: as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisdom, impute them to second causes; as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarme, wherby their Armie possessed with a needlesse feare had fallen to rout. Hauing therefore multered their forces, and taken the field, encamping so neere to the Armie which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the triall of a battell, each part kept their ground of aduantage for a while, not ioyning in grosse, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to passe the Valley that lay betwene their Camps. Iust causes of feare they had on both sides; especially the *Philistims*, whose late attempts had beene confounded by the angrie hand of God. Vpon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any stroke from heauen were to bee feared. *Goliath* of *Gath* a strong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man, vnderooke to defie the whole hoste of *Israel*, prouoking them with despightfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the partie vanquished in Champion, should hold it selfe as ouercome in grosse, and become vassall to the other. This gaue occasion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had annointed, to make a famous entrance into publike notice of the people. For no man durst expose himselfe

to encounter the great strength of *Goliath*, vntill *Dauid* (sent by his father of an errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes offensive or defensive than a sling, wherewith he ouerthrew that haughtie Gyant, and after with his owne sword strooke off his head. Hereupon the Philistims, who should haue yielded themselves as subiects to the Conquerour, according to the couenant on their owne side propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered euen to their owne gates. By this victorie the *Philistims* were not so broken, that either any of their townes were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the Territories of Israel. But *Dauid*, by whom God had wrought this victorie, fell into the grieuous indignation of his Master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well-deferring. For after such time as the spirit of God departed from *Saul* and came vpon *Dauid*, hee then became a cruell Tyrant, faithlesse, and irreligious. Because the high Priest *Abimelech* fedde *Dauid* in his necessitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with a sword of his owne conquest taken from *Goliath*; *Saul* not onely by his wicked *Edomise Doeg* murdered this *Abimelech* and 85. Priests of *Nob*, but also hee destroyed the Citie, and *smote with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both childe and suckling, both Oxe, and Asse, and Sheepe*. And hee that had compasion on *Agag* the Amalekite, who was an enemy to God and his people, and also spared and preferred the best of his Cattell, contrary to the Commandement and Ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercie in store, for the innocent, for the Lords seruants the Priests of Israel. Yea hee would haue slaine his owne sonne *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *Dauid*'s innocencie; as also once before for tasting the honie, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers vnreasonable commination. The companions of crueltye are breach of faith towards men, and impietie towards God. The former he shewed in denying *Dauid* his daughter, whom he had promised him: and againe in taking her away from him, to whom he had giuen her; also in that when as *Dauid* had twice spared his life in the Territorie of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworne to do him no hurt, and confessed his errours, yet hee sought still to destroy him, by all the meanes he could. His impiety towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsell of the Witch of Endor, which was the last preparatiue for his destruction. For whereas when he sought counsell from God he had bin alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Diuell this successe followed, that both himselfe, and his three sons, with his neere & faithfull seruants, were all slaughtered by the Philistims: his bodie with the bodies of his sons (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung ouer the walls of Bethsan: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of rauenous birds, had not the gratefull Gileadites of Iabes stolne their carcases thence, and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had gouerned Israel, together with *Samuel*, 40. yeeres, & by himselfe after *Samuel* 20. yeeres according to *Cedrenius*, *Theophilus*, and *Iosephus*. But yet it seemeth to me, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long: For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written that *Samuel* died: and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of *Dauid*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gaue a faire entrance to all those victories which *Dauid* afterward obtained; for hee had beaten the Ammonites with their neighbouring Nations; crushed the Syrians; and their adherents; broken the strength of the Amalekites; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the Philistims.

§. VI.

Of such as liued with *Samuel* and *Saul*; of *Hellen* and *Hercules*, and of their issues: vpon occasion of the *Dores*, with the *Heraclidae*, entring *Peloponnesus* about this time.

IN the second yeere of *Samuel*, according to *Eusebius*, was *Dauid* borne: after *Cedrean* later, and in the ninth yeere: after *Bunsing* in the tenth. For *Dauid*, faith he, was thirtie yeeres old when hee began to reigne: whence it followeth, that he was borne in the tenth of the fortie yeeres, which are giuen to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleventh yeere of *Samuel*, *Aeneas Silvius* the sonne of *Posthumus* beganne his reigne ouer the Latines in Alba, who gouerned that State one and thirtie yeeres. There are who place before him *Latinus Sylvius*, as brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from

from *Aeneas*, and fourth King of Alba, whereof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Dercilas* late in the Throne of *Affyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire fortie yeeres. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponnesus*, and at once with the *Heraclidae*, who then led and commanded the Nation, possessed a great part thereof 328. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratosthenes*. For all Greece was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, viz. the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Aeolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes* of *Hellen*, the sonne of *Dencalion*, Lord of the Countrie of *Pisiboris* in *Thessalie*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, Greece had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many Colonies, and fundrie great victories obtained, the issues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Countrie vnder their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet euery seuerall Nation after someone of the posteritie of *Hellen*, who had reigned ouer it. And because this is the furthest antiquitie of Greece, it will not be amisse to recount the Pedigree of her first planters.

Iapetus (as the Poets fable) was the sonne of Heauen and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents, had in the Greeke tongue such signification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Astronomie* and *Philosophie*.

Iapetus begat *Promethus*, and *Ephimethus*: of whom all men haue read that haue read Poets. *Promethus* begat *Dencalion*: and *Epimethus*, *Pyrha*, *Dencalion* & his wife *Pyrha* reigned in *Thessalie*, which was then called *Pyrha* (as *Cretensis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrha* the Queene. In *Dencalions* time was that great floud, of which we haue spoken elsewhere. *Dencalion* begat *Hellen*: whose sonnes were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Aeolus*: of *Dorus* and *Aeolus*, the *Dores* and *Aeolians* had name. The *Aeoles* inhabited *Boetia*. The *Dores* hauing first inhabited fundry parts of *Thessalie*, did afterward seate themselves about *Paralus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedemon*: *Xuthus* the eldest sonne of *Hellen*, being banished by his brethren, for hauing diuerted from them to his owne vse some part of their Fathers goods, came to *Aschens*: where marrying the Daughter of King *Eristheus*, hee begat on her two sonnes, *Achens* and *Ion*. Of these two, *Achens*, for a slaughter by him committed, fledde into *Peloponnesus*: and seating himselfe in *Laconia*, gaue name to that region: from whence (as some write) he afterwards departed; and leuying an Armie, recouered the Kingdome of his Grandfather in *Thessalie*.

Ion being General for the *Athenians*, when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby such loue and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He diuided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing euery one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied, hee planted Colonies in *Sycionia*, then called *Aegialos*, or *Aegialia*: In which Countrie *Solinus* then reigning, thought it safer to giue his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Towne called by his Wiues name in *Aegialia*, where he and his posterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gaue to that Land denomination. But in after-times the *Dores* assisting the Nephewes of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, and ouer-comming the *Achaens*, possessed *Laconia*, and all those parts which the *Achaei* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achaei* driuen to seek a new seate, came vnto the *Ionies*, desiring to inhabit *Aegialia* with them, and alleadging in vaine, that *Ion* and *Achens* had bene brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they fought by force to expell the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their King *Tisamenes*, the sonne of *Orestes* in that Warre.

Thus were the *Ionies* driuen out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remooue into *Attica*, from whence after a while they sailed into *Asia*, and peopled the Westerne coast thereof; on which they built twelue Cities, inhabited by them, euen to this day, at the least without any vniuersall or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the *Ionies* into *Asia* hath bene mentioned of all which haue written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. yeeres after the warre of *Troy*, and 60. yeeres after the descent of the *Heraclidae* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heraclidae* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeeres. Of their Father

Hercules many strange things are deliuered vnto vs by the Poets, of which some are like to haue beene true, others perhaps must bee allegorically vnderstood. But the most ap-
proued Writers thinke that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the *Greekes* ascribed to the sonne of *Alcmena*, who is said to haue performed these 12. great labours.

First, he slew the *Nemean* Lyon: secondly, he slew the Serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: The third was the ouer-taking a very swift Hare: The fourth was the taking of a wilde Bore aliue, which haunted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadie*: The fifth was the cleansing of *Augias* his Oxe-stall in one day, which he performed by turning the Riuier *Alpheus* into it: The sixth was the chaling away 10 of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalus*: The seventh was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: The eight was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane flesh: The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the Queen of the *Amazons*: The three last were, to fetch *Cerions* Beecus from *Gades*; the golden Apples of the *Hesperides*; and *Cerberus* from hell. The *Mythologicall* interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both ouer-long to be heere set downe, and no lesse perplexed than the labours themselfes. For some by *Hercules* vnderstand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancie, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the Sunne, and his trauailes to bee the twelue signes of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his workes historically to their owne conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot haue more vnlikelihood, than the fables: That hee tooke *Elis*, *Pylus*, *Oechalia*, and other Townes, being assisted by such as cyther admired his vertues, or were beholding vnto him: Also that hee slew many Theeues, and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. His trauailes through most parts of the world are, or may seeme, borrowed from *Hercules* *Libycus*. But sure it is that many Cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that hee (bending all his indeuours to the common good) deliuered the Land from much oppression. But after his death no Citie of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the vertue and deserts of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his children, persecuted by the King *Eurystheus*. This *Eurystheus* was sonne of *Sthenelus*, and grand-childe of *Perseus*; hee reigned in *Mycena*, the mightiest Citie then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard taskes vpon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murder, which in his madnes he had committed vpon his owne children; but as others say, because he was his Subiect and Seruant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurystheus* for imploying the strength of *Hercules* to so good a purpose. But it is so generally agreed by the best writers, that *Hercules* was alio of the stocke of *Perseus*, and holden in great ieaiousie by *Eurystheus* because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous seruices, wherein hee was employed, so that he grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many wiues and Concubines about threescore children. These children *Eurystheus* would faine haue got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled vnto *Ceryx* King of *Thracina*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurystheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not onely gaue them entertainment, but lent them ayde, wherewith they encountered *Eurystheus*. *Iolaus* the brothers son of *Hercules*, who had assisted him in many of his trauels, was captaine of the *Heracleide*. It is said of him, that being dead, hee obtained leaue of *Pluto* to liue againe till hee might reuenge the iniuries done by *Eurystheus*: whom when he had slaine in battell, hee died againe. It seemes to me, that whereas he had led *Colonies* into *Sicilie*, and abode there a long time forgotten: hee came againe into *Greece* to assist his cousins, and afterwards returned backe. When the *Peloponnesians* vnderstood that *Eurystheus* was slaine, they tooke *Atricus* the sonne of *Pelops* to their King: for he was rich, mighty, and fauoured of the people. Against him the *Heracleide* marched vnder *Hyllus* the sonne of *Hercules*. But to auoide effusion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echeneus* King of the *Tegens* a people of *Arcadie*, who assisted *Atricus*; with condition, that if *Hyllus* were victor, he should peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heracleide* should nor enter *Peloponnesus* in an hundred yeeres. In that combat *Hyllus* was slaine, and the *Heracleide* compelled to forebare their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned vnder *Arilodemons* (as the best authoritie doth shew, though some haue said, that they came vnder the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Dorcs* whom

whom they planted in that countrey, as is before shewed, hauing expelled the *Achai*, ouer whom the illue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Eurystheus* foure generations.

§. VII.

Of Homer and Hesiod, and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.

About this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* liued, as many of the best *Chronologers* affirme. He was by race of the *Aeones*, descended (as *Funclius* imagineth) of *Berosus* his *Amazonean*, who gaue name to that people. But this *Funclius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to haue beene long after these times, rashly framing his *Era* according to *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes seauen more of this name to haue flourished in diuers Cities in *Greece*. Whences perhaps sprang the diuersitie of opinions, both of the time and of the natie Citie of *Homer*. According to this, *Archilochus*, *Funclius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manasse* King of *Isra-ela*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Malesigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, because blinde men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the verbe *homer*: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blinde. *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* liued. So also *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Assyrius* in his Oration *ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flourished 950. yeeres before the Consulship of *Marcus Vinnicius*: which *Adersator* casteth vp in the worlds yeere 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260 yeeres: and about 250. yeeres before the building of *Rome*; making him to haue flourished about the time of *Iehosaphat* King of *Iuda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* authors in this point is not vnworthy the readers consideration, that by this one instance he may guesse of the difficultie, and so pardon the errors in the computations of ancient time: seeing in such diuersitie of opinions a man may hardly finde out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammariar* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gaue being to *Homer* about 80. yeeres after *Troy* taken, neere the time that the *Heracleide* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and *Eratostrates* after *Troy* 100. yeeres. *Theopompus* 500. yeeres after the armie of *Greece*, failed into *Phrygia* for the warre of *Troy*. *Ephorion* makes him contemporarie with *Gyges*, who began to reigne in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. yeeres after *Rome* was built) and *Sosibius* saith, that he was 90. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*: which hee seeks to proue by the times of *Charillus* and his sonne *Nicander*; *Philochorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*; *Aristarchus* 140. in the time of the seating of the *Colones* in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirmes that he liued while *Agessilaus* gouerned *Lacedaemon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his yong yeeres, about 100. yeeres after the *Ionian* plantations, came to visit him, neere 240. yeeres after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* findes *Homer* flourishing 622. yeeres before *Xerxes* enterpris against the *Gracians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168. yeeres after the *Troian* warre. *Ensebius* seemes to make him to haue beene about the time of *Iudas* King of *Iuda*, 124. yeeres before *Rome* built: though elsewhere in his *Chronologie* hee notes that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *Dauid*, and others in other ages. In his *Euangelicall* Preparation, where out of *Tatianus Assyrius* he cith sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* liued, hee reckoneth many other *Greece* writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Pheinius*, *Ariflaus*, *Orpheus*, *Museus*, *Thamyas*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. *Aulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirme, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luci Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the *Historiari*, make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varron* leaues it vncertaine which of these learned fablers was first borne: but he findes that they liued together some certaine yeeres, wherein hee confirms himselfe by an *Epigram*, written vpon a Treuit, and left by *Hesiod* in *Helicon*.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both liued 160. yeeres before *Rome* built: while the *Siluy* reigned in *Alba*, about 140. yeeres after the fall of *Troy*. *Euthymenes* findes them both 200. yeeres after *Troy* taken; in the time of *Acasius* the sonne of *Pelias*, King

of *Th. ffaly*. For my selfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet liued; neither would I offend the Reader with these opinions, but onely to shew the vncertainty and disagreement of Historians, as well in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For the curiositie of this mans age is no lesse ridiculous, than the iniquification why he began his *Iliades* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing some great mysterie. In derision whereof *Lucian* faining himselfe to haue bene in hell, and to haue spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he began his booke with that word: who answered, That he began in that sort, because it came in his head so to doe.

It seemeth that *Senyes*, or after *Macrobisus*, *Senemires*, ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tanepherisobris* was his succellour, who preceded *Vaphres*, father in law to *Salomon*.

About the end of *Sauls* government, or in the beginning of *Dauids* time according to *Cassiodorus*, the *Amazones* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Asia*, *Latinus Syllius* then ruling in *Italie*. And besides the ouerthrow of that famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103. yeeres before *Dauids* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reason of those Northerne Nations: but there sprung vp somewhat neerly together, fixe Kindgomes into greatnesse not before erected. In *Italie*, that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*, those of *Lacedemon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achei*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Saba*, and *Damascus*, the *Adads* made themselves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the Kings of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the State of the *Israelites* hauing now altered the forme of Government, began to flourish vnder Kings, of which *Dauid*, in a few yeeres, became master of all those neighbouring Nations, who by interchange of times had subiected the *Indeans*, corrupted their religion, and held them vnder in a most abiect and grievous flauerie; to wit, the *Edmunnans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Itureans*, and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistims*, *Iebusites*, *Geshurites*, *Machabites*; all which acknowledged *Dauid* for their Soueraigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Dauid.

S. I.

Of Dauids estate in the time of Saul.



HE hazards which *Dauid* ran into while he was yet onely designed King, and liued as a priuate man, expecting the Empire, were very many. The first personall act of fame, was his killing of *Goliath* in the view of both armies, whereby hee became knowne to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Jonathan* the son of *Saul*, that he loued him as his owne soule: In so much as when *Saul* sought to perswade his sonne, that *Dauid* would assuredly bee the ruine of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when hee pleaded his cause; *Jonathan* could neuer be perswaded, neuer foret, nor euer wearied from the care of *Dauids* life, & well doing. It was not long after this signall act of *Dauid*, but that *Saul* became exceeding iealous of him, though he were become as his household seruant, and his Esquire, or armor-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an euill spirit, was aduised to procure some cunning Musician to play before him vpon the Harpe; whereby it was thought that he might find ease; which came to passe accordingly. He entertained *Dauid* for this purpose, and began to fauour him, giuing him a place of Command among the men of warre. But the iealous tyrant soone waxed wearie of his good affection, and fought to kill *Dauid*, being thereunto moued onely through enuie of his vertue. This passion first brake forth in the midst of his rauing fit, at which time he threw a speare at *Dauid* that was then playing on his Harpe to doe him ease.

Censorinus remembereth one *Aclepius* a Physician, who practised the curing of the Frenzie, by the like Musick: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Tythagoras* did also the like by such a kind of harmonie, *Seneca* in his third booke of anger witnesseth. But the madnesse of *Saul* came from the cause of causes, and

and was thereby incurable, howsoeuer it sometimes left him, and yeelded vnto that Musicke, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the Musician than to the King.

Saul hauing failed in such open attempts, gaue vnto *Dauid* the Command ouer 1000. souldiers, to confront the *Philistims* withall. For hee durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his reuenge. Now the better to couer his hatred towards him, he promised him his daughter *Merab* to wife: but hauing married her to *Adriel*, he gaue to *Dauid* his younger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philistims*: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that Nation,) that the *Philistims* would take *Dauids* head, than hee their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now *Dauids* victories begat new feares and iealousies in *Saul*, hee practised with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life; but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murder him in his owne house, but *Michol* his wife deliuered him. So *Dauid* sought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence vnto *Nob* in *Beniamin*, to *Abimelech*, then to *Achis* the *Philistim*, Prince of *Geth*: where to obscure himselfe, he was foret to counterfeit both simplicitie and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistims*, hee couered himselfe in the Cave of *Adullam*: and after conueying such of his kinsfolkes as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himselfe in the deserts of *Ziph*, *Maon* and the hills of *Engaddi*, where he cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the desert of *Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis* the second time, and was kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred with which his master *Saul* was knowne to prosecute him.

Of *Achis* *Dauid* obtained * *Siklag* in *Simeon*, pretending to inuade *Iudaea*: but he bent his forces another way and strooke the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israel*, letting none liue to complaine vpon him. *Achis* supposing that *Dauid* had drawne bloud of his owne Nation, thought himselfe assured of him: and therefore preparing to inuade *Israel*, summoneth *Dauid* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himselfe to *Siklag*. At his returne he found the town burnt, his two wiues, with the wiues and children of his people, taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his followers mutined, but God gaue him comfort and assurance to recover all againe: which he did.

This armie of the *Philistims* commanded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three sonnes were slaine. The newes, with *Sauls* Crowne and bracelets, were brought to *Dauid* at *Siklag*, in his returne from being victorious ouer *Amalech*, by a man of the same Nation, who auowed (though falsly) that himselfe at *Sauls* request had slaine him. *Dauid*, because he had accused himselfe, made no scruple to cause him to be slaine at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gaue strong euidence withall. Otherwise it followeth not that euery man ought to be beleeued of himselfe to his owne preiudice. For it is held in the law; *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscentis*. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an euidence of the crime, unlesse some other prooff informe the conscience of the Iudge. For a man may confesse those things of himselfe, that the Iudge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title de custodia reorum l. si confessus, & in cap. de penis l. qui sententiam, therefore dorth the Glosse reconcile these two places in this sort: *Si quis in iudicio sponte de seipso confitatur, & postea maneat in confessione, id est satis*. If any man in iudgement doe confesse of himselfe, of his owne accord, and after doth perseuere in his confession, it is enough. That *Dauid* greatly bewailed *Saul*, it is not improbable; for death cutteth asunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befell him, being a King, with whom in effect the strength of *Israel* also fell, could not but stirre vp sorrow, and moue compassion in the heart of *Dauid*.

The victorie which the *Philistims* had gotten, was so great, that some townes of the *Israelites*, euen beyond the riuier of *Iordan*, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left vnto the enemy, who tooke possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seeme strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious as were the *Philistims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence; and seeke to make the Conquest entire.

Most

Most like it seemes, that the Ciuill warre immediately breaking out betweene *Dauid* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Iuda* was diuided from the rest of *Israel*, gaue them hope of an easie victory ouer both; and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present, lest by so doing they should inforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessarie reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which meanes, both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were vnited.

§. II.

Of the beginning of Dauids reigne, and the warre made by Abner for Isboseth.

After the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the warre, fought to aduance *Isboseth* (or *Iebosus*, according to *Iosephus*) though hee had no right to the Kingdome of *Israel*: for *Mephiboseth* the first son of *Ionathan* liued. Against this *Abner*, and *Isboseth*, *Dauid* made a defensive warre, till *Abner* past *Iordan*, and entred the border of *Iuda*; at which time he sent *Ioab* with such forces as he had, to resist *Abner*: *Isboseth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *Dauid* in *Hebron*. The armies encountered each other neere *Gibeon*, where it seemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to trie the quarrell by the hands of a few; like to that Combat betweene the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Argines*, remembered by *Herodotus*, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were onely left vslain. The like triall by a farre lesse number was performed by the *Horatij* and *Curiatij* for the *Romanes* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliath* the *Philistin* made, whom *Dauid* slew: a custome very ancient. *Edward* the third offered the like triall in his own person to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelue chosen of each part, in this warre of *Dauid* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, so many of *Beniamin*, and as many of *Iuda*: whose force and valor was so equal, as there furnished not any one to challenge the victorie. But the quarrell staid not here: for the Armie of *Iuda* prest *Abner* in gresse, and brake him. Three hundred and sixtie men of *Abners* companions were slaine, and but twentie of *Iuda*: whereof *Asahel* the brother of *Ioab* was one: who when hee would needes pursue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perswasions could not bee moued to quit him, hee was forced to turne vpon him, wounded him to death, with the stroke of his speare. For though *Asahel* were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wilde doe, and as *Iosephus* reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horses; and hoped to haue gotten great fame, if he could haue mastered *Abner* (who, as *Asahel* perswaded himselfe, had by being ouerthrowne and flying away lost his courage) yet here it fell out true, *That the race is not to the swift.*

That this ciuill warre lasted two yeeres, wee finde it written in the second of *Samuel* the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbines* conceiue that *Isboseth* had then reigned two yeeres, when this was written, the warre as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the partie of *Isboseth* after this, and till such time as there grew ialousie betweene him and *Isboseth* for *Sauls* concubine: neither did the death of *Isboseth* instantly follow; but how long after the murder of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appeare.

§. III.

Of the death of Abner slaine by Ioab, and of Isboseth by Rechab and Baanah.

After *Abner*, reconciled to *Dauid*, was anon by *Ioab* murdered; for *Ioab* could not endure a companion in *Dauids* fauour, and in the commandement of his forces; by which he was growne so powerfull, as *Dauid* forbore to call him to account: for thus much he confesseth of himselfe; *I am this day weake, and these men of the sonnes of Zeruah be too hard for me.* In this sort *Dauid* complained after *Abners* death; and to make it cleare that he hated this fact of *Ioab*, he followed him with this publike imprecation; *Let the bloud fall on the head of Ioab, and on all his fathers house: and let them*

be subiect to vlters, to the leprosie, to lamenesse, to the sword, and to penurie, &c. For could any thing haue withstood the ordinance of God, this murder committed by *Ioab* might greatly haue indangered *Dauids* estate; *Abner* being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischance therefore *Dauid* openly bewailed, so that all *Israel* perceiued him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being Generall of the men of warre, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were faine to giue them great respect, as hath beene already shewed more at large. This office *Ioab* held in the armie of *Iuda*, and thought himselfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For he was neere to *Dauid* in kindred, and had beene partaker of all his aduersitie; wherefore he did not thinke it meete, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefites, be made his partner. Indeede he was by nature so ialous of his dignitie and place, that he afterward slew *Amasa* his owne kinsman and the Kings, vpon the same quarrell, taking it in high disdain to see him ioyned with himselfe as captaine of the hoste of *Iuda*; much lesse could hee brooke a superiour, and such a one as had slaine his brother, and beene beaten himselfe in battell. But howsoeuer *Ioab* did hate or despise *Abner*, *Dauid* esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in *Israel*, excusing the oversight by which he might seeme to haue perished, by affirming that he died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished, *But as a man falleth before wicked men, so (said he) diddest thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyed vnawares, or whom subtiltie in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all vnder the Sunne are subiect to worldly miseries and misaduentures. Howsoeuer *Isboseth* meant to haue dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all *Israel* were possit with great feare: insomuch as two of *Isboseths* owne Captaines, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murdered *Isboseth*, and presenting his head to *Dauid*, received the same reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to haue slaine *Saul*. *Isboseth* being dead, all the Elders of *Israel* repaired to *Dauid* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and last time anointed by generall consent.

§. IIII.

Of the flourishing time of Dauids Kingdome, the taking of Ierusalem, with two overthrowes giuen to the Philistims, and the conduction of the Arke to the Citie of Dauid.

When *Dauid* was now established in the Kingdome, his first enterprize was vpon the *Iebusites*, who in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their wals with the blinde and lame of their Citie, which *Dauid* soone after entered: all their other forces notwithstanding. For having mastered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the Citie of *Dauid*) hee became Lord of *Ierusalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Iebusites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moses* and *Iesua*, and after them almost 400. yeeres. There are who expound this place otherwise: *Except thou take away the blinde and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither.* For some thinke that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Iebusites*: others, that it had reference to the Couenant made long before with *Isaac*, and *Isaac*: the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the Angell, and that therefore till those (that is, till that Couenant) be broken, *Dauid* ought not to molest them. But for my selfe, I take it with *Iosephus*, that they armed their wals with certaine impotent people at first, in scorne of *Dauids* attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeeres against all the children of *Israel*, *Iesua*, the *Iudges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it also against *Dauid*.

When he had now possit himself of the very heart and Center of the Kingdome, and receiued congratulatory Embassadors and presents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained diuers other concubines and married moe wiues, by whom he had ten sons in *Ierusalem*, and by his former wiues he had fixe in *Hebron* where he reigned 7. yeeres.

The *Philistims* hearing that *Dauid* was now annointed King, as wel of *Iuda* as of *Israel*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warne in his seat. And being encountered by *Dauid* at two severall times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they were at both times ouerthrowne. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

Then *Dauid* assembled 30000. choice *Israelites* to conduct the Arke of God from the house

house of *Abinadab* in *Gibea* to the City of *David*; which businesse was interrupted by the death of *Pezab* the sonne of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the *Arke*, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harme, when it was shaken. But after three yeeres it was with great solemnity brought into the City with sacrifices, musicke, dances, and all signes of ioyfulness, in which *David* himselfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Arke*, and afterward told him in scorne, *That he was unconcered as a foole in the eyes of the maidens his seruants*; namely that he forgot his regall dignity both in apparrell and behauiour; and mixed himselfe among the base multitude, dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and streetes: not that shee disliked *Dauids* behauiour (as I take it) though she made it the colour of her derision; but rather the abundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred vp, beholding the glory of her husband to whom she was deliuered lastly by force, and remembering the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruines she conceiued that the sonne of *Isai* had built this his greatnesse: together with the many new wiues and concubines imbraced since his possession of *Ierusalem*, made her breake out in those despitefull tearmes, for which she remained barren to her death.

1 Chron. 4. 3.

This done, *David* consulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or house of God: but was forbidden it, because he was a man of warre, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; hauing threatened, not in vaine, that he would require the blood of man, at the hand of man and beast. The wars, which *David* had made were iust, and the blood therein shed was of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appears how greatly those Princes deceiue themselves, who thinke by blood-shed & terrour of their warres, to make themselves in greatnesse like to the Almighty, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercie and goodnesse, or seeke the blessednesse promised by our Saviour vnto the peace-makers.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *Dauids* founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he receiued both a confirmation of the Kingdome to him and his heires, and that happie promise of the everlasting Throne, that should be established in his seede.

§. V.

The ouerthrow of the Philistims and Moabites.

2 Sam. 8. 1. 1.

Soone after this, *David* ouerthrew the Philistims, which made them altogether powerlessse, and vnable to make any inuasion vpon *Israel* in haste. For it is written, *Acceptis frenum Amgaris à manu Philistheorum*; which place our English Genes conuerts in these words, And *David* tooke the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philistims. The Latine of *Innius* giueth another and a better sense; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong Citie of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the Genes hath it in the marginal note. This Citie of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Cesarea*, set on the frontier of *Palestina* at the entrance into *Iudea* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retreat in all their inuasions; which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such frontier towne of equall strength to the Philistims on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood, the Hebrews call *Annie*, wherof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Plinie* in his first booke, and Chap. 13. This exposition is made plaine and confirmed in the first of *Chro.* the 18.

Innius in 8. c. of the second of sam.

There was no nation bordering the Iewes that so greatly afflicted them as the Philistims did, who before the time of *Saul*, (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leaue one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kinde, but infor't them to come downe into their territorie, for all iron worke whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *David* were feldome free, from paying tribute to the Philistims.

2 Sam. 13.

After this he gaue them foure other ouerthrowes: but the war of the Moabites and *Aramians* came betwene. In the first of which he was indangered by *Ishbi-benob*, the head of whose speare weighed 300. sheckles of brasse, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abisai* succoured *David* and slew the Philistim; whereupon the

the Counsellors and Captaines of *David* (lest the light of *Israel* might by his losse be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazzard himselfe in any battail. The second and third incounter and ouerthrow of the Philistims was at *Gob*, a place neere *Gesar*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the Philistims by the taking of *Geth*, he inuaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his aduersitie hee fought succour, and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no, it is not knowne.

The Rabbines faine that *Moab* slew those kinsfolkes of *David*, which liued vnder his protection in *Sauls* time; but questionlesse *David* well knew how that Nation had bin alwayes enemies to *Israel*, & tooke all the occasions to vex them that were offered. And he also remembred that in the 23. of *Deut.* God commanded *Israel* not to seek the peace or prosperity of the Moabites, which *David* well obserued, for hee destroyed two parts of the people, leauing a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria* *Zobab*, the region of *Adadezer* the son of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is set downe in the description of the holy Land: to which I referre the Reader.

§. VI.

30

The warre which David made vpon the Syrians.

It is written in the Text: *David smote also Hadadezer, &c. as he went to reconer his border at the river Euphrates*. Now whether the words (as hee went to reconer his border) bee referred to *David* or *Hadadezer*, it is not agreed vpon. *Innius* thinkes that the article (hee) hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tobu* oppressed by *Hadadezer*, ouerthrew the one, and succoured the other. But the ancient and most receiued opinion, that this recouery hath reference to the Syrian, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any such enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in farre better case to haue proceeded after his victory than before: seeing that (*Adadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountaines vpon him at his returne.

Again, seeing *David* was either to passe through a part of *Arabia* the desert, or by the plaines of *Palmyrena*, his army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all: He had now both horse and chariots good store to carry his provisions through those vncultiued places, by which hee was to haue marched before he could haue reached *Euphrates* or any part thereof. But wee finde that *David* returned to *Ierusalem*, after he had twice ouerthrowne the Syrian army, not bending his course towards the river *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appeare, that it was the Syrian, and not King *David*, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is said.

The king of *Syria*, *Damascena*, & of *Damascus*, whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Adadezer* was ouerthrowne by the *Israelites*, fearing his own estate, & the losse of his own country which adioined to *Syria* *Zoba* of *Hadadezer*, sent for an army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadezer* and too soone for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 22000. This king of *Damascus*, *Iosephus* (out of *Nicholaus* an ancient Historian) calleth *Adad*, who was also of the same name and family as all those other *Adads* were: which now began to grow vp in greatnesse, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the *Assyrians*, as is shewed heretofore. *David* hauing now reduced *Damascus* vnder his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in *Edom*: hauing also sacked the adioyning Cities of *Betah*, & *Berathi*, belonging to *Adadezer*, of which Cities *Protonie* calleth *Betah*, *Taubat*: and *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*. *Tobu* or *Thoi*, whose country of *Hamath* ioyned to *Adadezer* (as in the description of the Holy Land the reader may perceiue) sent his son *Torram* to congratulate this successe of *David*: partly because he had war with *Adadezer*, & partly because he feared *David* now victorious. He also presented *David* with vessels of gold, silver, and brasse; all which together with the golden shields of the *Aramites*, and

2 Sam. 8.

the best of all the spoiles of other Nations, *David* dedicated vnto God at his returne. *Iunius* translated the words (*clypeos aureos*) by *umbones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the bosses onely. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila* golden chains. But because *Roboam* made shields of brasie in place of these of *Adadezer*, at such time as *Shicab* the Egyptian sackt the Temple of Ierusalem, it may be gathered thereby that those of *Adadezer* were golden shields.

2 SAM. 1.

This done, *David* sent Embassadors to *Hannum* King of the Ammonities to congratulate his establishment in his fathers Kingdome: for *David* in the time of his affliction vnder *Saul*, had bene relieved by *Nabab*, the father of *Hannum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill aduised, and ouer-iculous of his estate, vsed *Dauids* messengers to so barbarously, and contemptuously (by curtailing their beardes, and their garments) as hee thereby drew a warre vpon himselfe, which neither his owne strength, nor all the aydes purchased could put off, or sustaine. For notwithstanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thousand Souldiers of the Amalekites, and their confederates; to wit, of the vassalles of *Adadezer* twentie thousand, and of *Machab* and *Ishob* thirteene thousand (for which hee disbursed a thousand talents of silver) yet all these great armies together with the strength of the Ammonites, were by *Ioab* and his brother *Abisbai* easily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great losse or slaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the Aramites fled, the Ammonites also retreated into their Cities, the one holding themselves within the walles, the other in their desarts adioyning, till *Ioab* was returned to Ierusalem.

Machab the North part of Trachonitis remembered in Deut. 3. 14. Ishob or Ishb a country neere to Ierusalem under the rocks of Amon. 2 SAM. 10.

Helam or Chelam which Ioseph calleth A-lam this neere the founts of Euphrates. 2 SAM. 10.

* See. c. 18 §. 2.

Adadezer hearing that *Ioab* had dismissed his armie, assembled his forces againe, and sent all the companies that hee could leuie out of *Mesopotamia*, who vnder the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of Israel, and marched towards the Syrian armie in Palmyrena, not yet entred into Arabia; to wit, at *Helam*, a place no lesse distant from *Damascus*, towards the North-east, than Ierusalem was towards the Southwest. Now *David* (speaking humbly) might with the more confidence goe on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest-off journey that euer hee had) because hee was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the midway. Hee also posselt himselfe of * *Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Solomon* afterward strongly fortified; and this Citie was but one dayes journey from *Helam*, and the riuer *Euphrates*. So had he two safe retreates, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter betweene *David* and the Syrians, they lost 40000. horsemen, and 700. chariots, together with *Shobach* Generall of their armie. The *Chronicles* call these 40000. Souldiers footmen, and so *Iudas* conuerts it, and so is it very probable. For the armie of Israel consisting of footmen, could hardly haue slaughtered 40000. horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foote. So are the chariots taken in this battell, numbred at 7000. in the first of *Chronicles* the ninth; in which number, as I conceiue, all the Souldiers that serued in them with the conductors are included: so as there dyed of the Syrians in this warre against *David*, before hee forc't them to tribute, 100000. footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that *Ioab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the Ammonites, before *Rabbah*. Notwithstanding all which, the Adads in following ages gathered strength againe, and afflicted the Kings of Iuda often: but the Kings of Israel they impouerished euen to the last end of that State.

David hauing now beaten the Arabians and Mesopotamians, from the partie and confederacy of *Ammon*: He sent out *Ioab* the Lieutenant of his armies to forrage and destroy their territorie, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the Israelites mastered and posselt. The Kings crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *David* set on his owne head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though *David* stayed at Ierusalem, following the war of *Uriah* his wife, till such time as the Citie was brought to extremity and ready to be entred: yet *Ioab* in honour of *David* forbore the last assault, & entrance thereof, till his masters arriall. To the people he vsed extreme rigour (if wee may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters,) for some of them hee tare with har-

rowes

rowes, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning kilns, in which he baked tyle and bricke.

§. VII.

Of *Dauids* troubles in his reigne, and of his forces.

IT was victorie begetteth securitie, and our present worldly felicitie a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and manie times of God himselfe the giuer of all goodnesse: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise obseruation of his Lawes and Commandements. For hauing now no dangerous apparant enemy (against whom he was wont to aske counsaile from the Lord) he began to be aduised by his owne humane affections and vaine desires. For hee was not onely satisfied to take *Uriahs* wife from him, and to vse her, by stealth; but hee intbrodered his adulterie with *Uriahs* slaughter, giuing order to his trustie seruant *Ioab* to marshall him in the front or point of those Israelites, which gaue an assault vpon the suburbs of *Rabbah*, when there was not as yet anie possibilitie of preuailing. And, that which could no lesse displease God than the rest, he was content that manie others of his best seruants and souldiers should perish together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to couer his particuler ill intent against him. After which hee began by degrees to fall from the highest of happinesse, and his dayes then to come were filled with ioyes and woes interchangeable, his troden-downe sorrowes began againe to spring; and those perils which he had pulld vp by the rootes (as he hoped) gaue him an after-haruest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God to take the witnesse of *Dauids* own mouth against him, as *David* himselfe did against the Amalekite, which pretended to haue slain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded vnto him his owne error in the person of another, to wit, of him that tooke the poore mans sleepe that had none else, the bearer being Lord of manie: He then vowed it to the liuing Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *David* for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced; yet hee deliuered him Gods iustice together with his mercie in the tenour following; Now therefore the sword shall neuer depart from thy house &c. because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain *Uriah* with the sword of the children of Ammon. Soone after this, *David* lost the child of adulterie which he begot on *Bersbeba*. Secondly, his own sonne *Amnon* being in loue with his halfe sister *Thamar*, by the aduice of his cousin-german the sonne of *Shimeah* *Dauids* brother, posselt her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a carelesse and despitefull manner. Two yeares after which foule and incestuous act, *Abisalom* caused him to be murdered, at the feast of his sheepe-shearing: not perchance in reuenge of *Thamars* rauishment alone; but hauing it in his heart to vsurpe the kingdome: in which, because he could not in anie sort be assured of *Amnon*, he thought his affaire greatly aduanced by his destruction. So the one brother hauing rauished his owne sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice, first made his owne brother drunken, and then slaughtered him; which done, he fled away, and liued vnder the saueguard of *Talmay* king of Gessur, neere *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Abisalom* by the inuention of *Ioab* (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his sonne) was brought againe, first to the Kings fauour, and then to his presence; he began instantly to practise against *David* his father, seeking by the pretence of common iustice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win vnto himselfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatened by the Lord as a punishment of *Dauids* sinne.

The companie which *Abisalom* gathered at the first were but 200. men: which he carried with him from Ierusalem to Hebron, pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired vnto him, & many troupes of people

people from all places, he proclaimed himself King, & was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted so readily, that *David* doubting to be set vpon on the suddaine, durst not trust himselfe in his owne Citie of Ierusalem, nor in any other walled towne for feare of surprize: but incamped in the fields and deserts with some 600. of his guard, and few else. The Priests hee left in Ierusalem with the Ark of God, from whom hee desired to be aduertised of those things that chanced, to whom he directed *Hushai* his trustie friend, & seruant, praying him to make himselfe in all his outward actions and counsels of *Abisalom*s party and confederacy, thereby the better to discouer vnto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a reuolting Counsaillor, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Mephibosheth* the sonne of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the sire of whose hatred *David* prospered) had smothered, but his aduersity illightned) holding himselfe vpon the aduantage of a mountaine side, cast stones at *David*, and most despitfully, curst him to his face: but *David* attending no priuate reuenges, forbade *Abisbai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his reuenge, to his sonne *Salomon*. *Abisalom* being now possessor of Ierusalem, was aduised by *Achitophel* to vse his fathers concubines in some such publique place, as all Israel might assure themselves, that he was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being perswaded, they would then resolutely adhere to *Abisalom* and his cause, without feare of being giuen vp vpon a reconciliation betwene them. This saluage and impious (though craftie counsaile) *Achitophel* indeed vrged for his owne respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed *Abisalom* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: *I will raise vp euill against thee out of thine owne house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them vnto thy neighbour, and hee shall lye with thy wives in the sight of the Sunne: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will doe this thing before all Israel, and before the Sunne*. Hee also gaue aduice to *Abisalom*, that himselfe with an armie of 12000. men might bee employed at the instant for the surprizing of *David*; which had willingly beene embraced by *Abisalom*, had not *Hushai* *David*s faithfull seruant giuen counter-aduice, and swayed it: perswading *Abisalom* that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of Israel, to pursue his father, than by such a troope, which *David*s valour and those of his attendants mighteith in danger of resist. This delay in *Abisalom*, and aduantage of time gained by *David*, was indeed, after God, the losse of the one, and deliuey of the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the successe which followed, disposed of his owne estate, and then forooke both the party and the care of *Abisalom*, and of his owne life.

David being aduertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past Iordan, possessing himselfe of Mahanaim in the tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Israhel* himselfe in the war against *David* after *Saul*s death seated himselfe. To which place there repaired vnto him *Shobi* the sonne of *Nabab* the Ammonite, whom *David* loved, the same which *Iosephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it bee greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most generall and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hannum*, whom *David* for his fathers sake established in the kingdom, after *Hannum*s ouerthrow: in thankfulness whereof he relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came also to *David*s assistance *Machir* of *Lodabar*, Guardian in former times to *Mephibosheth*, and among others *Barzillai* the Gileadite, who willingly fed *David* and all his companie.

In the meane time both the king and *Abisalom* prepared to fight; *Abisalom* made *Amasa* Commander of the armie of Israel, the same place which *Ioab* held with *David*; an officer next the king himselfe, like vnto that of the Maiors of the Palace anciently in France. *David*, perswaded by his company, stayed in Mahanaim, & disposed the forces he had to *Ioab*, *Abisbai*, and *Ittai*, giuing them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of Mahanaim, that they should spare the life of *Abisalom*. But *Ioab*, besides that hee was very cruell by nature, remembered that *Abisalom* had lately disposed of his gouernment to *Amasa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, & newes brought him that *Abisalom* hung by the haire of his head on a tree, when hee could not perswade the messenger to returne and kill him, he himselfe with his owne seruants dispatcht him.

It appeared also by the sequell that *Ioab* affected *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet liuing; and fearing the disposition of *Abisalom*, he imbraced the present aduantage offered. 2.Sam. 18.

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to *David*, he mourned and sorrowed, not only as a man that had lost a sonne, but as one that had outliued all his worldly ioyes, and scene euerie delight of life interred. For hee so hid himselfe from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victorie, couered themselves also in the citie, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserued death than recompence. Whereupon *Ioab* presenting himselfe before *David*, perswaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himselfe to the armie. For first, he told him that he had discountenanced his faithfull seruants, who had that day preferred his life; inferring that nothing could bee more dangerous to a King, than not onely not to acknowledge so great a loue and constancie in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolutely expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrarie, grieue and lament at their good successe. For, no doubt, they might all haue bought their peace of *Abisalom* at an easie rate. Secondly, he vrged that it was generally beleued, that he loued his enemies & hated his friends; and that he witnessed by this his mourning, that he had not anie respect of his Princes, and others his faithfull seruants, but would more haue ioyed if they had all perished, and *Abisalom* liued, than in the victorie by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, he used this preualent argument, That if the King came not out and shewed himselfe publickly to his men of warre, that they would all that verie night abandon him, and returne: concluding with this fearefull threatning, *And that will be worse vnto thee than all the euill that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto*. By these ouer-bold and arrogant speeches (though perchance vttered with a good intent) *Ioab* raised *David* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the citie among the people, whom he assured of his loue and affection, especially *Amasa*, who commanded the armie of *Abisalom*, to whom he promised the office of Lieutenantship; the same which *Abisalom* had giuen him, and which *Ioab* now enioyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of Israel, now vnder his commandement. 2.Sam. 19.

This done, the King marched towards Iordan homeward, where in his passage hee pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reuiled him to his face: but this remission was but externall, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of *Mephibosheth* his excuse, whom *Ziba* had falsely accused and betrayed. 2.Sam. 19. 23.

He also intreated *Barzillai* the Gileadite, his late liberall Oast, to follow him to Ierusalem, that he might reward his seruice done him; who excusing himselfe by his age, appointed his sonne *Chimbam* to attend the King. 2.Sam. 19. 38.

At Gilgal on this side Iordan, all the Tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to haue most interest in *David*, the Armie brake, & *David* returned to Ierusalem. But *Sheba* the son of *Bichri*, a Beniamite, of the faction of the house of *Saul*, finding some discontent among the Israelites, withdrew them from *David*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest, and it seemeth that manie of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but Iuda, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. *David* employed his reconciled Captaine *Amasa*, to giue him contentment, and to witnesse his trust, as also because hee conceiued that *Amasa* had interest in those reuolts of Israel more than *Ioab* had. He receiued commandement from *David* to assemble the Armie within three dayes, which hee foreflowed: but being onward on his way, *Abisbai*, *Ioab*s brother, was sent after him, with *David*s guard and best Souldiers, whom also *Ioab* accompanied: and ouertaking *Amasa* neere Gibeon, pretending to imbrace him, gaue him a wound, whereof hee fell dead, being no lesse ialous of *Amasa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, hee pursued *Sheba*; and finding him inclosed in *Abel*, assaulted the citie with that furie, that the citizens by the perswasions of a wife woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his head, and flung it to *Ioab* ouer the walls: which done, he retrained his Armie to Ierusalem, and commanded, as before, all the Host of Israel. 1.Sam. 30. 10.
2.Sam. 10. 11.

The next act of Dauid, was the deliuey of Sauls sons or kinsmen to the Gibeonites, whom those citizens hung vp in reuenge of their fathers crueltie. Dauid had knowledge from the Oracle of God, that a famine which had continued on the land three yeeres, came by reason of Saul and his house, to wit, for the slaughter of the Gibeonites: and therefore he willingly yeelded to giue them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himselfe, as also, if wee may iudge humanely, to rid himselfe of Sauls line, by whom he and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and indangered; only he spared Mephiboseth the sonne of Ionathan, both for the loue he bare to his father, as for his oath and vow to God.

Now whereas it is written in the Text, *The King took the two sonnes of Rissah, whom she bore vnto Saul, and the five sonnes of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel, and deliuered them to the Gibeonites*: Iunius calls this Michol the sister of her that was Dauids wife, (see whom Saul married to Phaltiel: but Michol here named, had Adriel to her husband; the same which is named Merab in the first of Samuel the eighteenth, who was first promised to Dauid when he slew Goliath in the valley of Raphaim: and because it is written that Michol loued Dauid, which perchance Merab did not, whether Dauid had any humane respect in the deliuerie of her children, it is onely knowne to God.

Now where the Geneua nameth Michol for Merab the wife of Adriel: the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here vsed, hauing an eclipsis or defect, & signifies, as I am informed, one of the same kindred, as in the 19. verse of the same one and twentieth chapter it is said of Goliath, whose speare was weightie as a Weauers beame, when as by the same eclipsis it must be vnderstood by the brother of Goliath; Goliath himselfe being formerly slaine.

As by the death of Sauls children God secured the house of Dauid, leauing no head vnto rebellion; so did hee strengthen both the King and Nation against forreine enemies, by the valour of many braue Commanders, the like of whom, for number & quality, that people of Israel is not knowne to haue had at any time before or after. Thirty Captaines of thousands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre. Ouer these were fixe Coronels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might be well held ammiraculous. These Coronels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to haue beene giuen vpon meere consideration of their vertue. For Abisshai the brother of Ioab, who in the warre against the Ammonites & Aramites was Lieutenant, and commanded halfe the armie, could not attaine to the honour of the first ranke, but was faine to rest contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the second order, notwithstanding his neeress of blood vnto the King, the flourishing estate of his owne house, and his well approued seruices. All these Coronels and Captains, with the Companies belonging to them, may seeme to haue beene such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readines for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawne out, if need required, into the field, verie farre exceeded thirtie thousand, yea, or thirty times as manie. They were most of them such as had followed the King in Sauls time, and been hardened with his aduersities. Others there were verie manie, and principall men in their feuerall Tribes, that repaired vnto him after the death of Saul; but these Captaines and Coronels, (who with Ioab, that was Generall of all the Kings forces, make vp the number of 37.) were the speciall men of warre, and reckoned as Dauids Worthies. The long reigne of Dauid, as it is knowne to haue consumed many of these excellent men of warre, so may it probably beghessed to haue wasted the most of those whose deaths we find no-where mentioned. For the sonnes of Zeruija, who had beene too hard for Dauid, were worne away, and only Ioab left in the beginning of Salomon, who wanted his brother Abisshai to stand by his side in his last extremitie.

By the actions forepassed in the time of Dauid, it is gathered that he had reigned now 33. yeares or thereabouts, when the posterity of Saul was rooted out, so that he enioyed about seuen yeeres of entire quiet and securitie, wherein it pleased God to remoue all impediments that might haue troubled the succession of Salomon in his fathers throne. In this time also Dauid hauing established all things in Iuda and Israel, and the borders thereof, he againe displeased God by numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which he employed Ioab, with other Captaines of his Armie, who after

nine

nine moneths and twentie dayes trauell, returned with the account & register of all the people, able and fit to beare Armes, and they amounted to the number of thirte hundred thousand, besides Leui and Benjamin, whereof in Iuda and the cities thereof siue hundred thousand, and in Israel eight hundred thousand.

For this, when by the Prophet Gad he was offered from God the choise of three punishments, whereof he might submit himselfe to which he pleased; to wit, seuen yeeres famine; three moneths warre, wherein he should be vnprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a generall pestilence to last three dayes: Dauid made choise to bow himselfe vnder the hand of God only, and left himselfe subiect to that cruell disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished 70. thousand. And hereby hee hath taught all that liue, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men, wherof he giueth this diuine reason, *For his mercies are great.*

§. VIII.

Of the last acts of Dauid; Adonijahs faction; the reuenge vpon Ioab and Shimei.

Asly, when he grew weake and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, he was yet aduised to lie in the armes of a young and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake estate of bodie, when hee was in a manner bed-rid, Adonijah his eldest sonne (Ammon & Absalom being now dead) hauing drawn vnto his partie that inuincible, renowned and feared Ioab, with Abiathar the Priest, began manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldest now liuing of Dauids sonnes, and a man of goodly personage, Salomon yet young, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adulterie, for which her name was omitted by S. Matthew (as Beda, Hugo, Thomas, and others suppose) he presumed to carrie the matter without resistance. Hereof when Dauid had knowledge by Bersabe the mother of Salomon, who did put him in mind of his faithfull promise, that Salomon her son should reigne after him (Nathan the Prophet affirming the same thing vnto the King, & seconding her report of Adonijahs presumption) the King calling vnto him Zadoc the Priest, Nathan the Prophet, & Benaiah the Captaine of his guard, gaue charge and commission to anoint Salomon, and to set him on the Mule whereon himselfe vied to ride in his greatest state: which done, Salomon, attended, and strongly guarded by the ordinarie and choyce men of warre, the Cherethites and Pelethites, shewed himselfe to the people. These tidings being reported to Adonijah, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the present Salomon pardoned. After this, Dauid had remaining two especiall cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against Salomon; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he sought by all meanes to aduance, and make the businesse publicke. To bring these intentions to good effect, he summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of Israel, the Princes of the feuerall Tribes, all the Captaines and Officers, with all the mightie, and men of power; who did repaire vnto Ierusalem.

In this assembly the King stood vp, & signified his purpose of building the Temple; shewing how the Lord had approued the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, shewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of Iuda (as Iacob in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himselfe was pleased to make choise of him among all his fathers sonnes. In like manner he said that God himselfe had appointed Salomon by name to be his successor: whereupon hee earnestly charged both the people and his sonne to conforme themselves vnto all that God had commanded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords house, which Salomon was chosen to build. Then produced he the patterne of the worke, according to the forme which God himselfe had appointed; and so laying open his owne preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntarie contribution.

The Kings proposition was so well approued by the Princes & people, that where as hee himselfe had giuen three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thousand of siluer, they added vnto it seuen thousand of gold, & ten thousand of siluer, besides brasse, iron, and

and iewels, heartily reioicing in the aduancement of so religious a worke. This buſi-
neſſe being ſo well diſpatched, a ſolemne feaſt with great ſacrifice was made, at which
time *Salomon* was againe anointed King, & receiued fealtie of all the Princes & people
of the Land, & of all the Princes his brethren, the ſonnes of King *Dauid*. *Salomon* being
thus eſtabliſhed King, his Father *Dauid* finding himſelfe euen in the hands of death, firſt
exhorted his ſonne to exerciſe the ſame courage and ſtrength of minde, which him-
ſelfe had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the
beginning of all his enterprizes, he vttered theſe mighty words; *Take heed to the charge*
of the Lord thy God, to walke in his wayes, and keepe his ſtatutes, and his commandments, and
his iudgements, and his teſtimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moſes, &c. to the per-
formance of which, G O D faſtened the ſucceſſion, and proſperitie of his iſſues. For
this done (ſaith G O D himſelfe) *Thou ſhalt not want one of thy poſteritie to ſit upon the*
Throne of Iſrael.

Secondly, he aduiſed him concerning *Ioab*, who out of doubt had ſerued *Dauid* from
the firſt aſſault of *Ieruſalem* to the laſt of his warres, with incomparable valour and fide-
lity, ſauiſng that he faſtened himſelfe to *Adonijah* (his maſter yet liuing) & thereby vexed
him in his feeble age. But as God hath neuer left cruelty vnreueged, ſo was it his will
that *Ioab* ſhould drinke of the ſame cup, whereof he hath enforced other men to taſte, &
ſuffer the ſame violence which himſelfe had vniuſtly ſtrooken others withall, *Qui gladio*
percutit, gladio peribit: for he had bereaued *Abner* & *Amasa* of their liues, hauing againſt
the one the pretence onely of his brothers ſlaughter, whom *Abner* had ſlaine in the time
of warre, and could not auoyd him: againſt the other but a meere iealouſie of his grow-
ing great in the fauour of *Dauid*. And though *Ioab* aſſured himſelfe that *Abner* & *Amasa*
being dead, there was none left either to equal him or ſupplant him, yet God (deriding
the policies of wicked men) raiſed vp *Benhaiab* the ſonne of *Iehoiadab*, to pull him from
the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For *Dauid* giueth this cauſe to *Salomon* againſt
Ioab, that he ſlue the Captaines of the hoſte of *Iſrael*, and ſhed blood of battell in peace,
and to this apparant & iuſt cauſe, it is not improbable but that *Dauid* remembered the ill
affection of *Ioab* towards *Salomon*, which *Ioab* made manifeſt by the vntimely ſetting vp
of *Adonijah*, *Dauid* yet liuing. Some other offence *Ioab* had committed againſt *Dauid*, of
which in theſe words he put his ſonne *Salomon* in minde; *Thou knoweſt alſo what* *Ioab* the
ſonne of *Seruiah* *did to me, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abſalom*,
contrary to the Kings deſire, or by the proud words vſed to him when he mourned in
Mahanaim for *Abſalom*; or whether it were the publiſhing of *Dauid*'s letter vnto him for
the killing of *Uriah*, thereby to diſgrace *Salomon* as deſcended of ſuch a mother, the
Scriptures are ſilent. True it is, that thoſe great men of warre doe oftentimes behaue
themſelues exceeding inſolently towards their Princes, both in reſpect of their ſeruite
done, as alſo becauſe they flatter themſelues with an opinion, that either their maſters
cannot miſſe them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath ouer-
throwne manie a worthy man otherwiſe deſeruing great honour and reſpect.

He alſo gaue order to *Salomon* to rid himſelfe of *Shimei*, who not long before had caſt
ſtones at *Dauid*, and curſed him to his face. And albeit by reaſon of his oath and pro-
miſe *Dauid* ſpared *Shimei* all the time himſelfe liued, yet being duſt and in the graue, hee
ſlew him by the hand of *Salomon* his ſonne. Hence it ſeemeth that King *Henry* the ſe-
uenth of England had his patterne, when he gaue order to *Henry* the eight to execute
Pool as ſoone as himſelfe was buried, hauing made promiſe to the King of Spaine when
he deliuered *Pool* vnto him, that while hee liued hee would neuer put him to death, nor
ſuffer violent hands to be laid vpon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Ioab* yeeld vnto *Salomon* any ſuch great profit or af-
ſurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of *Idumea*, & *Reſin* of *Damaſcus*
to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witneſſe, were emboldened to enterprize vpon *Salomon*,
hearing that *Dauid* ſlept with his fathers, and that *Ioab* the Captaine of the Hoſt
was dead. Now when *Dauid* had reigned in all fortie yeares, to wit, in Hebron 7. yeares,
and in *Ieruſalem* three and thirty, he died.

For his perſon, he was of ſmall ſtature, but exceeding ſtrong. For his internall gifts
and graces he ſo farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart,
he was ſaid by God himſelfe to be a man according to his owne heart. The *Pſalmes*
which he wrote, witneſſe his pietie and his excellent learning: of whom *Hierome* to

Paulinus:

Paulinus: *Dauid Simonides noſter, Pindarus, & Alcaeus, Flaccus, quoque Catullus, &*
Serenus, Chriſtum lyra perſonat, & in deſchabordo Iſaacio ab inferis ſuſcitatur reſurgentem;
Dauid (ſaith he) *our Simonides, Pindarus, Alcaeus, Horace, Catullus and Serenus, hee*
playeth Chriſt on his harpe, and on a ten ſtringed Pſalter he raiſeth him up riſing from the dead.
And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth Chriſt more lightſomly & liuely
than all the reſt.

The booke of the *Pſalmes*, ſaith *Glycas*, was diuided, ordered and diſtinguiſhed by
Ezekias: but whether all the *Pſalmes* were written by *Dauid*, it is diuerſly diſputed. For
Athanaſius, *Cyprian*, *Lyrannus*, and others conceiue diuers Authors anſwering the titles
of the ſeueral *Pſalmes*, as *Moſes*, *Salomon*, and the reſt hereafter named; and that onely

73. *Pſalmes* were compoſed by *Dauid* himſelfe, namely, thoſe which are intituled *ipſius*
Dauid. For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are beſtowed on *Aſaph* the ſon
of *Barachia*, cleuen other on the ſonnes of *Korath*; and cleuen are aſcribed to *Moſes*, to
wit, the 89. and the ten following, and ſo they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies,
though the vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) ſtile them otherwiſe. The ſuppoſed
nine Authors of theſe *Pſalmes* which *Dauid* wrote nor, *Sixt. Senenſis* nameth as follow-
eth; *Salomon*, *Moſes*, (whom *Aben Ezra*, contrary to *Hierome*, maketh one of *Dauid*'s ſin-
gers) *Aſaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman*, *Ezaiara*, *Idithum*, and the three ſonnes of *Chore*. But
S. Chryſoſtome makes *Dauid* the ſole Author of all the *Pſalmes*, and ſo doth *S. Auguſtine*,
reaſoning in this manner: Although (ſaith he) ſome there are that aſcribe thoſe *Pſalmes*
onely to *Dauid*, which are ouer-written *ipſius Dauid*, and the reſt intituled *ipſi Dauid*, to
others, this opinion (ſaith he) *Vox Evangelica Saluatoris ipſius reſuſcitatur, ubi ait quid ipſe*
Dauid in ſpiritu Chriſtum dixerit eſſe ſuum Dominum, quoniam Iſalmus 109. ſic incipit,
Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede a dextris meis, &c. The voyce of the Goſpell reſutes
this opinion, where it ſaith, that *Dauid* himſelfe in the ſpirit called Chriſt his Lord, be-
cauſe the 109. *Pſalme* begins thus: *The Lord ſaid vnto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand,*
&c. Laſtly, his teſtimonies are vſed both by Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and hee was as a
patterne to all the kings and princes that ſucceeded him.

His Story and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets; *Samuel*, *Na-*
than and *Gad*, as it is in the firſt of *Chron. 29. verſ 19.* For the ſeueral parts of the bookes
of *Samuel* which intreate chiefly of *Dauid*, were as it ſeemes written by theſe three
holy men.

Conſtantine Manneſſes hath an opinion, that the Troians during the time of the ſiege,
fought for ſuccour from *Dauid*, and that hee ſtayed neuter in that warre. But it ſeemeth
that *Manneſſes* did miſcaſt the time twixt *Dauid* and the Troian warre. For it is generally
receiued that Troy fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Samſon* Iudges of *Iſrael*, about
the worlds yeere 2848. and *Dauid* died in the yeere 2991.

S. IX.

Of the treaſures of *Dauid* and *Salomon*.

Is treaſures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the firſt of *Chro. Verſ 14.*
Nicols, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thouſand
talents of gold, and a thouſand thouſand talents of ſiluer, and of braſſe & yron
pauiſng all weight, which is more than any king in the world poſſeſt beſides himſelfe;
and his ſonne to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thouſand three hundred
thirty & three cartload, & a third of a cartload of ſiluer, allowing two thouſand weight
of ſiluer or ſixe thouſand pound ſterling to euery cartload, beſides threeſcore & ſeuente-
ne millions of French Crownes, or of our money twenty three millions and a thou-
ſand pound: a matter, but for the teſtimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all beleeſe. For
that any riches were left him, it doth not appeare, ſeeing that the Iudges had not any
treasure, nor any ſoueraign power to make leuies: but when they went to the wars, they
were followed by ſuch voluntaries as the ſeueral tribes by turns gaue them: ſeeing alſo
that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the Phi-
liſtims, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being
exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part poſſeſt by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiſſe to conſider how *Dauid* within the ſpace of not very ma-
ny yeeres, might amaffe vp ſuch mighty treaſures. For though paſſimony be it ſelfe a
great

great reuenuē, yet needs there must haue beene some other great meanes. It seemes that he made the vitermost profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Eusebius* in his ninth booke and last chapter de *preparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *Dauid*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a Nauy in *Melanus* (or as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achanus*) a citie of Arabia, and from thence sent men to digge for gold in the Iland *Vrphe*, which *Ortelius* thinks was *Ophir*, though *Eupolemus* in this place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this Iland is in the red Sea: from whence, saith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into Iurie. *Pineda*, *de rebus Salomonis*, c. 1. thinks that *Dauid* did this way also enrich himselfe, and cyteth this testimonie of *Eupolemus*: and yet certainly *Dauid* had many other wayes to gather riches. Much land doubtlesse he gained by conquest from the Canaanites & Philistines; besides those fruitfull vallies neere Iordan in *Trachonitis* & *Basan*, and the best of *Syria*, and other countries bordering the *Israelites*. These demaines belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captiues, which he took in his warres, which were not able to redeeme themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest aduantage. For it is written, 1. *Chron.* 17. that *Ichonathau* was ouer his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, in the townes; that *Ezri* was ouer the labourers that tilled his ground; *Simai* ouer the vineyards, and *Sabdi* ouer the store of the wine; *Baal Hanan* ouer the oliue trees, and *Iosb* ouer the store of the oyle: also that hee had heard-men that had charge ouer his cattell, both in the high lands and in the plaines, ouer his Sheepe, Camels and Alles. And this custome of enriching themselves by husbandrie and cattell, the ancient Kings euerie where held, both before and after *Dauid*'s time. For wee reade of *Pharaoh*, that hee spake to *Ioseph* to appoint some of his brethren or of their seruants, to be rulers ouer his cattell. Wee reade of *Vzzia*, that hee loued husbandrie, had much cattell, and plough-men, and dressers of Vines: likewise wee reade it in all Greeke Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did specially consist in their Herds and Flocks, whereof it were needlesse to cyte *Augas* and *Admetus*, or anie other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *Dauid* it is not vnlikely, but that those captiues which were not employed in husbandrie, were manie of them vsed by him in all sorts of gainfull professions, as the ancient Romanes in like manner vsed their slaues.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions, which doubtlesse were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Tohu* and others) wee may adde the great spoyle which hee found in the cities and countries which hee conquered: also the head money which was gathered *per legem capitatiōis*; By the law of capitation, or head money, euerie man rich or poore paying halfe a sickle of the Sanctuarie, which is about as much as foureteene pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous summe in that Kingdome: wherein one thousand thousand five hundred and seuentie thousand fighting men were numbred by *Ioab*. Now although this law of capitation be thought by some verie learned, not to haue beene perpetuall (which opinion of theirs neuertheless they confesse is against the Hebrew expositions) yet *Dauid* vpon this occasion is not vnlikely to haue put it in practise. And by these meanes might he be able to leaue those huge treasures to *Salomon*. Yet it may seeme that this great masse of gold and siluer left by *Dauid*, the least part was his owne in priuate, and so will it appeare the lesse wonderfull that hee left so much. Of his owne liberalitie we finde, that hee gaue to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thousand talents of siluer: a great summe, but holding a verie small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuarie it selfe were exceeding great, as needs they must haue been, hauing receiued continual increase, without any losse or diminution euer since the time of *Moses* and *Iosab*. The reuenues of the Sanctuarie (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the daily expences, and maintained the Priests and Leuites) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the spoyle gotten in warre. For all the bootie was diuided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the country receiued benefite of the victorie, yet so, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiuing more for euerie single share.

Out

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people receiued and one in fise hundred, of that which was giuen to the Souldiers; namely one hundred and one thousand part of the whole bootie. So in the spoyle of *Midian*, thirty two thousand women being taken, the armie had sixteene thousand of them for slaues, and the Congregation had other sixteene thousand; but out of the sixteene thousand giuen to the Armie, were exempted two and thirty for the Lords tribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this meanes, the lesser that the Armie was which had exposed it selfe to danger, the greater profit had euerie Souldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were faine to vndergoe more than ordinarie triauaile in domesticall affaires, did receiue by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwaies certaine, yea many times it was increased, either by some especiall commandement, as when all the gold, and siluer, and other mettalls found in *Ierico*, were consecrated vnto God; or by thankfulnessse of the Rulers and People, as when after the victorie obtained against the *Midianites* without the losse of one man, all Iewells, Bracelets, Eare-rings, and the like, were offered vp, as voluntarie presents.

Now howsoeuer the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, & troden down by other Nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoyle; for the enemies neuer gat possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuarie must haue bin exceeding great; as containing aboute one hundredth part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtained against the bordering Nations. For that this treasure was not defrauded of the due portion, it is euident; seeing that before the time of *Dauid* and his Lieutenant *Ioab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, & before them *Samuel*, had vsed to dedicate of the spoiles obtained in war, to maintaine the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Iudges and Captaines of other Ages. Certaine it is, that the Conquest of *Dauid* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, those of *Iosua* perhaps excepted: but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of siluer, may seeme rather to haue bin made vp, by the addition of his winnings and liberalitie, to the treasures laid vp in many former Ages, than to haue beene the meere fruits of his owne industrie.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for hee receiued yeerely reuennues with his tributes 666. Talents of gold, besides the Customs of Spices. He had also fixe rich Returnes from the East India, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voyage euerie three yeeres, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth yeere of his reigne, and ruled fortie yeeres. Besides this, all Iudaea and Israel were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, of *Damascena*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Ituræa*; all of *Idumea*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizzites*, *Heuites*, *Iebusites*, and other races of the Canaanites, were not as yet extinguished, though subiected.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdom of Israel reduced by *Dauid*, who after 40 yeeres reigne, and 70. yeeres of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the Citie of *Dauid*. It is written by *Iosephus* that there was hid in *Dauid*'s Tombe a maruailous quantitie of treasures, insomuch as *Hircanus* (who first of the *Chasmanis*, or race of Maccabees, called himself King) one thousand and three hundred yeeres after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus* then besieging *Ierusalem*; & afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had also an exceeding masse of gold and siluer therein. And it was an ancient custome to burie treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* & other Americans did the like, which being discouered by the Spaniards, they enriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did burie so much treasure in his fathers graue, it would hardly be beleued, in regard of the great exactions with which hee was faine to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left vnto him: were it not withall considered that his want of mony grew from such magnificent employments. Particularly of the Sepulchre of *Dauid* the Scriptures haue no mention, but onely the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Iuda*, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the

Monuments

Persepolis.
Hic. vol. D. N.
Ch. K. A. 2. Epist.
2.

Monuments of those Kings, as (by relation of the Duke of *Vlika*) they remained with in these thirty yeeres, and are like to remaine still, are able to make report credible of the cost bestowed vpon them.

§. X.

Of the *Philistims*, whom *Dauid* absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with *Dauid*.

Of the *Philistims*, whose pride *Dauid* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *Dauids* time somewhat here may be spoken.

Id. l. 9. 19.
Isid. l. 1. art. 17.

They descended of *Casloim*, who, according to *Isidor* and *Iosephus*, was one of the sonnes of *Misraim*, and was surnamed *Philistim*, as *Esau* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Iacob* *Israel*. There were of them five Cities of petty principalities, namely, *Azotus*, or *Asdod*, *Gaza* or *Azaph*, *Ascalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Casloim* was the first founder of this nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Egyptians*.

v. Sam. 6.

The first King of these *Philistims*, which the Scriptures haue named, was that *Abimelech* which loued *Sara*, *Abrahams* wife.

Gen. 20.

The second *Abimelech* liued at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of famine, *Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumæa*, which *Abimelech* fancied *Isaac* his wife: as his father had done *Sara*.

Gen. 26.

After *Abimelech* the second, the *Philistims* Kings are not remembered in the Scriptures, till *Dauids* time: perhaps the gouernment was turned into *Aristocraticall*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philistims*, how soeuer *Achis* be named king of *Gath*, the same to whom *Dauid* fled, and who againe gaue him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Sauls* time.

Iud. 16.
1 Sam. 18. 19.
1 Sam. 21. 11.
1 King. 2.

After him we reade of another *Achis* who liued with *Salomon*, to whom *Shimei* traueled to fetch backe his fugitiue seruant, what time the seeking of his seruant was the losse of his life. *Jeremie* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Palestin* or *Philistim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The rest of the warres of the *Philistims* are remembered in the Catalogue of the *Judges*, of *Saul* and *Dauid*, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There liued at once with *Dauid*, the third of the *Siluij* King of *Alba*, called *Latinius Siluius*, who is said to haue ruled that part of *Italic* fiftie yeers. And about his fourteenth yeere *Codrus* the last King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontida*, without regall name gouerned *Atheni* during their life.

The reasons which moued the *Athenians* to change their gouernment, were not drawn from any inconuenience found in the rule of soueraignty, but in honor of *Codrus* only. For when the *Græcians* of *Doris*, a region between *Phocis*, & the mountain of *Ossa*, fought counsaile from the Oracle, for their successe in the warres against the *Athenians*, it was answered, that then vndoubtedly they should preuaile and become Lords of that State, when they could obtaine any victorie against the Nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* King liuing. *Codrus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himselfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common souldier, entred the Campe of the *Dorians*, and killing the first hee encountred, was himselfe forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31. King of *Affryia*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire, about the 13. yeere of *Dauid*, and about 38. yeeres.

Neere the same time began *Ixion* the 31. King of the *Heraclide*, the sonne of *Eurythones* in *Corinth*, and *Agis* the second of the *Heraclide* in *Lacedæmon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his successors were called *Agæi*. For many yeeres after. Hee restored the *Lacæmonians* to their former libertie: hee ouercame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Lacæonia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: hee condemned them and theirs to perpetuall slaerie; whereof it came, that all the *Messeniensians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helotes*.

In like sort from the *Sclauis* came the word *Slane*. For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized vpon the country of *Illyria* & made it their owne by conquest, their victory pleased them so highly, that therupon they called themselves by

by a new name, *Slauos*, which is in their language *glorious*. But in after times (that warre of Climate hauing thawed their northerne hardines, and not ripened their wits) when they were troden downe, and made seruants with their neighbours; the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *Slanes*, vsing the word as a name of reproach: in which sense it is now currant through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and somewhat later, about the 23. yeere of *Dauid*, and say, that *Achestratus* was the fourth King of this race, the same whom *Eusebius* calls *Labotes*, and sets him in the thirteenth yeere of *Salomon*.

Euseb. in chro.

In the tenth yeere of *Achestratus*, *Androclus* the third sonne of *Codrus*, assisted by the *Iones*, built *Ephesus* in *Caria*, who after the adioyning of the Ile of *Samos* to his territorie, was slaine by the *Carians*, whose cuntry he vsurped. He was buried (saith *Pausanias*) in one of the gates of *Ephesus* called *Magnetes*, his armed Statua being set over him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next prouince to *Ephesus* on the sea coast of *Asia* the lesse) he enlarged his Dominions vpon the *Æoles*, which ioyneth to *Ionia*: and that his posteritie gouerned the Cities of *Ephesus* and *Erythra* by the name of *Basilidæ* in *Strabo* his own time. Of the expedition of the *Iones* how they came hither out of *Peloponnesus*, I haue * spoken already vpon occasion of the returne of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*, wherein, with the *Doræ*, they expelled the *Achæi*, and inhabited their places in that land: though this of the *Iones* succeeded that of the *Heraclidæ* 100. yeeres.

The East gate of Ephesus toward Asia, vpon the river Alexander.

Arif. l. 5. col. c. 6

* See Ch. in this 17. Ch. 1. post medium.

The Citie of *Ephesus* became exceeding famous: first, for the Temple of *Diana* therein built, which had in length 425. foote, and 220. in breadth, sustained with 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foote high: whereof 27. were most curiously grauen, & all the rest of choyce marble polishd, the worke being first set out by *Ctesiphon* of *Gnosfos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that receiued the Christian faith, of which *Timothy* was Bishop, to whom, and to the *Ephesians*, *Saint Paul* wrote his Epistles so intitled. The other Citie possed by *Androclus* in *Æolis*, was also vniuersally spoken of by reason of *Sibylla*, surnamed *Erythra*: who liued 740. yeeres before *Christ* was borne. *S. Augustine* auoweth that a *Romane* Proconsul shewed him in an ancient Greeke copie certaine verses of this Prophetesse: which began (as *Saint Augustine* changed them into Latine) in these words: *Iesus Christus Dei filius, Saluator: Iesus Christ Sonne of God, the Saviour*.

Plin. l. 2. c. 58.
C. 17. c. 37.

About the time that *Ioab* besieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to gouern in *Egypt*, the same that was father in law to *Salomon*, whose Epistles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembered by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *Dauid*, was the Citie of *Magnesia* in *Asia* the lesse founded, the same which is seated vpon the riuer *Mæander*, where *Scipio* gaue the great ouerthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territorie are the best Horses of the lesser *Asia* bred, whereof *Lucan*:

Et Magnetis equis, Minye gens cognita remis.

About the same time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, according to *Seruius*, with whom *Strabo* ioyneth the *Cumæans* of *Æolis*, saying, that to the one of these people the gouernment was giuen, with condition that the other should giue name to the city. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous scholler of *Isocrates*. *Eusebius* and *Cassiodorus* finde the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. yeere of *Dauid*, but much mistaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Mecinus* the son of *Badezer*, brother to *Iezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Israel*; and between the death of *Dauid*, and the first of *Achab*, there were wasted about 95. yeeres.

Seruius in Aeneid.
3. Strabo. l. 5.

In this time also *Acastus* liued, the second of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in descent before the State changed into a Magistracie of ten yeeres. Some writers make it probable, that the *Æolians*, led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Orestes*, possed the Citie and Iland of *Thes* about this time. In the 32. yeere of *Dauid*, *Hiram* began to reigne in *Tyre*, according to *Iosephus*, who saith that in his twelfth yeere *Salomon* began the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar error in *Iosephus*, to misreckon times, which in this point he doth so strangely, as if he knew not how at all to cast any accompt. For it is manifest, that *Hiram* sent messengers, and Cedars vnto *Dauid*, soone after his taking of *Ierusalem*, which was in the very beginning of *Dauids* reigne ouer *Israel*, when as yet hee had reigned onely seauen yeeres in *Hebron* ouer the house of *Iuda*. Wherefore it must needs bee that *Hiram* had reigned about 30. yeeres

Euseb. in chro.
Hierod. in c. it.
Hom. & Strab.
1. 14.
Antiq. 8. &
cont. Ap. l. 1.

2. Sam. c.

yeeres before *Salomon*; vnlesse more credit should bee giuen to those Tyrian records which are cited by *Iosephus*, than to the plaine words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same *Hiram* which liued both with *Dauid* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifest.

CHAP. XVIII. OF SALOMON.

§. I.

Of the establishing of Salomon: of birthright, and the cause of Adonijahs death, and of Salomons wisdom.



SALOMON, who was brought vp vnder the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reigne ouer Iuda and Israel, in the yeere of the World 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: hee was also called *Iedsaddia*, or *Theophilus* by *Nathan*, because the Lord loued him.

Hiram King of Tyre, after *Salomons* anointing, dispatched Embassadors toward him, congratulating his establishment: a custome betwene Princes very ancient. Whence, wee reade that *Dauid* did in like sort salute *Hiram* King of the Ammonites, after his obtaining the Kingdome.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in bloud, though his reigne were peaceable. For soon after *Dauids* death, hee caused his brother *Adonijah* to be slaine by *Benaiah* the sonne of *Iehoiada*, taking occasion from *Adonijah* his desiring by *Bersheba*, that the young maide *Abisbag* (which lay in *Dauids* bosome in his latter dayes, to keepe him warme) might be giuen to him. Whatsoeuer hee pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and sought the kingdome contrary to the will of *Dauid* whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is said that a word is enough to the wife, & he that sees but the clay, may know whether it be a Lyon or no: so it may seem that to the quick-sighted wisdom of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijahs*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had bene Concubines to a king, might not after bee touched but by a king: whence *Achitophel* wished *Abisag* to take his fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And *Dauid* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not giue them to any other, but shut them vp, and they remained widowed vntil their death. And this it seemes was the depth of *Ishobeths* quarrell against *Abner*, for hauing his Fathers Concubine. And some signification of this custome may seeme too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *Dauid*; *I haue giuen thee thy masters house, and thy masters wine.* And in the words of *Saul* vpbraiding *Jonathan*, that hee had chosen *Dauid* to the shame of the nakednesse of his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was some reference to this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marrie with her that was alwaies present with *Dauid* in his latter daies, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conueying of the kingdome to *Salomon*. There might be diuers further occasions; as either that hee would learn such things by her as might be for the aduantage of his ambition, or that he would perswade her to forge some strange tale about *Dauids* last Testament, or any thing else that might preiudice the title of *Salomon*.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, & with the customes of the Jewes: yet the kings of the Jewes were so absolute, as they did therein, & in all else what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of kings) which taught them to vse this paternall authoritie in transferring the birthright to a younger sonne: namely of *Jacobs* disheriting *Reuben*, and giuing the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Ioseph*: of whom hee made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *Dauid*, it appeareth by the words of *Bersheba* and *Nathan* to *Dauid*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For, as for popular election, that it was necessarie to confirme, or that the refusall of the people had authoritie to frustrate the elder

Deut. 21. 15.
Filius meo, &c.
agnoscito, dū
do ei portionem
duorum: nam
ipsum est ius
primogenitū.
Num. 1. Reg. 1. 17.
2. 20. 29. & 34.
1. King. 1. 1. 2. 20.
& 27.

elder brothers right to the Kingdome, it now here appears in the stories of the Jewes. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* King at Galgal: that is, they acknowledged & established him. For that he was King long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of chusing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said, *Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall chuse.*

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the same time that hee put *Adonijah* to death, hee rid himselfe also of *Isab*, and three yeeres after of *Shimei*, as *Dauid* had aduised him: hee displaced also the Priest *Abiathar*, who tooke part with *Adonijah* against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed *Dauid* in all his afflictions, and because he had borne the Arke of God before his Father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdome, hee tooke the daughter of *Ephraim* King of Egypt to Wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Eusebius* calls him. He offered a thousand Sacrifices at Gibeon, where God appearing vnto him in a dreame, bade him aske what he would at his hands; *Salomon chooseth wisdom, which pleased God.* And God said vnto him, *Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy selfe long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy selfe, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I haue done according to thy words:* by which we may informe our selues, what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coueting after long life in respect of our selues, cannot but proceed of selfe-loue, which is the roote of all impiety: the desire of priuate riches is an affection of couetousnesse, which God abhorreth; to affect reuenge, is as much as to take the sword out of Gods hand, and to distrust his iustice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in minde of his brothers slaughter, for which hee had not any warrant either from *Dauid*, or from the Law of God. But because *Salomon* desired wisdom onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to giue him withall that which he desired not. And *I haue also giuen thee* (saith God) *that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour.* This gift of wisdom our Commentators stretch to almost all kindes of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and liuing creatures the Scripture testifieth, though no doubt the chiefe excellencie of *Salomons* wisdom, was in the knowledge of gouerning his Kingdome: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, the Scripture telleth how soone hee iudged the controuersie between the two harlots.

§. II.

Of Salomons building and glorie.

HEE then entred into league with *Hiram* King of Tyre, from whom he had much of his materials for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had receiued a double charge; one from his father *Dauid*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *Dauid*, that *He called Salomon his sonne, and charged him to build a house for the Lord God of Israel:* so doth *Tostatus* giue the force of a diuine precept to these words, *Behold, a sonne is borne vnto thee, &c. Hee shall build an house for my Name.*

He began the worke of the Temple in the beginning of the fourth yeer of his reign, at which time also he prepared his fleet at Eliongaber to trade for gold in the East Indies, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a worke. For, that the Temple was in building, while his fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the Almaggim trees brought from Ophir. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the forme and example was giuen by God himselfe) many learned men haue written; as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Barradas*, *Acorius*, *Villalpandus*, *Pineda*, and others, to whom I refer the Reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which serued that building, *Salomon* employed 30. thousand Carpenters, 10. thousand euery month by course: he also vsed 80. thousand Masons in the mountain, and 70. thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceiued, he selected out of the Profelites, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his worke; to as he paid and employed in all one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men; in which number the Sidonians, which were farre more skillfull

skillfull in hewing timber than the Israelites, may (as I thinke) be included. For *Hiram* caused his seruants to bring down the Cedars and Firres from Libanon to the sea, and thence sent them in raftes to Ioppe, or the next port to Ierusalem. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plaine, that all but the thirtie thousand Carpenters, and the ouer-seers, were strangers, and as it seemeth, the vassals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* King of Egypt. In recompence of all this timber and stone, *Salomon* gaue *Hiram* twentie thousand measures of wheate, and twenty measures of pure oyle yeerely. *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* in the ninth booke of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath left vs a Copie of *Salomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Hiram* and *Hiram*) King of Tyre in these words:

Rex Salomon Suroni, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœnicie regi, Amico paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno Dauid patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creauit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.

King Salomon to King Suron, of Tyre, Sydon, and Phœnicia King, and my fathers friend, sendeth greeting. You may vnderstand that I haue receiued of the great God of my father Dauid, the Kingdom: and when my father commanded me to build a Temple to God which created heauen and earth, hee commanded also that I should write to you: I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.

To which the King *Suron* made this answer.

Suron, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœnicie Rex, Salomoni Regi salutem. Læti literis gratias agi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros ministrosq; ad ædificandum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te milia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Iudæa, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessarii non egeant, & Templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.

Suron of Tyre, Sydon and Phœnicia King, to King Salomon greeting: When I read your letters, I gaue God thanks, who hath installed you in your fathers Kingdom. And because you write, that Carpenters and Workmen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I haue sent you foure-score thousand men, and a Master-builder a Tyrian, borne of a Iewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be carefull that all necessaries be provided for them, and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to vs.

The Copies of these letters were extant in *Iosephus* time, as himselfe affirmeth, and to be seene, saith he, *Tam in nostris quam in Tyriorum annalibus*, as well in our owne as in the Tyrian annals. But he deliuereth them somewhat in different termes, as the Reader may finde in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse betweene *Salomon* and *Hiram* either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwile deliuered in the Scriptures, than either *Eupolemus* or *Iosephus* set it downe, but so, that in substance there is little difference betweene the one and the other.

The like letter in effect *Salomon* is said to haue written to *Vaphres* King of Egypt, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some Commentors vpon *Salomon* finde that *Hiram* King of Tyre, and *Vaphres* King of Egypt, gaue *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemus* in *Eusebius*, I doe not finde any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius* in the last chapter of that ninth booke; neither is it in *Iosephus* in the eight booke and second chapter of the Iewes Antiquities: it being a vain title vsed by some of the Assyrian and Persian Kings, and vsed likewise by the Parthians, and many other after them, in so much as in later times it grew common, and was vsurped by meane persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightinesse.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified Ierusalem with a treble wall, and repaired Hazer which had bene the ancient Metropolis of the Canaanites, before *Iosias* time: so did he Gaza of the Philistines: he built Berothon, Gerar, & the Mill or munition of Ierusalem. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth in

in fauour of *Salomon*) came vp into the edge of Ephraim, and tooke Gerar, which place the Canaanites yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their Citie. The place & Territorie he gaue *Salomons* wife for a dowrie. And it is probable that because *Salomon* was then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he treated his father in law to rid him of these neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But hee thereby taught the Egyptians to visit those parts againe before they were sent for; and in his sonne *Rehoboams* time *Shephach* this mans successor did sacke Ierusalem it self.

Salomon also built Megiddo in Manasse, on this side Iordan, and Balah in Dan: also Thadmor, which may be either *Ptolemies* Thamoron in the desert of Iuda, or (as *Iosephus* 10th l. 8. ant. c. 2.) thinks) Palmyra in the desert of Syria, which Palmyra because it stood on the utmost border of *Salomons* dominion to the northeast of Libanus, and was of *Dauids* conquest when he was Damascus; it may seeme that *Salomon* there bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best Art that that age had. *Iosephus* calls this place Thadmora, by which name (saith he) giuen by *Salomon*, the Syrians as yet call it. *Hierom* in his booke of Hebrew places, calls it Thermeth. In aftertimes, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called Adrianopolis. In respect of this great charge of building *Salomon* raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twenty talents of gold receiued from *Hirams* seruants; *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty townes in or neere the vpper Galilee, but because they stood in an vnfruitfull and marsh ground, *Hiram* refused them, and therefore was the territory called Chabul.

These townes, as it is supposed, lay in Galilee of the gentiles, *Non quod gentes ibi habitarent: sed quia sub ditione regis gentilis erat*, Not that it was possess'd by the Gentiles (saith *Nauclerius*) but because it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile. Howsoeuer it were, it is true that *Salomon* in the 21. yeere fortified those places, which *Hiram* refused. Further, he made a iourney into Syria Zobah, and established his tributes; the first and last warre (if in that expedition he were driuen to fight) that he made in person in all his life. Hethen visited the border of all his dominions, passing from Thadmor to the North of Palmyrena, & so to the Desarts of Idumæa, from whence he visited Eziongaber & Eloth the vtermost place of the South of all his territories, bordering to the red sea: which Cities I haue described in the Storie of *Moses*.

6. III.

Of *Salomons* sending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about *Salomons* riches, and of *Pinedas* conceits of two strange passages about Africke.

Ere *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of Ships for India, with whom *Hiram* ioyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the Tyrians being of all other the most expert sea-men. From this part of Arabia, which at this time belonged to Edom, and was conquered by *Dauid*, did the Fleet passe to the East India, which was not farre off, namely to Ophir, one of the Islands of the Moluccas, a place exceeding rich in gold: witnesse the Spaniards, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in Peru, doe yet plant in those Islands of the East at Manilia, and recouer a great quantitie from thence, and with lesse labour than they do in any one part of Peru, or new Spaine.

The returne which was made by these Ships amounted to foure hundred and twenty talents, but in the second of *Chronicles* the eight, it is written 450. talents: wherof 30. talents went in expence for the charge of the fleet, and wages of men; and 420. talents which makes siue and twenty hundred and twenty thousand Crownes, came cleere. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1. Reg. 10. 14. which speaketh of fixe hundred sixty and fixe talents of gold, that summe, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Salomons* which were yeerly, and which came to him besides those profits from Ophir.

My opinion of the land of Ophir, that it is not Peru in America (as diuers haue thought) but a Countrey in the East Indies, with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedy returne to Ierusalem from the East Indies than in three yeeres; and that *Tharhis* in Scripture is diuers times taken for the Ocean, hath bene already declared in the first booke.

of *Jonathan* into his Court, appeareth to haue passed away in quiet; and the yeere following to haue begun the warre with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to triall of a battaile (for *Isaiah* after the victory, returned immediately to *Ierusalem*) the causes and preparations for that warre taking vp all the Summer. *Dauids* personall expedition against the *Aramites* wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Adadezer* vnder his owne allegiance, appeares manifestly to haue bene the next yeeres worke, wherein he did cut off all meanes of succour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab* and *Idumaea* being now at his owne deuotion. By this reckoning it must haue been the 20. yeere of *Dauids* reigne, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which hee sent forth *Isaiah* to besiege *Rabba*, and finished the warre of *Ammon*: wherein also fell out the matter of *Vriahs* wife. So one halfe of *Dauids* reigne was very prosperous: in the other halfe hee felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heauie Iudgement laid vpon him by God for his foule and bloody offence.

Now very manifest it is, that in the yeere after the death of that child which was begotten in adulterie, *Salomon* was borne, who must needs therefore haue been nineteene yeeres old or thereabout, when he began to reigne at the decease of his father, as being begotten in the 21. yeere of his fathers reigne, who reigned in all fortie.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *Dauid*, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for two yeeres passed ere *Absolon* slew his brother *Amnon*; three yeeres ere his father pardoned him; and two yeeres more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seemes to haue been one yeeres work. So the rebellion it selfe with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa* & the rest, may well seeme to haue been in the 30. yeere of *Dauids* reigne.

Whether the three yeeres of famine should be reckoned apart from the last yeeres of warre with the *Philistines*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needful to coniecture. Plaine enough it is, that in the ten remaining yeeres of *Dauid* there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for the three yeeres of famine, for foure yeeres of warre, and for numbring the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his owne last infirmities, and disposing of the Kingdome. Yet indeed it seemes that the warre with the *Philistines*, was but one yeeres worke, and ended in three or foure fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* neere vnto *Gezer*, and the last at *Gath*. This war the *Philistines* vnderooke, as it seemeth, vpon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Israel*, and perhaps emboldened by *Dauids* old age: for hee fainted now in the battaile, and was afterwards hindered by his men from exposing himselfe vnto danger any more. So *Dauid* had fixe or seuen yeeres of rest, in which time it is likely that manie of his great men of Warre died (being of his owne age) whereby the stirring spirit of *Adonijah* found little succour in the broken partie of *Isaiah* the sonne of *Zeruia*.

At this time it might both truly be said by *Dauid* to *Salomon*, *Thou art a wise man*; and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a young childe*: for nineteene yeeres of age might well agree with eyther of these two speeches.

Neither lesse there are some that gather out of *Salomons* professing himselfe a child, that hee was but eleuen yeeres old when hee began to reigne. Of these *Rabbi Salomon* seemes the first Author, whom other of great learning and iudgement haue herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps vpon that which is said of *Absolons* rebellion, that it was after fortie yeeres, which they vnderstood as yeeres of *Dauids* reigne. But whereas *Rehoboam* the sonne of *Salomon* was 41. yeeres old when hee began to reigne, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himselfe but a childe of nine or ten yeeres old; the difference betwene their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who reigned 40. yeeres) were but eleuen yeeres old when his reigne began. To auoide this inconuenience, *Iosephus* allows 80. yeeres of reigne to *Salomon*; a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeede haue in fauour of this opinion construed the words of *Iosephus*, as if they included all the yeeres of *Salomons* life. But by such reckoning he should haue bene 40. yeeres old at his fathers death; and consequently should haue bene borne long before his Father had wonne *Ierusalem*; which is a manifest vnto. Wherefore the 40. yeeres re-
mem-

1 King. 2. 2. 9.
6. 3. 2. 7.

2. Sam. 15. 7.

remembered in *Absalons* rebellion, may either seeme to haue reference to the space between *Dauids* first anointment, and the trouble which *GO D* brought vpon him for his wickednesse, or perhaps be read (according to *Iosephus*, *Theodoret*, and the *Larine* translation) foure yeeres; which passed betwene the returne of *Absalon* to *Ierusalem*, and his breaking out.

§. V.

Of *Salomons* writings.

Here remaine of *Salomons* workes, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the song of *Salomon*. In the first he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the second, the vanitie of humane nature; in the third, he singeth as it were the Epithalamion of *Christ* and his Church. For the Booke intituled, *The wisdom of Salomon*, (which some giue vnto *Salomon*, and some make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof) *Hierome* and many others of the best learned make vs thinke it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri sapientie* (saith *Hierome*) qui *Salomonis* inscribitur, *Græcam redolet Hier. ad cronam eloquentiam*; *The stile of the Booke of wisdom, which is ascribed to Salomon, sanoueth of the Græcian eloquence*; and of the same opinion was *S. Augustine*, and yet he confesseth in the nineteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the *Citie of God*, that the Author of that Booke hath a direct foretelling of the Passion of *Christ* in these wordes:
10 *Circumueniamus iustum, quoniam insuauis est nobis, &c. Let vs circumuent the righteous, Sap. 2. for he is displeasing to vs, hee is contrary to our doings, he checketh vs for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to haue the knowledge of God, and he calleth himselfe the saine of the Lord, &c.* and so doth the course of all the following words point directly at *Christ*. The Bookes of *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs*, and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moses Kimchi* ascribeth to *Isaiah* the Prophet. *Suidas* & *Cedrenius* report, that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diseases, and graued the same on the sides of the Porch of the Temple, which (they say) *Ezechias* pulled downe, because the people neglecting helpe from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Of *Salomons* Bookes of Inuocations, and Inchantments to cure diseases, and expell euill spirits, *Iosephus* hath written at large, though (as I conceiue) rather out of his owne invention, or from some vncertaine report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one *Eliazarius*, who by the roote in *Salomons* ring, dispossest diuers persons of euill spirits in the presence of *Vespasian*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainely so strange an example of humane frailtie hath neuer bene read of as this King: who hauing receiued wisdom from God himselfe, in honour of whom, and for his only seruice, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of *Israel* and *Iudaea*, not by the law of Nature, but by the loue of God; and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswasion of a few weake and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giuer of all goodnesse, of which he was more liberall to this King, than to any that euer the world had. Of whom *Syracides* writeth in this manner: *Salomon reigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house to his name, and prepare the Sanctuary for euer; How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with vnderstanding, as with a fountaine? Thy minde couered the whole earth, and hath filled it with graue and darke sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Isles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c.* but thus hee concludeth: *Thou didst bow thy loynes to women, and wast ouer come by thy body; thou didst staine thine honour, and hast defiled thy posteritie, and hast brought wrath vpon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly.* cap. 27.

§. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of *Salomon*.

Here the beginning of *Salomons* reigne, *Agathias* the third of the *Heracidae* in *Corinth*, *Labotes* in *Lacedæmon*; and soon after *Syluius Alba* the fourth of the *Siluii*, swayed those Kingdomes: *Laonithenes* then governing *Assyria*: *Agathias* & *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the fixe and twentieth of *Salomons* reigne *Hiram* of Tyre died, to whom *Balastus* succeeded, and reigned seyntene yeeres, after *Mercators* account, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sonnes. *Iosephus* giues him fewer yeeres. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Antolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some Kings omitted betwene the death of *Hiram* and the reigne of *Bozorius*.

Euphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sesac* of Shishak (as our English Geneva termes him) began to gouern in Egypt, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sosachis*; *Iosephus*, *Susac*; *Cedrenus*, *Susisimus*; *Eusebius* in the colume of the Egyptian Kings, *Smendes*; and in that of the *Hebrewes*, *Susac*. *Iosephus* in the eight of his Antiquities reproveth it as an error in *Herodotus*, that he ascribeth the acts of *Susac* to *Sesoftris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might haue done by comparison, accounting *Sesac* another *Sesoftris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Sesoftris* I haue spoken already in the story of the Egyptian Princes: onely in this hee was reprov'd, that he caused foure of his captiue Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was disposed to be seene, and to ride in triumph: one of which foure, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sesoftris* was carried out to take the aire, cast his head continually backe vpon the two fore-most wheeles next him; which *Sesoftris* perceiuing, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captiue King answered, that in those he beheld the instabillity of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheele was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the ypmost part was as suddenly turned down-ward, and vnder all: which when *Sesoftris* had iudiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like seruitude in the future. Of this *Sesoftris*, and that hee could not bee taken for *Sesac*, I haue spoken at large in that part of the Egyptian Kings preceding.

CHAP. XIX.

Of *Salomons* Successors vntill the end of *Iehosaphat*.

S. I.

Of *Rehoboam* his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and *Ieroboams* Idolatry.



Rehoboam the Sonne of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an Ammonitess, now forty yeeres old, succeeded his Father *Salomon*, and was anointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of Israel were assembled: who attended a while the returne of *Ieroboam* as yet in Egypt, since hee fled thither, fearing *Salomon*. After his arriual the people presented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet quam metui*; So should his Empire (saith *Iosephus*) bee more assured, if hee desired rather to bee beloued than feared: whereof hee tooke three daies to deliberate before his answer; of whom therefore it could not be said as of *David*, that hee was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himselfe he knew not how to resolue, so had he not the iudgement to discern of counsels; which is the very test of wisdom in Princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that hee had consulted with those graue and aduised men, that serued his Father, who perswaded him by all meanes to satisfie the multitude: hee was transported by his familiars and fauourites, not onely to continue on the backes of his subiects those burdens which greatly crush them; but (vaunting fallily of greatnesse exceeding his Fathers) he threatened in sharpe, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heauier, and more vsupportable loades on them. But as it appeared in the successe, those yonger aduisers greatly mistooke the nature of seueritie, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it selfe: they also were ignorant that it ought to be vsed for the helpe, and not for the harme of subiects. For what is the strength of a King left by his people? and what cords or fetters haue euer lasted long, but those which haue beene twisted

Ant. l. 8. c. 3.

twisted and forged by loue onely? His witlesse parasites could well iudge of the Kings disposition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehoboam* did not a little aduance *Ieroboams* designs. For being fore-told by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future aduancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples loue into furie) confirmed and gaue courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner arriued, than elected King of Israel: the people cryed out, What portion haue we in *Dauid*? wee haue no inheritance in the Sonne of *Issai*. Now though themselves, euen all the Tribes of Israel, had consented to *Dauids* anointing at *Hebron* the second time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgot both the bands of nature, and their dutie to God; and, as all alienate resolu'd hearts, and after time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man most hatefull to all his Subiects, to pacifie them: whom they instantly beate to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from *Sichem* with all speede, and recovered *Ierusalem*, where preparing to inuade Israel, with an hundred and fourescore thousand chosen men, *Shimei* in the person of God commanding to the contrary, all was staid for the present. In the meane time *Ieroboam* the new King fortified *Sechem* on this side, and *Penuel* on the other side of *Jordan*; and fearing that the Vnion and exercise of one Religion would also ioyne the peoples hearts againe to the House of *Dauid*; and hauing in all likelihood also promised the Egyptians to follow their Idolatry, he set vp two Calues of gold for the children of Israel to worship, impiously perswading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these hee represented those Gods which deliuered them out of Egypt: and refusing the seruice of the Leuites, he made Priests fit for such gods. It must needs be that by banishing the Leuites which serued *Dauid* and *Salomon* through all Israel, *Ieroboam* greatly enriched himselfe: as taking into his hands all those Cities which were given them by *Moses* and *Iosua*; for as it is written, *The Leuites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Iuda, &c.* This irreligious policie of *Ieroboams* (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that neuer could be rooted out, vntill Israel for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophesie and miracles impugned sufficiently when it first began; but the affections maintaining it, were so strong, that neither Prophesie nor Miracle could make them yeeld. *Ieroboam* could not be moued now by the Authority of *Achia*, who from the Lord had first promised vnto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as he stretched it ouer the Altar, which also claued a funder, according to the signe, which the man of God had giuen him by the commandement of God, who againe recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the safest course in policie to proceed as he had begun. This impious inuention of *Ieroboam*, who forsooke God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a moderne Historian compared with the policies of late Ages; obseruing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian borne. *Sic qui hodie* (saith hee) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda, praesentisq; utilitates sibi tanquam vltimum finem constituunt, causam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promouenda, conseruanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si iniuria proximo irroganda, si iniustitie honestatissq; leges subvertenda, si religio ipsa pessundanda, si deniq; omnia iura diuina, & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nil per fas nefasq; relinquendum censent; cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil adipos, modo id, quod de re sua esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castigare possit Deus: So they who are now called Politicians, propounding to themselves, as their utmost end and scope, their owne commoditie and present profit; soare wont to alleage the ease of state forsooth, as the principall point to bee regarded: for the good of the state, for aduancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they thinke that they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppresse their neighbour, to ouerturne all lawes of iustice and honestie, if religion it selfe must goe to wracke, yea if all rights of God and Man must be violated, they will try all courses, bee it right, bee it wrong, they will doe any thing: let all goe to ruine, what care they, so long as they may haue what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.*

Indeed this allegation of *ragione del stato*, did serue as well to vphold, as at the first

Amos 7. 13.
2 Kings 10. 16.
2 Kings 10. 10.

first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatrie of the ten Tribes. Vpon this ground *Amos* the Priest of Bethel, counsaileth the Prophet *Amos*, not to prophetic at Bethel; For (saith hee) *it is the Kings Court*. Vpon this ground euen *Iehu* that had massacred the Priests of *Bethel*, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wise depart from that politique sinne of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Nebat*, which made Israel to sinne. It was reason of state that perswaded the last famous French King *Henry* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Protestants whom he forsooke, obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom he followed, murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizzor of wife proceeding delude euen those that know the foule face of impietie lurking vnder it: and behold the wretched ends that haue euer followed it; whereof *Iehu* and all the Kings of Israel had in and were themselves very great examples.

S. II.

Of Rehoboam his impietie; for which he was punished by Sefac: of his end and Contemporaries.

2 Chron. 12.

WHile *Ieroboam* was occupied in setting vp his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side, hauing now little hope to recouer the Prouinces lost, strengthened the principall places remaining with all endeauiour: for he fortified and victualled fiftene Cities of Iudah and Benjamin: not that hee feared *Ieroboam* alone, but the Egyptians, to whom *Ieroboam* had not only fastned himselfe, but withall inuited them to invade Iuda: laying perchaunce before them the incountable riches of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, which might now be easily had, seeing ten of the twelue Tribes were reuolted, and become enemies to the Iudaens. So as by those two waies (of late yeeres often troden) to wit, change of Religion, and inuitation of forraigne force, *Ieroboam* hoped to settle himselfe in the seate of Israel, whom yet the powerfull God for his Idolatry in a few yeeres after rooted out, with all his. *Rehoboam* also, hauing, as he thought, by fortifying diuers places, assured his estate, forsooke the Law of the liuing God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groues on euery high Hill, and vnder euery greene Tree.

2 Chron. 12. 3.
10. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

And therefore in the fifth yeere of his reigne, *Sefac* or *Shishac* before spoken of, being now King of Egypt, and with whom as well *Adad* of Idumæa, as *Ieroboam*, were familiar, and his instruments; entred Iudæa with twelue thousand Chariots, and threescore thousand Horse, besides foot-men, which *Iosephus* numbers at foure hundred thousand. This Armie was compounded of foure Nations: Egyptians, Iubaens, Succæans, and Cusites. The Iubaens were Lybaens, the next bordering Region to Egypt, on the West-side. The Cusites were of Petæa, and of the desert Arabia, which afterward followed *Zerab* against *Asa* King of Iuda. The Succæans, according to *Iunius* his opinion, were of Succoth, which signifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they were the Trogloditæ, mentioned often in *Plinie*, *Ptolomie*, and other Authors. The Trogloditæ inhabited not farre from the banks of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward, about fixe hundred English miles from the best and Maritime part of Egypt: and therefore I do not thinke that the Succæi, or Succæi were those Trogloditæ, but rather those Arabians which *Ptolomie* calls *Arabes Egyptii*, or *Ichthyophagi*, which possesse that part of Egypt between the mountaines called *alabastrini*, and the red Sea, far neerer Egypt, and readier to be leuiued than those remoued Sauages of the Trogloditæ.

2 Chron. 12.
2 Kings 14.
Annol. 14. 12.
Chron.
Plin. l. 6. c. 29.
Ptol. l. 6. c. 3.

Cap. 47. 2. 13.

With this great and powerfull Army, *Sefac* inuaded Iudæa, and (besides many other strong Cities) wan Ierusalem it selfe; of which, and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoyle, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of those which *Dauid* recouered from *Adad* and *Zer*, in the Syrian war: these *Rehoboam* supplied with Targets of brasse, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality: whom *Syracides* calleth, The foolishnesse of the people.

From this time forward the Kings of Egypt claimed the soueraigntie of Iudæa, and held the Iewes as their Tributaries: *Sefac*, as it seemes, rendring vp to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the Word of GOD, where premising the deliuerance of Iuda after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leaue them vnder the yoke of Egypt, in these words: *Nevertheless, they* (to wit, the Iudaens) *shall be his seruants, that is, the seruants of Sefac.*

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After this ouerthrow and dishonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelue yeeres, and his losses recieued by *Sefac*, notwithstanding, he continued the warre against *Ieroboam* all his life time. After his death *Ieroboam* gouerned Israel foure yeeres.

Rehoboam liued 58. yeeres, and reigned 17. his story was written at large by *Shemeiah* and *Hidden* the Prophets, but the same perished with that of *Nathan*, and the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Terfippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or Gouernors for life after *Codrus*, gouerned in Athens. *Abdastratus*, or *Abistartus*, in Tyre. *Dori* Euseb. Chron. shew the fift of the Heraclidæ in Sparta, according to *Eusebius* (others make him the sixt) and *Priminus* the fourth in Corinth. Ouer the Latines reigned *Syluius Alba*, *Syluius* 10 *Atys*, the fourth and fift of the Syluii.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam*, *Abdastratus* king of Tyre was murdered by his Nurses sons, or foster-brethren, the elder of which vsurped the kingdome twelue yeeres.

Towards his latter times *Periciades*, or *Pyrithiades*, began to gouerne Assyria, the 34. king thereof: and not long after *Astartus*, the son of *Baleastartus*, recouered the kingdome of Tyre from the Vsurers.

S. III.

Of the great battaile betwene Ieroboam and Abia, with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods iudgements.

WHile *Rehoboam* the sonne of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers kingdome, and his vices. Hee raised an Armie of foure hundred thousand, with which he inuaded *Ieroboam*, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thousand: Both Armies ioyned neere to the Mount Ephraim, where *Ieroboam* was vtterly ouerthrowne, and the strength of Israel broken: for there fell of that side fure hundred thousand; the greatest ouerthrow that euer was giuen or recieued of those Nations. *Abijah* being now master of the field, recouered Bethel, Ieshanah, and Ephron: Soon after which discomfiture, *Ieroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. yeeres. *Abijah*, the better to strengthen himselfe, entred into league with *Heslon*, the third of the Adads of Syria; as may be gathered out of the second of *Chronicles*: he reigned but three yeeres, & then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Ido* the Prophet; as some part of his Fathers were.

Here we see how it pleased God to punish the sinnes of *Salomon* in his son *Rehoboam*: first, by an Idolator and Traitor: and then by the successor of that Egyptian, whose daughter *Salomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which while he serued God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring kings; & when he forsooke him, it was torne asunder by his meanest Vassals: Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the Egyptian *Sefac*; For the son *Abijah* was able to leaue foure hundred thousand men, & with the same number hee ouerthrew eight hundred thousand Israelites, and slew of them fure hundred thousand; God giuing spirit, courage, and inuention, when, and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were exprest, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People: the same being both before, and at the instant deliuered by Prophets; so the same iust God, who liueth and gouerneth all things for euer, doth in these our times giue victorie, courage, and discouragement, raise, and throw downe Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present: for which reason, in these and other the afflictions of Israel, alwayes the causes are set downe, that they might be as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *Dauids* time for three yeeres; For *Saul* and his bloody house, &c. And *Dauid* 2. Sam. 11. 1. towards his latter end suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrowes in effect, for *Uriah*. *Salomon* had ten Tribes of twelue torne from his son for his Idolatrie: *Rehoboam* was spoiled of his riches and honour by *Sefac* of Egypt, because the people of Iuda made images, high places, and groues, &c. and because they suffered Sodomites in the Land. *Ieroboam* was punished in himselfe and his posterity, for the golden Calues that he erected. *Ioram* had all his sons slaine by the Philistims, and his very bowels torne out of his body by an excoriating flixe, for murdering his brethren. *Abab* and *Iezabel* were slaine, the blood of the one, the body of the other eaten with dogges, for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punished the same and

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the like finnes in all after-times, and in these our dayes by the same famine, plagues, warre, losse, vexation, death, sicknesse, and calamities, howsoever the wise men of the world raise these effects no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and eares, seeme to them to worke every alteration that happeneth.

S. IIII.

Of Asa and his Contemporaries.

TO Abijah succeeded Asa, who enioyed peace for his first ten yeeres, in which time he established the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting downe their groues, and taking away their high places. Hee also spared not his owne mother, who was an Idolatresse, but deposing her from her regency, brake her Idoll, stamp it, and burnt it. Hee also fortified many Cities, and other places, providing (as provident Kings do) for the troubles of war in the leaseure of peace. For not long after he was invaded by Zerah, who then commanded all the Arabians bordering Iudæa, and with such a multitude entered the territorie of Asa, as (for any thing that I have read) were never assembled of that Nation, either before or since. For it is written, that there came against the Iudæans, Zerah of Æthiopia, with an hoste of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred Chariots, which Asa encountered with an Armie of five hundred and fourescore thousand, leaved out of those two Tribes of Iuda and Benjamin, which obeyed him, and with which hee overthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the spoyle both of their Cities and Campes.

* In the former booke c. 4. s. 14. & c. 8. s. 10. & c. 6. That this Zerah was not an Æthiopian, I have * proued already, and were it but the length between Æthiopia and Iudæa, and the strong flourishing Regions of Egypt interuent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to pass through them) it were sufficient to make it appear, how foolish the opinion is, that these invaders were Æthiopians. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that Gerar was belonging to Zerah, & the cities thereabouts were spoiled by the Iudæans, in following their victory, as places belonging to Zerah, and that all men know that Gerar standeth vpon the torrent of Besor, which David past ouer when he surprized the Amalekites or Arabians; this proueth sufficiently, that Zerah was leader of the Arabians, & that Gerar was a frontier town standing on the vttermost South-border of all Iudæa, from all parts of Æthiopia fixe hundred miles. Also the spoiles which Asa tooke, as the cattell, camels, and sheepe, whereof he sacrificed five thousand, shew them to be Arabians adioyning, and not far off, and not vnknown Æthiopians. And if it be objected that these desert countries can hardly yeeld a million of men fit for the wars, I answer, that it is as like that Arabia Petraea, and the Desert which compasseth two parts of the holy Land, should yeeld ten hundred thousand, as that two Tribes of the twelue, should arme five hundred and fourescore thousand. Besides, it answereth to the promise of God to Abraham, that these Nations should exceede in number; for God spake it of Ismael, that hee would make him fruitfull, and multiply him exceedingly; that hee should beget twelue Princes, &c.

Basba a king of Israel began to reigne in the third of Asa, and fearing the greatnes of Asa after his great victory, entertained Benhadad king of Syria, of the race of Adadzer, to ioyne with him against Asa; and to the end to block him vp, he fortified Rama, which lieth in the way from Ierusalem towards Samaria.

This warre began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. yeere of Asa his reigne: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that Basba died in the 26. yeere of Asa, therefore could not Basba begin this war in the 35. of Asa his reign, but in the 35. yeere of the diuision of Iuda and Israel; for so many yeeres it was from the first of Rehoboam, who reigned 17. yeeres, to the 16. of Asa. It may seeme strange, that Asa being able to bring into the field an Army of five hundred & fourescore thousand good Souldiers, did not easily driue away Basba, and defeat him of his purposes; the victories of Abia against Ieroboam, and of Asa himselfe against Zerah, being yet fresh in minde, which might well haue emboldened the men of Iuda, and as much disheartened the enemies. Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which caused

caused Asa to fight at this time with money. It may be that the imployment of so many hundred thousands of hands, in the late seruice against Zerah, had caused many mens private businesses to lye vndispatched, whereby the people being now intentiue to the culture of their lands & other trades, might be vnwilling to stir against the Israelites, choosing rather to winke at apparant inconuenience, which the building of Rama would bring vpon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might haue deterred Asa from aduenturing himself with the least part of his forces, & committing the success into the hands of God. Howsoever it were, he took the treasures remaining in the temple, with which he waged Benhadad the Syrian against Basba, whose employments Benhadad readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with Basba. For the Israelites were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himselfe (after his inuasion) nor his successors after him euer gaue ouer, till they had made themselves masters of that kingdom. So Benhadad being now entred into Nephtalim, without resistance, hee spoiled diuers principall Cities thereof, & enforced Basba to quit Rama, & to leaue the same to Asa, with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done, Benhadad, who loued neither party, being laden with the spoiles of Israel, and the treasures of Iuda, returned to Damascus. After this, when Hanani the Prophet reprehended Asa, in that he now relied on the strength of Syria, and did not rest himselfe on the fauour and assistance of God, he not only caused Hanani to be imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore strooken with the grievous paines of the gout in his feet, wherewith after he had been two yeeres continually tormented, he gaue vp the ghost when he had reigned 41. yeeres.

There liued with Asa, Agesilaus the sixth of the Heraclidae, and Bacis the fifth king of the same race in Corinth, of whom his successors were afterward called Bacidae. Asarimus, & Asarimus were kings in Tyre. Asarimus took reuenge on his brother Phelletes, for the murder of Isobabalus Priest of the goddesse Asarta, whom Salomon in dorage worshipped. Atys & Capys ruled the Latines: Pirithiades & Ophrateus the Assyrians: Tersippus and Phobus the Athenians: Chemmis reigned in Egypt; who dying in the 36. yeere of Asa, left Cheops his successour; that reigned fifty fixe yeeres, euen to the 16. of 30. Iuda.

S. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reigne of Asa.

IN the reigne of Asa the Kingdome of Israel felt great and violent commotions, which might haue reduced the ten Tribes vnto their former allegiance to the house of David, if the wisdom of God had not otherwise determined. The wickednesse of Ieroboam had in his latter dayes, the sentence of heauie vengeance laid vpon it, by the mouth of Abia, the same Prophet which had foretold the diuision of Israel, for the sinne of Salomon, and his reigne ouer the ten Tribes. One son Ieroboam had among others, in whom onely God found so much pietie, as (though it sufficed not to withhold his wrath from that Family) it procured vnto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimony of the peoples loue, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was most happy) the fauourable approbation of God himselfe.

After the losse of this good son, the vngodly father was soon taken away: a miserable creature, so conscions of his vile vnthankfulnesse to God, that he durst not suffer his owne name to be vsed in consulting with an holy Prophet, assured of the ruine hanging ouer him and his, yea of Gods extreame hatred, yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Idols that wrought his confusion. So loath he was to forsake his worldly wisdom, when the world was ready to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hatefull memory excepted.

Nadab the son of Ieroboam, reigned in the second and third yeeres of Asa, which are reckoned as two yeeres, though indeede his fathers last yeere of two and twenty did run along (how farre is vnertaine) with the second of Asa, whose third yeere was the first of Basba, so that perhaps this Nadab enioyed not his Kingdome one whole yeere. He did not take his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence: It seemes that hee little feared the iudgements denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that

was secure of his owne estate, he armed all Israel against the Philistims, & besieged one of their Townes. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill successe, and recalled to mind their grievous losse of five hundred thousand vnder *Ieroboam*, counting it an vnluckie family to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them) slaine he was by *Baasba*, whom the Army did willingly accept for king in his stead: *Baasba* was no sooner proclaimed king, than hee began to take order with the house of *Ieroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, & not in regard of Gods will to haue it so, it is euident by his continuing in the same form of Idolatry which *Ieroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the same sentence from God that had been laid vpon *Ieroboam*; which was executed vpon him also in the same sort. He began to infect *Asa*, by fortifying Ramah; but was diuerted from thence by the Syrian *Benhadad*, who did waste his Country, destroying all the Land of *Nepthalim*. Fourte and twenty yeeres hee reigned, and then dying, left the Crowne to *Ela* his son; who enioyed it, as *Nadab* the son of *Ieroboam* had done, two yeeres curreant, perhaps not one compleat.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. He sent an Army against Gibbethon, the same town of the Philistims, before which *Nadab* the son of *Ieroboam* perished; but he sat at home the whilest, feasting & drinking with his Minions, whereby he gaue such aduantage against himselfe, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the king at Tirza, finding his Master so dissolute, & his behaviour so contemptible, conceiued hope of the like fortune as *Baasba* had found, by doing as *Baasba* had done. Wherefore he did set vpon *Ela* in his drunkenesse, and slew him. Presently vpon which fact, he stiled himselfe king of Israel: and began his reigne with massacring all the house of *Baasba*; extending his cruelty not onely to his children, and kinsfolke, but vnto all his friends in Tirza. These newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at Gibbethon, where they were not welcommed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers in stead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quitting the siege of Gibbethon) presented themselves before Tirza; which in short space they may seeme to haue forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the City, not courage to keepe himselfe from falling aliue into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace, consuming it and himselfe together to ashes. Seuen dayes he is said to haue reigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Campe. For *Zimri* was also an idolater, walking in the way of *Ieroboam*; & therefore is likely to haue had more time wherein to declare himselfe, than the reigne of seuen dayes, and those consumed partly in murdering the friends of *Baasba*, partly in seeking to haue defended his own life. After the death of *Ela*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may seeme, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set vp a new head, who doubtlesse would neuer haue appeared, if there had not bene ready to his hand, some strength, not vnlikely to resist and vanquish the Army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new Competitor of *Omri*, held out, I doe not finde; onely it appears that his side was decayed, and so he died, leauing no other Successor than his concurrent.

§. VI.

A coniecture of the causes hindering the re-union of Israel with Iuda, which might haue bene effected by these troubles.

Any man that shall consider the state of Israel in those times, may iustly wonder how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered vnder these vnfortunate Princes, and with the present ciuill warres, did not returne to their ancient kings, and re-unite themselves with the mighty Tribes of Iuda and Benjamin; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed factions, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose the one to endure a desperate necessitie of yeelding, or burning himselfe, the other to languish away, a man forsaken, than to haue recourse vnto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that that God was pleased to haue it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the

the cause of all things) vnlesse it could be proued, that he had forbidden *Asa* to deale in that businesse, as he forbade *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God vpon *Rehoboam*, did only binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appears by the Warre continued betwene Israel & Iuda, so many yeeres following: wherein *Asa* so farre preuailed, that he won a great battaile; and recovered some Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which hee annexed to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the second causes, mouing the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing vnder new vpstarts, rather than to cast their eyes vpon that Royall house of *Dauid*, from which the succession of five kings in lineall descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly haue bene laid vpon the meane beginnings thereof. To thinke that *Omri* had presented his Competitors in making peace with *Asa*, were a coniecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not onely an adolater, but did worse than all that were before him; which as it might serue alone to proue, that *Asa*, being a godly king, would not adhere to him, so the course which he professed to take at the very first, of reuenging the massacre committed vpon the family and friends of *Baasba*, (*Asa* his mortall enemy) giues manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should more iustly than he haue expected the friendship of Iuda in that quarrel. Wherefore, in searching out the reason of this backwardnes in the ten Tribes (which was such, that they may seeme to haue neuer thought vpon the matter) to submit themselves to their true Princes; it were not amiss to examine the causes, mouing the people to reuenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the son of *Ieroboam*, who followed the wars in person, as a man of spirit & courage. Surely it is apparant, that the very first defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we looke vpon humane reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heauie yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their neckes. Their desire wasto haue a king that should not opresse them; not to haue no king at all. And therefore when the arrogant follie of *Rehoboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediately choose *Ieroboam* in his stead, as a man likely to afford that liberty vnto them, for which he had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it seemes) herein altogether deceived. For his affectation of popularity appears in his building of decayed Towes, & in the institution of his new deuised idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them, to trauaile so far as to Ierusalem. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to cease, towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reigne of his son, when long time of possession had confirmed his title, which at the first was onely good by courtesie of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatiues of a king, that he still retained in his owne hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens: it is cleerly apparant, that the whole army of all Israel ioined with *Baasba*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Ieroboams* house.

Now the reign of *Baasba* himselfe, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) euery way vnfortunate; his labour and cost at Rama was cast away; the other side of his kingdome harried by the Syrians; neither did he win that one town of Gibbethon from the Philistims, but left that businesse to his son, who likewise appears an vnprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, that the fauour of the people toward the house of *Baasba* grew from his good forme of Ciuill gouernment, which happely he reduced to a more temperate method than *Ieroboam* euer meant to doe. And surely hee that shall take pains to look into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the kings of Israel & Iuda, in administration of iustice, will finde it most probable, that vpon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued so auerse from the line of *Dauid*; so as to thinke all aduersitie more tolerable, than the weightie Scepter of that house. For the death of *Isab* and *Shimei* was indeede by them deserued; yet in that they suffered it without forme of iudgement, they suffered like vnto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without iudgement, and without any crime objected, other than the kings ialousie: out of which by the same rule of arbitrary iustice (vnder which it may be supposed that many were cast away) hee would haue slaine *Ieroboam* (if hee could haue caught him) before he had yet committed any offence; as appears by his confident returne out of Egypt, like one that was knowne to haue endured wrong, hauing not offered anie.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Iehoram* did vpon his brethren, & vpon sundry of his greatest men; as also *Ioaſb* did so put to death *Zachariah* the son of *Iehoiada*, who had made him king, *euen in the court of the house of the Lord*: and *Manasses* did shed innocents blood exceeding much, till hee replenished *Ierusalem* from corner to corner: and this was imputed to him as another fault; besides his sinne, wherewith he made *Iuda* to sinne. Contrariwise, among the kings of *Israel* we finde no monument of such arbitrary proceeding, vnlesse perhaps the words of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an instance, when he said, *God doe so to mee, and more also, if the head of Elisha the sonne of Shaphat shall stand on him this day*: whereby it is not plaine whether he meant to kill him without more adoe, or to haue him condemned as a false Prophet, that had made them hold out against the *Aramites*, till they were faine to eate their owne children; which he thought a sufficient argument to proue, that it was not Gods purpose to deliuer them. The death of *Naboth* sheweth rather the liberty which the *Israelites* enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the kings will. For *Naboth* did not feare to stand vpon his owne right, though *Ahab* were euen sicke for anger; neither was he for that cause put to death, as vpon commandement, but made away by conspiracie, the matter being handled after a iudiciall forme, which might giue satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the deuice, thought to God it could not.

The murder of the Prophet is continually ascribed to *Iezabel*, an impudent woman, and not vnto the king her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made whereby their liues were taken from them; but certaine it is, that the people being idolaters, were both pleased with their death, & laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the kings of *Iuda* (such as are registred) proue them to vse a more absolute manner of command, than the kings of the ten Tribes. Neither doe their sufferings witness the contrary. For of those which reigned ouer *Iuda*, from the diuision of the kingdome, to the captiuitie of the ten Tribes, three were slaine by the people, and two were denied a buriall amongst their ancestors. Yea, the death of *Ahaziah* and his brethren, slaine by *Iehu*, with the destruction of all that Royall seed of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read) stirre vp in the people any such thirst of reuenge, as might by the suddenesse and vniformity testifie the affection to be generall, and proceeding from a louing remembrance of their Princes: vnlesse we should thinke that the death of *Athalia*, after seuen yeeres reigne, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sense of her tyrannicall abusing the gouernment, whercon she had seised. On the other side, such of the kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seuen of the twenty) were all slaine by conspiracie of the great men, who aspired by treason to the Crowne: the people being so far from embruing their hands in the blood of their Soueraignes, that (after *Nadab*) they did neuer forbear to reuenge the death of their kings, when it lay in their power; nor approue the good successe of treason, vnlesse feare compelled them. So that the death of two kings, being thoroughly reuenged vpon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, vpon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterously got and vltured, for a little while, their places; onely three of the seuen remain, whose ends how the people tooke, it may be doubtfull. Though indeede it is precisely said of the slaughter, committed on *Ahabs* children by *Iehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because they were exceedingly affraid: and the same feare might be in them at the death of *Pekah*, whose history (as others of that time) is cursorily passed ouer. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the kings of *Englind*, that neuer any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succede them; neither was there any motiue vrging so forcibly the death of king *Edward* and king *Richard* when they were in prison, as feare lest the people should stirre in their quarrell. And certainly (howsoeuer all that the Law calls treason, bee interpreted, as tending finally to the kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which haue here most preuailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it selfe with the blood of some great Officers; no such rebellions, howsoeuer wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their naturall Soueraigne, but rather forbearing the aduantages gotten vpon his Royall person: which if any man impute vnto grosse ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more truly, ascribe to a reuerent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*, who

who, being loosened by *Pallas*, did with his hundred hands giue assistance to *Iupiter*, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying that Monarches need not to feare any curbing of their absolutenes by mighty subiects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people; who will be sure to come in on their side. Though indeed the *Storie* might very well haue borne the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Homer*, who tells vs that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracie, and that *Thetis* alone did marre all their practice, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good forme of gouernment sufficeth by it selfe to retaine the people, not onely without assistance of a laborious Wit, but euen against all deuices of the greatest and shrewdest Politicians: euery Sheriffe and Constable, being sooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any ouer-weening Rebelle, how mighty soeuer, can against him.

This declaration of the peoples loue, being seldome found in *Iuda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it selfe of gouernment there was such, as neither gaue occasion of contentment vnto the subiects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the kings. Vpon which reasons it may seem that the multitude was kept vsually disarmed. For otherwise it would haue beene almost impossible, that *Athalia* the sister of *Ahab*, a stranger to the royall blood of *Iuda*, should by the onely authority of a Queene-mother, haue destroyed all the seed of *Dauid*, and vsurped the Kingdome very neere 7. yeeres, without finding any resistance. Yea when *Iehoiada* the high Priest had agreed with the Captains and principall men of the Land to set vp *Ioaſb* their lawfull King, wherunto the whole nation were generally well affected; hee was faine to giue to these Captaines and their men, the speares and the shields that were King *Dauids*, and were in the house of the Lord. But we need not enter into such particulars. Questionlesse, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admission, holding the Crowne by a more vncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten Tribes did neuer seek to returne to their ancient Lords: but after the destruction of their sixe first Kings, which died in the reigne of *Aſa*, admitted a seuenth of a new family, rather than they would confusie themselves, with those of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, vnder a more honourable, but more heauie yoke.

So *Aſa* hauing seen the death of 7. kings of *Israel*, died himselfe after one and fortie yeeres reigne, leauing *Iehosaphat* his sonne to deale with *Ahab* the sonne of *Omri*, who was the eighth King ouer the ten Tribes.

§. VII.

Of Iehosaphat and his contemporaries.

I*ehosaphat*, who succeeded *Aſa*, was a Prince religious and happy; hee destroyed all the Groues, Altars, and high places dedicated to idolatry, and sent teachers to all places and people wanting instruction; hee recovered the tribute due vnto him by the Arabians and Philistims: from the one he had siluer, from the other sheepe and goates to the number of fifteene thousand and foure hundred. The numbers of men of war were more than admirable; for it is written that *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Iehohanan* of two hundred and fourescore thousand, and *Amasiah* of two hundred thousand; also that he had, besides these, in *Beniamin* of those that bare shields, which we call *Targetiers*, and of Archers vnder *Eliada*, two hundred thousand, and vnder the commandement of *Iehozabad* a hundred and fourescore thousand: which so numbred together, make eleuen hundred and sixty thousand, all which are said to haue waited vpon the King besides his garisons.

That *Iuda* & *Beniamin*, a territory not much exceeding the Countie of Kent, should muster eleuen hundred and sixtie thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number farre greater than it was found vpon any other view. *Ioaſb* in *Dauids* time found five hundred thousand: *Rebeoram* found but an hundred and fourescore thousand: *Abia* foure hundred and eight thousand: *Aſa* five hundred and fourescore thousand: *Amasiah* inrolled all that could beare armes, & they amounted to three hundred thousand. Surely,

ly, whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Iehosaphat* that *Moab* & *Ammon* were entred his territory to the West of *Iordan*, and that their numbers were many, hee feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would haue feared euen the army of *Xerxes*, if hee could haue brought into the field a hundred and 60. thousand fighting men, leauing all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my selfe to better iudgement) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the 17. distributed to seuerall Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300. thousand vnder *Adnab*, and the 200. and fourescore thousand vnder *Iehoshanab*, were afterward commanded and mustered by *Amasiah*, *Eliada*, and *Iehosabad*: for the grosse and totall is not in that place set downe, as it was vnder the other kings formerly named. Again, as the aydes which *Iehosaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not shew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, so the Moabites & Ammonites which he feared, could neuer make the one halfe of those numbers, which he that commanded least among *Iehosaphats* Leaders had vnder him.

This mighty Prince notwithstanding his greatnesse, yet he ioynd in friendship with *Ahab* king of *Israel*, who had married that wicked woman *Iezabel*. Him *Iehosaphat* visited at *Samaria*, and caused his son *Ioram* to marry *Athalia*, this *Ahab's* daughter.

Ahab perswaded *Iosaphat* to assist him in the Warre against the Syrians, who held the City of *Ramoth Gilcad* from him, & called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or Baalites to foretell the successe: who promised him victory. But *Iehosaphat* beleueed nothing at all in those diuiners, but resolu'd first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of *Israel*. Hereupon *Ahab* made answer that hee had one called *Michaiah*, but he hated that Prophet, because hee alwayes foretold of euill, and neuer of any good towards him. Yet *Michaiah* was sent for to the king; but by the way the messenger prayed him to consent with the rest of the Prophets, and to promise victory vnto them as they did. But *Michaiah* spake the truth, and repeated his vision to both the kings, which was, that God asked, who should perswade *Ahab*, that hee may goe up and fall at *Ramoth Gilcad*? to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that hee would enter into his Prophets, and be in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ: *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis*: It is not you that spake, but the Spirit of your Father speaks in you: so in a contrary kinde did the deuill in the Prophets of *Baal*, or *Satan*, incourage *Ahab* to his destruction. And as *P. Martyr* vpon this place well obserueth, these euill spirits are ministers of Gods vengeance, & are vsed as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime employ. For as it pleaseth God by his good Angels, to saue & deliuer from destruction, of which the Scriptures haue many examples: so on the contrary, it is by the euill that hee punisheth and destroyeth; both which are said to performe the will of their Creator, licet non eodem animo. Ecclesiasticus remembreth a second sort of malignant natures, but they are euery-where visible. There are spirits, saith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure stroakes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaiah* hauing by this his reuelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets whose spirit he discouered, was stroken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baals* Prophets, and by *Ahab* himselfe committed to prison: where he appointed him to be reserued and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiah*, not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou returne in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by mee*. Neuertheless *Ahab* went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. *Iehosaphat* returned to *Ierusalem*, where he was reprehended by *Iehu* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

After this the *Aramites* or *Damascens*, ioynd with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* & *Idumæans* to invade *Iudea*: who passe *Iordan* & encamp at *Engaddi*; & when *Iehosaphat* gathered his army, the prophet *Iabaziel* foretold him of the victory, which should be obtained without any blood-shed of his part: & so when *Iehosaphat* approached, this assembly of Nations, the *Ammonites* & *Moabites*, disagrecing with the *Idumæans*, & quarrelling for some causes among themselves, those of *Ammon* & *Moab* set vpon the *Idumæans*, & brake them vtterly: which done, they also invaded each other; in which broile *Iehosaphat* arriuing took the spoile of them all without any loss of his part, as it was foretold & promised

2. Chron. 18.

3. Chron. 10.

mised by God. Notwithstanding this victory, *Iehosaphat* forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an Idolatrous king, did notwithstanding ioyne with *Ochazias*, the son of *Ahab*, in preparing a Fleet to send to *Ophir*; hoping of the like return which *Salomon* had: but as *Eli ezer* the Prophet foretold him, his ships perished, & were broken in the port of *Ezion Gaber*, and so that enterprize was ouerthrowne.

2. Chron. 20.

Yet he taketh part with *Iehoram* the brother of *Ochazias*, against the *Moabites*, with which kings of *Iuda* & *Israel* the *Edomites* ioyne their forces, not forgetting, it seemes, that the *Moabites* assisted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their army.

The *Moabites*, subiects to *Danid* & *Salomon*, forsaking the kings of *Iuda*, gaue themselves for vassals to *Ieroboam*, & so they continued to his successors till the death of *Ahab*: but *Iehosaphat*, notwithstanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth, he was drawne into this war both to be auenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Iuda* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately ioynd themselves with the *Syrians* against *Iosaphat*, & thirdly, to punish their double rebellion who first forsook *Iuda* & now *Israel*.

Both kings resolu'd to passe by the way of *Idumæa*, thereby the better to assure that Nation, for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* & *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* against *Iehosaphat*: But whether they had then declared themselves against *Iehosaphat*, it is not certaine; for in the 2. of *Chron.* 11. vers. 8. it is written that in the time of *Iehoram* the son of *Iehosaphat*, *Edom* rebelled: and therefore it seemeth to mee that the *Edomites*, when they were slain by *Moab* & *Ammon*, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, & to ioyne themselves with the army of *Iuda*. For, that they were numbred among the enemies of *Iehosaphat*, it is plaine in the 2. of *Chron.* the 20. and as plain c. 2. v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a king, till *Iehosaphats* death. Now in the passage of these kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the yeer, or whether the *Idumæans* hauing a purpose to rebell, missed the army of *Iuda* & *Israel*, with intent to infeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of *Crassus* & *M. Antoninus* did in their Parthian expeditions; and had in all likelihood vtterly perished, had not *Elisba* taught them to cut trenches wherinto the water sprang, by which not only *Iehosaphat* and his army, but *Iehoram* king of *Israel* an Idolator was relieved: the great mercy & goodnes of God hauing euer been prone to saue the euill for the good, whereas he neuer destroyed the good for the euill.

The miserable issue of this warre, and how *Moab* burnt his son, or the son of the king of *Edom*, for sacrifice on the rampire of his owne Citie, I haue already written in the life of *Iehoram* among the kings of *Israel*. *Iehosaphat* reigned 25. yeeres and died; hee was buried in the valley of *Iehosaphat*, and a part of the *Pyramis* set ouer his graue is yet to be seen, saith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Iehu* the son of *Hanani*.

2. King. 3.

2. Chron. 20.

Brochard. Hist.

There liued with *Iehosaphat*, *Ophrahemes* in *Assyria*, *Capetus* & *Tiberinus* kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*; of the latter the riuer *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) tooke name.

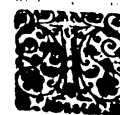
In *Iehosaphats* time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelus* or *Agefilans* in *Corinth*; and *Archilauus* of the same race, of the *Heraclidæ* the seuenth in *Lacedæmon*: *Badserus* ruled the *Tyrians*; *Ahab*, *Ochazias* and *Iehoram* the *Israelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of Iehoram the sonne of Iehosaphat and Ahazia.

S. I.

That Iehoram was made king sundry times.



Ehoram the son of *Iehosaphat* king of *Iuda* began to reigne at thirty two yeeres of age, and liued vntill he was forty yeeres old, being eight yeeres a king: but of these eight yeeres, which *Iehoram* is said to haue reigned, foure are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* warre with *Ahab*, left this *Iehoram* king in his stead, as *Ahab* did his son *Ahazia*.

This appeares by the seuerall beginnings, which are giuen in Scripture to the two *Iehoram* kings of *Israel* and *Iuda*, and to *Ahazia* the eldest son of *Ahab*. For *Ahazia* is said

1. Kin. 22. v. 51.

2. King. 1. 17.

2. King. 3. 1. 19.

2. King. 8. 16.

2. King. 22. 42.

said to haue begun his reigne, in the seuenteenth yeere of *Iehosaphat*. *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahazias* succeeded him in the second yeere of *Iehoram* the sonne of *Iehosaphat* king of *Iuda*; that is, in the next yeere after that *Iehoram* of *Iuda* was designed king by his father; it being (as we finde elsewhere) the eighteenth yeere of *Iehosaphat* himselfe, who went with the Israelite against *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained still by *Iehosaphat*, who gouerned absolutely by himselfe, nor communicating the rule with his son. But in the fifth yeere of *Iehoram* King of *Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Iehosaphat*, the old king took vnto him, as partner in the Gouernment, this his eldest son, who was at that time 32. yeeres old, his Father being 57. Now forasmuch as *Iehosaphat* reigned 25. yeeres, it is euident that his sonne did not reigne alone till the eighth of *Ioram* king of *Israel*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other kings of *Iuda* & *Israel*, who did not alwaies reign precisely so long as the bare letter of the text may seem at first to affirme: but their yeeres were sometimes compleat, sometimes onely current, sometimes confounded with the yeeres of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing lesse needful than curious, to enquire into the reasons mouing *Iehosaphat* either to assume vnto him his son as partner in the kingdom, whilst hee was able himselfe to command both in peace and in warre, the like hauing neuer beene done by any of his progenitors, or hauing once (in the 17. of his reign) vouchsafed vnto him that honour, to resume it vnto himselfe, or at leastwise to deferre the confirmation of it, vntill foure or fve yeeres were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a meane to find some light, whereby we may more clearly discover the causes of much extraordinary businesse ensuing, I hold it not amisse to make such coniecture, as the circumstances of the Story briefly handled in the Scriptures may seeme to approue.

We are therefore to consider, that this king *Iehosaphat* was the first of *Rehoboams* issue that euer entred into any streight league with the kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Iuda* before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themselves in vaine, making small profit of the greatest aduantages that could be wished. Wherefore *Iehosaphat* thought it the wisest way, to make a league offensive & defensive betwene *Israel* and *Iuda*, whereby each might enioy their owne in quiet.

2. Chron. 19. 2. 3.

This confederacy made by a religious king, with one that did hate the Lord, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true root and fountaine of all wisdom: yet as a piece of sound policy, doubtlesse it wanted not faire pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutuall fortification of both those kingdoms, against the vncircumcised nations their ancient enemies. This apparant benefit, being so inestimable a iewel, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditary from father to son, it was thought a very good course to haue it confirmed by some sure bond of affinity, and thereupon was *Athalie* the daughter of *Omri*, and sister of *Ahab* king of *Israel*, giuen in marriage to *Iehoram*, who was son and heire apparant to the king of *Iuda*. This Lady was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of Queen *Iezabel* her brothers wife, that she durst vndertake, & could thoroughly performe a great deale more in *Ierusalem*, than the other knew how to compasse in *Samaria*. Shee was indeed a fire-brand ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in *Iuda*, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdom, regardless of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first fruits of this great league, was the Syrian war at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Iuda* & *Israel* did aduantage equally, but the profit of the victory should haue redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very seldome thrice by matching with Idolators, but rather serue the turnes of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himselfe, cannot be well affected to his seruants. Before their setting forth, *Ahab* designed, as king, his son *Ahaziah*; not so much perhaps in regard of the vncertaine euents of war (for none of his predecessors had euer done the like vpon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Michas* (for he despised them) as inuiting *Iehosaphat* by his owne example, to take the same course, wherein he preuailed.

§. I. I. Pro.

§. I. I.

Probable coniectures of the motives inducing the old King *Iehosaphat* to change his purpose of ten, in making his sonne *Iehoram* King.

Many arguments do very strongly proue *Iehoram* to haue been wholly ouerruled by his wife; especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly Ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Ahab*.

That she was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to liue a priuate life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vaine matter she was able to produce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and vnworthy persons in comparison of him, & of his children, which were begotten vpon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not vpon base women & meere subiects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained against the Syrian *Benhadad*, were matter sufficient to make an insolent man thinke highly of himselfe, as being allied to honourably; who could otherwise haue found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heire apparant to the Crown, whereof already he had, in a manner, the possession.

How soone his vices brake out, or how long he dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be knowne. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the yongue man to know himselfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his yonger brethren. And surely the doings of *Iehosaphat* about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, through the misgouernment of his vngodly son. For the good king was faine to make his progresse round about the Land, reclaiming the people vnto the seruice of God, and appointing Iudges throughout all the strong Cities of *Iuda* City by City. This had bene a needlesse labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by *Ast*, and by himselfe, had not suffered alteration, & the course of Iustice bene perverted, by the power of such as had borne authority. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did giue to the Iudges; and by his commision giuen to one of the Priests in spirituall causes; & to the Steward of his house in temporall matters, to be generall ouer-seers.

This was not till after the death of *Ahazias* the son of *Ahab*; but how long after it is vncertain. For *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahazias* began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Iehoram*; *Iehosaphat* sonne; though afterward this *Iehoram* of *Iuda* had another first and second yeere, euen in his fathers time, before he reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and Expositors of the holy Text agree. So he continued in priuate estate, vntill the two and twentieth of his fathers reign; at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignity are not set downe, yet we may not thinke, that motives thereto, appearing substantially, were wanting. *Iehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondency with *Iehosaphat* that his father had done; & made vse of it. He drew the *Iudaean* into the war of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the yongue Prince of *Iuda* was again ordained King by his father, as in the Syrian expedition he had bene. Or if wee ought rather to thinke, that the preparations for the enterprize against *Moab* did not occupy so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, in which yeere that Nation rebelled against *Israel*, vnto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two kings of *Iuda* and *Israel*, and the affinity between them contracted in the person of *Iehoram*, might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the yongue sons, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their Father to put him in possession for feare of tumult after his death; or the deep dissimulation of *Iehoram* himselfe might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing vsuall in mischievous fell natures, to be as abiect & seruile in time of aduersity, as insolent and bloody vpon aduantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himself in such wise toward his brethren, as caused their father to enable them, not onely with store of silver and gold, and of precious things, (which kind of liberality other kings doubtlesse had vied vnto their yonger sons) but with the custody of strong Cities in *Iuda*, to assure them, if it might haue bene, by vnwonted means, against vnwonted perils.

2. Chron. 21. 3.

§. I. I. The

S. III.

The doings of Iehoram when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.

BUt all this providence auailed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwise determined of the sequell. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the yonger sonnes of *Iehosaphat* found strong Cities, a weake defence, against the power of him vnto whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in vpon the summons of a king their brother, then had he them without any more ado; if they stood vpon their guard, then were they Traitors, & so vnable to hold out against him, who besides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the Israelitish kingdom against them; so that the apparant likelihood of their finall ouerthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoeuer it was, they were all taken and slaine, and with them for company many great men of the Land; such belike, as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant sought their liues, or had been appointed Rulers of the Country, when *Iehoram* was depofed from his Government; in which Office they, without forbearing to doe iustice, could hardly auoide the doing of many things, derogatory to their yong Master; which if he would now call treason, saying that hee was then king, who durst say the contrary?

After this *Iehoram* took vpon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innouations in Religion: wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to giue way and safe conduct vnto Superstition and Idolatry, nor to prouoke and encourage the people to that sinne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were so much addicted, hauing such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that aboue all other sinnes; but he vsed compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registred, to haue set vp Irreligion by force.

Whilest he was thus busied at home, in doing what he listed, the Edomites his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and hauing hitherto, since *Dauids* time, bene gouerned by a vice-Roy, did now make vnto themselues a king. Against these *Iehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the rebels to flie into their places of aduantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom hee should haue subdued, and kept his seruants. Now began the prophecy of *Isaac* to take effect, wherin he foretold, that *Esaie* in proceffe of time should breake the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this the Edomites could neuer be reclaimed by any of the kings of Iuda, but held their owne so well, that when, after many ciuill and forraigne wars, the Iewes by sundry Nations had bene brought low; *Antipater* the Edomite, with *Herod* his son, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the Iewes, in the decrepit age of Israel, & reigned as Kings, euen in Ierusalem it selfe.

The freedome of the Edomites, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great Citie within Iuda, which in the time of *Iosua* had a peculiar king, to rebell against *Iehoram*, and set it selfe at liberty. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Beniamin* & of *Dan* farre from the assistance of any bordering enemies to Iuda, and therefore so vnlikely it was to haue maintained it selfe in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from vtter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to haue bene taken, by their powerfull, cruell, and thoroughly incensed Lord. The Israelites held such good intelligence at that time with Iuda, that he would not haue accepted the Towne, had it offered it selfe vnto him: neither doe we reade that it sought how to cast it selfe into a new subiection, but continued a free estate. The rebellion of it against *Iehoram*, was, because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers; which I take to haue not onely been the first and remote cause, but euen the next and immediate reason, mouing the inhabitants to doe as they did: for it was a Towne of the Leuites, who must needs be driuen into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not onely som allowance to countenance it by the king, but compulsiue authority to force vnto it all that were vnwilling. As for the vse of the Temple at Ierusalem (which, being deuout men, they might feare to lose by this rebellion) it was neuer denied to those of the

1 Chron. 2. 1. 10.

men required Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather inuited the Israelites thither, and gaue them kinde entertainment: vnder Idolaters they must haue bin without it, whether they liued free or in subiection. Yet it seemes that priuate reasons were not wanting, which might moue them rather to doe than suffer that which was vnwarrantable. For in the generall visitation before remembered, wherein *Iehosaphat* reformed his kingdom, the good old king appointing now Gouvernours, and giuing them especiall charge to doe iustice without respect of persons, vsed these words, *The Leuites shall bee Officers before you; Be of good courage, and doe it, and the Lord shall bee with the good.* By these words it seemes, that he encouraged them against the more powerfull, than iust proceedings of his son, whom if the Leuites did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect in discharging their duties, likely it is that hee meant to be euen with them, and make them now to feele, as many Princes of the land had done, his heauie indignation. How it happened, that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may iustly seeme very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Iehosaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to haue ouerwhelmed any one Towne, and buried it vnder the earth, which they might well in one moneth haue cast into it with shouels, by ordinary approaches.

But it seemes that of those great numbers which his Father could haue leuied, there were not many whom *Ieroboam* could well trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier losse, to let one Town goe, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happinesse to bee feared, than to be loued; are faine themselues to stand in feare of those, by whom they might haue bene dreadfull vnto others.

§. IV.

Of the miseries falling vpon Iehoram, and of his death.

Hese afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the minde of the wicked Prince; a Prophecy in writing was deliuered vnto him, which threatned both his people, his children, his viues, and his owne body. Hereby likewise it appeares that he was a cruell Persecutor of Gods seruants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predecessors, both good and euill kings; but were faine to denounce Gods Iudgements against him by letters, keeping themselues close and farre from him. This Epistle is said to haue been sent vnto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* prophesied in his stead before this time, euen in the daies of *Iehosaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophesie in writing behind him, or that (as some coniecture) the error of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we reade *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be beleeued than the Tradition held by some of the Iewish Rabbins, that *Elias* from heauen did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deuised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verfe that was sent from heauen to *S. Giles*.

But whosoeuer was the Author of this threatening Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophesie was as terrible as the sentence. For the Philistims and Arabians brake into Iudaea, and tooke the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wiues; all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These Philistims had not presumed since the time of *Dauid*, to make any offensive warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Townes, maintaining themselues in the rest of their finall Territories, by defensiuie armes, to which they were constrained at Gibbethon by the Israelites. The Arabians were likely to haue bin then as they are now, a naked people, all horsemen, and ill appointed; their countrey affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to rob and spoyle in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities such as were thicke set in Iuda. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must bee considered, that this was when they had learned of the

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Romans

Romanes the Art of Warre, and that the provisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Prouince, did make them able and skilfull in pursuing their conquest, and going on into Regions far remoued from them. At this day hauing lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as liue in Arabia it self are good horsemen, but ill appointed; very dangerous passengers, but vnablen to deale with good Souldiers, as riding starke naked, and rather trusting in the swiftnesse of their horses, than in any other meanes of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seeme to haue been, that spoiled Iudaa in the time of *Iehoram*. For their Countrey was alwaies barren and desert, wanting manuell Arts whereby to supply the naturals with furniture: neither are these bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the Philistims. Out of this we may infer, that one halfe, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of *Iuda* and *Beniamin* vnder *Iehosaphat* (wherin were inrolled three hundred and eighty thousand fighting men) had bene enough to haue driuen away far greater forces than these enemies are likely to haue brought into the field, had not the people bene vnable to deale with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes icalousie, as in *Sauls* time by the policie of the Philistims.

It may seeme that the house of the King which these inuaders tooke, was not his Palace in Ierusalem, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Countrey, where his wiues and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we read not that they did sacke the City, or spoyle the Temple, which would haue inuited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they took Ierusalem it selfe by surprize, the people being disarmed, and the Kings guards too weake to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous: and therefore hauing done what spoyle they could, with-drew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to conueigh away.

The slaughter committed by *Iehu* on the two and fortie brethren of *Ahazia*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers sons, and the cruell massacre wherein all the Royall seede perished (onely *Ios* excepted) vnder the tyrannie of *Athalia*, following within two yeeres after this inuasion of the Philistims, and Arabians, make it seeme probable, that the sonnes of *Iehoram* were not all slaine at once, but that rather the first murder beganne in his owne time, and was seconded by many other heauie blowes, wherewith his house was incessantly stricken, vntill it was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked King, limiting him with a grievous disease, in his bowels, which left him not vntill his guts fell out, and his wretched soule departed from his miserable carcasle. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore hee was denied a place of buriall among his Ancestors the Kings of Iuda, though his owne sonne succeeded him in the Kingdome, who was guided by the same spirits that had bene his Fathers cuill Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous enterring of a dead husband. Shee was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatnesse, to retaine her fauourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Sonne such Counsellors of the house of *Abab*, as were fittest for her turne. Wherefore shee thought it vnseasonable to make much a-doe about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a stately funerall of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed be laid vpon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her selfe and hers, which it now did concerne her to auoyd. Such is the qualitie of wicked Instigators, hauing made greedy vse of bad imployments, to charge, not only with his own vices, but with their faults also, the man whose euil inclinations their sinister counsailes haue made worse, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Iehoram* fel out indeed in a busie time, when his friend & cousin the Israelite, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the Aramite; and therefore could haue had no better leasure to help *Athalia*, in setting of things according to her owne minde, than hee had (perhaps through the same hinderance) to helpe her husband, when hee was distressed by the Philistims. Yea rather hee needed and craued the assistance of the men of Iuda, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had

not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly run thither againe, vnlesse they were very fairely intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I haue thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumstances remembred in holy Scripture, would guide mee by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appeare, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the reuealed will of God, accomplish neuerthelesse his hidden purpose, and without miraculous meanes, confound themselves in the seeming-wise deuices of their owne folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learne, to submit their iudgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may safely dispense with his comandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdom dictateth vnto them. For in such kind of unhappie subtilties, it is manifest that *Athalia* was able to furnish both her Husband and her Sonne; but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediately followeth.

S. V.

Of the reigne of Ahazia, and his businesse with the King of Israel.

Ohazias, or *Ahazia*, the sonne of *Iehoram* and *Athalia*, beganne his reigne ouer Iuda in the twelfth yeere of *Iehoram* the son of *Abab* King of Israel, and reigned but one yeere. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficultie than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion, than that of *Tornielus*, alleaging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at Rome; Anno Domini 1588. which saith that he was twenty yeeres old in the beginning of his Kingdome; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that doe giue him two yeeres more. Like enough he is to haue bene yongue: for he was gouerned by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gaue him counsaile, by which hee perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his fathers courses. In matter of State he likewise vpheld the league made with the house of *Abab*. Hee was much busied in doing little, and that with ill successe. Hee accompanied his Cousin the Israelite against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wan, but not without blowes: for the Aramites fought so well, that the King of Israel was faine to aduenture his owne person, which scaped not vnwounded.

The Towne being won was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* king of Aram: which done, *Iehoram* king of Israel with-drew himselfe to the Citie of Izrael, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahazia* returned to Ierusalem. It seemes that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all scantly one yeere, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken vp a great part,) when he did make a new iourney, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of Israel, who lay sore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would haue hindered, and therefore sought euery occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vaine piece of worke so to leaue his kingdome, hauing no other businesse than by way of complement to goe see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certaine it is, that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heauie iudgement, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet vpon the house of *Abab*. And hereupon at this time had he despoled not only the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seeme to haue been accidentall; but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing lesse than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athalia* doubtlesse was one; whose mischieuous purposes it will shortly bee needfull for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

S. VI.

How Ahaziah perished with the house of Ahab: and how that Family was destroyed by Jehu.

HHe whole Armie of Israel, with all the principall Captaines lying in Ramoth Gilead, a Disciple of *Elizema* the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were sitting together, who calling out among them *Jehu*, a principall man, tooke him apart, and anointed him king ouer Israel, rehearsing vnto him the Prophecie of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him vnderstand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captaines a desire to know the errand, which *Jehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had ouer-heard all the talke or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forth-with proclaimed him King. For the Prophecie of *Elias* was well known among them, neither durst any one oppose himselfe against him, that was by God ordained to performe it.

Jehu, who li'd vpon the sudden this great honour throwne vpon him, was not slow to put himself in possession of it, but vsed the first heat of their affections who ioyed with him, in setting on foot the businesse which neerely concerned him, and was not to be fore-slowed, being no more his owne than Gods.

The first care taken was that no newes of the reuolt might be carried to *Israel*, whereby the King might haue had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseen, he marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Iehoram* was now so well recovered of his wounds, that hee could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seemes that there was much feasting, and ioy made, especially by Queene *Iezabel*, who kept her state so wel, that the brethren of *Ahaziah* comming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queen, as to visit the King.

Certaine it is, that since the rebellion of *Moab* against *Israel*, the house of *Ahab* did neuer so much flourish as at this time. Seventy Princes of the blood Royall there were, that lined in Samaria; *Iehoram* the sonne of Queene *Iezabel* had won Ramoth Gilcad, which his Father had attempted in vaine, with losse of his life; and he wonne it by valiant fight, wherein he receiued wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amitie was so great between *Israel* and *Iuda*, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leauing no hope of successe, to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the Prophecie of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembered, than as an unlikely tale by them that beheld the maiestical face of the Court, wherein so great a friend as the King of *Iuda* was entertained, and fortie Princes of his blood expected.

In the middest of this securitie, whilest these great Estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosecution of their intents, first against the Aramites, and then against *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebels & enemies: or else were triumphing in ioy of that which was already atchieued, and the Queene-Mother dressing her selfe in the brauest manner to come downe amongst them, tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discovered a company comming. These newes were not very troublesome: for the Armie that lay in Ramoth Gilcad, to be readie against all attempts of the Aramites, was likely enough to be discharged vpon some notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not stirre. Onely the King sent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger comming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to giue the King as little warning as might bee. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance: yet the king to be satisfied, sent out another that should bring him word how all went; and hee was likewise detained by *Jehu*. These dumbe shewes bred some suspicion in *Iehoram*, whom the watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew so neere, that they might, though not perfectly, bee discerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himselfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the king that was loth to discouer any weaknesse, caused his Chariot to bee made ready, and issued forth with *Ahaziah* king of *Iuda* in his company,

company, whose presence added maiestie to his traine, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee, had bene more needfull. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Jehu* was come euen to the Townes end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Iehoram* began to salute *Jehu* with termes of peace, but receiuing a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that flying out vpon the treason to his fellow king, he turned away to haue fled. But *Jehu* tooone ouertooke him with an arrow, where-with he strooke him dead, & threw his carcase into that field, which purchased with the blood of the rightfull owner, was to be watered with the blood of the vniust possessor. Neither did *Ahaziah* escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize vpon him.

The Kings Palace was ioyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where *Iezabel* might soone be aduertised of this calamitie, if she did not with her owne eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whose iudgement pronounced against her long before, had ouer-taken her, when she least expected it. But she, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her selfe ready in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious lookes to daunt the Traitor, or at least to utter some Apophthegme, that should expresse her braue spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for euer. Little did she thinke vpon the hungry dogs that were ordained to deuoure her, whose paunches the *Sibium*, with which the besinezed heretics, would more offend, than the scolding language wherewith theee armed her tongue, could trouble the eares of him that had her in his power. As *Jehu* drew neere, she opened her window, & looking out vpon him, began to put him in minde of *Zimri*, that had not long enioyed the fruits of his treason, and murder of the King his Master. This was in meere humane valuation stoutly spoken, but was indeede a part of miserable folly; as are all things, howsoeuer laudable, if they haue an ill relation to God the Lord of all. Her owne Eunuches that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compassion of her fortune; much lesse was her enemy daunted with her proud spirit. When *Jehu* saw that shee did vse the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him, hee made her presently to vnderstand her owne estate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her seruants to know which of them would be on his side, and soone found them ready to offer their seruice, before the very face of their proud Ladie. Hereupon hee commanded them to cast her downe head-long: which immediately they performed, without all regard of her greatnesse and estate, wherein shee had a few houres before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men; of men that considered not the iudgements of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude hands of her own seruants, at the commandment of her greatest enemy, that vvas yesterday her subiect, but now her Lord: and she perished miserably, struggling in vaine with base groomes, vvhose contumeliously did hale and thrust her, vvhilest her insulting enemy sat on Horse-backe, adding indignitie to her griefe by scornfull beholding the shamefull manner of her fall, and trampling her body vnder foot. Her dead carcase that vvas left without the vvaile, vvas deuoured by dogs, and her very memorie vvas odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murder, and oppression, with slow, but sure painment, and full interest.

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CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia, and whose Sonne he was that succceded her.

S. I.

Of Athalia her usurping the Kingdome, and what pretences she might forge.

2 Chro. 22. 7.



After the death of *Abazia*, it is said that his house was not able to retain the Kingdome: which note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* vpon the death of her sonne, haue giuen occasion to diuers opinions concerning the Pedegree of *Ioua*, who reigned shortly after. For *Athalia* being thus dispoyle of her sonne, vnder whose name shee had ruled at her pleasure, did forth-with lay hold vpon all the Princes of the bloud, and slew them, that so she might occupie the Royall Throne her self, and reigne as Queen, rather than liue a Subiect. Shee had before-hand put into great place, & made Counsellors vnto her son, such as were fittest for her purpose, & ready at all times to execute her will: that she kept a strong guard about her, it is very likely, & as likely it is that the great execution done by *Iehoram*, vpon the Princes, & many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearfull to stir, whatsoeuer they saw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent focuer it be, is feldome or neuer so shamelesse as to refuse the comoditie of goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serue to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd for vs to think, that *Athalia*, when she saw the Princes of the Royall bloud, all of them in a manner, slain by her husband, and afterwards his own children destroyed by the Philistines, began euen then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practice, into faire likelihoods, those possibilities wherewith her husbands bad fortune had presented her. Nor without great shew of reason, either by her owne mouth, or by some trustie creature of hers, might she giue him to vnderstand, how needfull it were to take the best order whilst as yet he might, for feare of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *Dauid*, which now remained only in his Family, should by any accident faile (as wofull experience had already shewed what might after come to passe) the people of Iuda were not vnlikely to chooseth a King of some new stocke, a popular seditious man peraduenture, one that to countenance his owne vnworthinesse, would not care what aspersions he laid vpon that Royall house, which was fallen downe. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might bee gotten thereby, did not already contriue the destruction of him, and all his seed? Wherefore it were the wisest way to designe by his authoritie, not only his successour, but also the reuertioner, and so to provide, that the Crowne might neuer be subiect to any rising, but remaine in the disposition of them that loued him best, if the worst that might be feared comming to passe, his own posteritie could not retaine it.

Such perswasions being vrged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that gouerned his affections, were able to make the iealous Tyrant think, that the onely way to frustrate all deuices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire the last and yongest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queen-Mother, to vphold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* took no such course as this in her husbands times, yet might she do it in her sonnes. For *Abazia* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely to take much care for the securitie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wiues, in respect of his owne-born-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischieuous woman forgat her self so far in her vicked policie, that she lost all opportunitie which the weakenesse of her husband and sonne did afford, of procuring vnto her selfe some seeming Title; yet could shee afterwards faigne some such matter, as holdly shee might: being sure that none would aske to see her euidence, for feare of being sent to learne the certaintie of her sonne or husband in another World. But I rather thinke that shee tooke order

der for her affaires before-hand. For though shee had no reason to suspect or feare the sudden death of her sonne, yet it was the wisest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whilst her husbands issue by other women was yong and vnable to resist. We plainly finde that the Brethren or Nephewes of *Abazia*, to the number of two and fortie, were sent to the Court of Israel, only to salute the children of the King, and the children of the Queen. The slender occasion of which long iourney, considered together with the qualitie of these persons (being in effect all the stocke of *Iehoram* that could bee growne to any strength) makes it very suspicious, that their entertainment in *Iezabels* house would onely haue bene more formall, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Iehu*. Hee that lookes into the courses held both before and after by these two Queenes, will finde cause enough to thinke no lesse. Of such as haue aspired vnto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heires by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validitie than the sword of such as claimed by them could giue, Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may say, Behold, this is new? It hath bene already in the old time that was before vs.* That a King might shed his brothers bloud, was proued by *Salomon* vpon *Adonia*; that he might alien the Crown from his naturall Heires, *Dauid* had giuen proofe; but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willingly shewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why *Salomon* slew his brother that had begun one rebellion, and was entering into another. *Iehoram* slew all his brethren, which were better than hee: *Dauid* purchased the kingdome, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed: if *Iehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that hee might alien the remainder at his pleasure, or if *Abazia* sought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their issue: either of these was to bee answered with the words which *Iehoiada* the Priest vsed afterwards, in declaring the title of *Iosab*: *Behold, the Kings sonne must reigne; as the Lord hath said of the sonnes of Dauid.* Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoeuer it might be, to the Crown of Iuda; yet it is most certaine that shee had thereunto no right at all, but onely got it by treachery, murder, and open violence; and so she held it fixe whole yeeres, and a part of the seauenth, in good seeming securitie.

S. II.

How *Iehu* spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest *Athalia*.

In all this time *Iehu* did neuer goe about to disturbe her; which in reason hee was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole House. But hee was occupied at the first in establishing himselfe, rooting out the posteritie of *Abab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in warres against the Aramites, wherein hee was so far ouercharged, that hardly he could retaine his own, much lesse attempt vpon others. Of the line of *Abab* there were seuentie liuing in Samaria, out of which number *Iehu* by letter aduised the Citizens to set vp some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was; which they well vnderstood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly affraid of him, they offered him their seruice; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in lesse than one daies warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were inioyned by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtiltie, faining a great sacrifice to their god, by which meanes hee drew them altogether into one Temple, where hee slew them: and in the same zeale to God vtterly demolished all the monuments of that impietie.

Concerning the Idolatrie deuised by *Ieroboam*, no king of Israel had euer greater reason than *Iehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to feare lest the people should bee allured vnto the house of *Dauid*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted vp, and the Crown of Iuda in the possession of a cruell Tyrannesse: he had receiued his kingdom by the vncexpected grace

grace of God; and further in regard of his zeale expressed in destroying *Baal* out of Israel, hee was promised, notwithstanding his following the sinne of *Ieroboam*, that the kingdome should remaine in his Familie, to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serue; he would needs helpe to peece out Gods providence with his owne circumspection; doing therein like a foolish-greedy gamester, who by stealing a needlesse Card to assure himselfe of winning a stake, forfeits his whole rest. Hee had questionlesse displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of a superstition, so long practised as was that Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*. Yet all these, how many fouler they were, had never once thought vpon making him king, if God, whom (to retaine them) hee now forsooke, had not given him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the meanes of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Ahu* drew terrible vengeance of God vpon Israel, whereof *Hazael* king of Damascus was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may finde in the prophetic of *Eliſeus*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shalt thou set on fire; and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their infants against the stones, and rent in pieces their women with child.* So did not onely the wickednesse of *Ahab* cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatrie of the people bring a lamentable misery vpon all the Land. For the furie of *Hazaels* victorie was not quenched with the destruction of a few Townes, nor wearied with one invasion; but hee smote them in all the coast of Israel, and wasted all the Countrey beyond the River of Iordan. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seemes that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; (*For in these daies the Lord began to loathe Israel*;) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble House of *Ahab*, vnder which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had brauely fought for the conquest of Syria, where they had enlarged their border, by winning Ramoth Gilead, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were faine to make wofull shifts, liuing vnder a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruell enemies. Thus it commonly fals out, that they who can finde all manner of difficulties in seruing him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in stead of the ease & pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, ouerwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to auoide; and therein by God whom they first forsooke, forsaken, and left vnto the wretched labours of their owne blinde wisdom, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

§. III.

Of Athaliahs Government.

These calamities falling vpon Israel, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giuing her leisure to looke to things at home; as hauing little to doe abroad, vntill it were so that shee held some correspondencie with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her husbands grand-father king *Aza*, who had done the like. And some probability that he did so, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we finde, that this wicked *Athalia* and her children brake up the house of God, and all things that were dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow vpon Baalim. Such a sacriledge, though it proceeded from a desire to set out her owne Idolatrie, with such pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some faire pretext of necessity of the State so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successeur was faine to doe the like, being thereto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taste of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Vnder this impious government of *Athalia*, the deuotion of the Priests and Leuites was very notable, and serued (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himselfe, howfouler the Queenes proceedings aduanced the contrary. For the poverty of that sacred Tribe of Leui must needs haue been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being vtterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they liued, being now very few, and small; and the

store laid vp in better times vnder godly Kings, being all taken away by shamefull robbery. Yet they vp-held in all this misery the seruice of God, and the daily sacrifice, keeping daily their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no lesse than in those dayes wherein their entertainment was farre better.

§. IV.

Of the preservation of Ioas.

Iehoiada then occupied the high Priesthood, an honourable, wise, and religious man. To his carefulnes it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender sort vp-held in those vnhappy times. His wife was *Iehosabab*, who was daughter of king *Iehoram*, & sister to *Ahaziah*, a godly Lady and vertuous, whose pietie makes it seeme that *Athalia* was not her mother, though her access to the Court argue the contrary: but her discrete carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her owne Fathers house, than the education vnder such a Mother could haue permitted her to bee such as she was. By her care, *Ioas* the yongue Prince that reigned soone after, was conueighed out of the nursery, when *Athalia* destroyed all the Kings children, and was carried secretly into the Temple, where as secretly hee was brought vp. How it came to passe that this yongue childe was not hunted out, when his body was missing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was not good in policie, that the people should heare say, that one of the children had auoyded that cruell blow; it might haue made them hearken after innovations, and so be the lesse conformable to the present government. So *Ioas* was deliuered out of that slaughter, he and his nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peraduenture to be cast away, as hauing no other guard than a poore woman that gaue him sucke, who foolishly doubting that she her selfe should haue been slaine, was fled away with him into some desolate place, where it was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coine such tales, and rather sweare them to bee true in their owne knowledge, than they will lose the thanks due to their ioyfull tidings.

§. V.

whose sonne Ioas was.

†. I.

whether Ioas may be thought likely to haue been the son of Ahaziah.

Now concerning this *Ioas*, whose sonne hee was, it is a thing of much difficultie to asseme, and hath caused much controuersie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the sonne of Ahaziah, seeme plaine enough. How any figure of the Hebrew language might giue title of Sonne vnto him, in regard that hee was his Successeur, I neither by my selfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that thinke him to haue bene, or not, the naturall sonne of Ahaziah. For whereas it is said, that the house of Ahaziah was not able to retaine the Kingdome; some doe inferre that this *Ioas* was not properly called his Son, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a sonne in the inheritance of his father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For shee perceiving that the Kingdome was to fall into their hands, in whom she had no interest, might easily finde cause to feare, that the tyranny exercised by her husband at her instigation vpon so many noble Houses, would now bee reuenged vpon her selfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedy of *Iezabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had been heire to the Crowne; for she that had power enough to make her selfe Queene, could with more ease, and lesse enuie, haue taken vpon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie she might haue done her pleasure, and been the more both obeyed by others, and

and secure of her owne estate, as not wanting an Heire. Wherefore it was not needfull, that she should be so vnnaturall, as to destroy the childe of her owne son, of whose life she might haue made greater vse, than she could of his death: whereas indeed, the loue of Grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little lesse than the Mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seeme incredible, that all naturall affection should be cast a-side, when as neither necessity vrgeth, nor any commoditie thereby gotten requireth it, yea when all humane policie doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would haue perswaded.

†. II.

That Ioas did not descend from Nathan.

BVt (as it is more easie to finde a difficultie in that which is related, than to shew how it might haue otherwise bin) the pedigree of this *Ioas* is, by them which think him not the sonne of *Ahazia*, set downe in such sort that it may very iustly be suspected. They say that he descended from *Nathan* the sonne of *Dauid*, and not from *Salomon*: to which purpose they bring a Historie (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *Dauid*, saying that the line of *Salomon* held the kingdome with this condition, that if any time it failed, the familie of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the sonne of *Dauid*, there are that would haue him to bee *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they thinke, was by *Dauid* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also *S. Augustine* sometime was, but afterward he reuoked it, as was meete; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sons of *Dauid*, by *Bathsua* the daughter of *Amnes*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I finde him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him, *Erasmus*, and *Faber Stapulensis*, haue likewise held the same of *Ioas*, deriuing him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and those other brethren of *Salomon* by the same Mother, are thought vpon good likelihoods, to haue been the children of *Vria* the Hittite: and so are they accounted by sundry of the fathers, and by *Lyra*, & *Abulenfis*, who follow the Hebrew Expositors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himselfe the only begotten of his mother, doe approue this exposition: for we reade of no more than two sons which *Bathsua* or *Bathsbeba* did beare vnto *Dauid*, whereof the one begotten in adultery, died an infant, and *Salomon* onely of her children by the King did liue. So that the rest must needs haue beene the children of *Vria*, and are thought to haue beene *Davids* only by adoption. Wherefore if *Ioas* had not beene the son of *Ahazia*, then must that pedigree haue beene false, wherein *S. Matthew* deriueh him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not our blessed Saviour issued from the loynes of *Dauid*, according to the flesh, but had only beene of his line by courtesie of the Nation, and forme of Law, as any other might haue been. As for the authoritie of *Philo*, which hath drawne many late writers into the opinion that *Ioas* was not of the posteritie of *Salomon*, it is enough to say, that this was *Frier Anniius* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo* hath any such matter; but *Anniius* can make Authors to speake what he list.

†. III.

That Ioas may probably be thought to haue been the sonne of Iehoram.

IN so doubtfull a case, if it seeme lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought vpon, me thinks it were not amisse to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickednesse of *Iehoram* the son of *Iehosaphat* King of Iuda, for which he and his children perished, I hearseth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of *Dauid*, that according to his promise hee would give him a light, and to his children for ever: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *Iehoram*, there was not a sonne left him, save *Iehoahas* the youngest of his sonnes. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promise to *Dauid*, that after those massacres of *Iehoram* vpon all his brethren, and of the Philistines and Arabians vpon the children of *Iehoram*, one of the seed of *Dauid* escaped; why may it not bee thought that he was said to haue escaped, in whom the line of *Dauid* was preserved: for had all the race of *Salomon*

had beene rooted vp in these wofull Tragedies, and the progenie of *Nathan* succeeded in place thereof; like though it is that some remembrance more particular would haue bene extant, of an euent so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, is indeed apparant by the *Genealogie* of our Lord, as it is recounted by *S. Luke*: but the preservation of the house of *Dauid*, mentioned in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Iehosaphat*, in whom the Royall branch of *Salomon*, the natural, and not only legall issue remaining of *Dauid*, was kept aliue. Wherefore it may bee thought that this *Ioas*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdome, was the youngest sonne of *Iehoram*, whose life *Athalia* as a stepdame, was not likely to pursue. For it were not easily vnderstood, why the preservation of *Davids* line, by Gods especiall mercy, in regard of his promise made, should pertaine rather to that time, when besides *Ahazia* himselfe, there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sonnes of his brethren remaining aliue, which afterwards were all slain by *Iehoram*; than haue reference to the lamentable destruction and little lesse than extirpation of that progenie, wherein one only did escape. Certainly that inhumane murder which *Iehoram* committed vpon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Historie) reuenged vpon his owne children; then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the Philistines and Arabians, but being only begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by *Iehoram*, and finally tooke effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation hee had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heauie iudgement laid vpon *Iehoram* and all his children, only *Iehoahas* his youngest son was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirme to be the same with *Ioas*, which is called the son of *Ahazia*, I should not want good probabilitie. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise haue beene. For it was the youngest sonne of *Iehoram* in whom the race was preferred; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahazia*, seeing that hee was twenty yeeres old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to reigne, and consequently, was borne in the eighteenth or twentieth yeere of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more vnkely, either that *Iehoram* should haue begotten many children before hee was eightene yeeres old, or that hauing (as hee had) many wiues and children, hee should vpon the suddaine, at his eighteenth yeere, become vnfertile, and beget no more in twenty yeeres following: each of which must haue beene true, if this were true that *Ahazia* was the same *Iehoahas*, which was his youngest sonne. But this inconuenience is taken away, & those other doubts arising from the causelesse cruelty of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Ioas*, are easily cleared, if *Ioas* and *Iehoahas* were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion. For he was *seuen yeeres old when he began to reigne*; which if we vnderstand of yeeres compleat, he might haue been a yeere old at the death of *Iehoram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sicknesse. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the naturall son of *Iehoram*, though called the son of *Ahazia*, than it were to say, as great Authors haue done, this difficultie notwithstanding, that he was of the posteritie of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer; which, had it concurred with the rest, might haue serued as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Iehoahas*, that soundeth much more neere to *Ioas*, than to *Ahazia*, in an English ear, doth in the Hebrew (as I am informed by some, skilfull in that language) through the diuersitie of certaine letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our Western manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it bee so that *Ahazia* himselfe bee also called *Azaria*, and must haue had three names, if hee were the same with *Iehoahas*; in which manner *Ioas* might also haue had severall names; yet, because I finde no other warrant hereof than a bare possibilitie, I will not presume to build an opinion vpon the weak foundation of mine owne coniecture, but leaue all to the consideration of such as haue more abilitie to iudge, and leasure to consider of this point.

†. IV.

Vpon what reasons Athalia might seeke to destroy Ioas, if he were her owne grandchilde.

IF therefore we shall follow that which is commonly receiued, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be said, that *Athalia* was not only blinded by the passions

ons of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worship of *Baalim*, but pursued the accomplishment of some vnnaturall desires, in seeking the destruction of her grand-child, and the rest of the bloud Royall. For whether it were so that *Athalia* (as proud and cruell women are not alwaies chaste) had imitated the libertie of *Iezabel* her sister in law, whose whoredomes were vpbraided by *Iehu* to her sonne; or whether she had children by some former husband, before she was married vnto *Iehoram* (which is not unlikely in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and sister to *Ahab*) certaine it is that she had sonnes of her own, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondred at, that to settle the Crown vpon her own children, she did seeke to cut off, by wicked policie, all other claimes. As for *Iou*, if he were his grand-mother, yet she might mistrust the interest which his mother would haue in him, lest when he came to yeeres, it might draw him from her deuotion. And hereof (besides that women doe commonly better loue their daughters husbands, than their sonnes wifes) there is some appearance in the reigne of her sonne: for shee made him spend all his time in idle journeyes, to no other apparant end, than that he might rule at home; and he liuing abroad be estranged from his wife, and entertaine some new fancies, wherein *Iezabel* had cunning enough to be his *tutresse*. But when the sword of *Iehu* had rudely cut in sunder all these fine deuises, then was *Athalia* faine to go roundly to worke, and doe as she did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather thinke) she were onely stepdame to *Iou*, we need not seeke into the reasons mouing her to take away his life; her owne hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

S. VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty of using coniecture in Historie.



His much concerning the person of *Iou*, from whom, as from a new root, the tree of *Dauid* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this History, and the diuersitie between it and others, the lesse me thinks I need to suspect mine owne presumption, as deseruing blame, for curiosity in matter of doubt, or boldnesse in liberty of coniecture. For all Historie do giue vs information of humane counsailes & reuents, as farre forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of Gods will, by which all things are ordered, they speak only at randome, and many times fallily. This we often finde in profane writers, who ascribe the ill successe of great vnder-takings, to the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the lesse wonder, if we consider the answer made by the Iewes in Egypt vnto *Jeremy* the Prophet reprehending their Idolatry. For howsoeuer the written Law of God was known vnto the people, and his punishments laid vpon them for contempt thereof, were verie terrible, and euen then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent vnto their wils, that they would not by any meanes be drawne to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the *Queene of Heauen*, as they and their fathers, their Kings and their Princes had vsed to doe: *For then* (said they) *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no euill*: adding that all manner of miseries were befallne them, since they left off that seruice of the *Queene of Heauen*. So blinde is the wisdom of man, in looking into the counsaile of God, which to finde out, there is no better nor other guide than his owne written will not peruered by vaine additions.

Jer. 44. 17. 18.

But this Historie of the Kings of Israel & Iuda hath herein a singular prerogative above all that haue beene written by the most sufficient ofincerely humane authors: it setteth downe expressly the true, and first causes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his ouer-forwardnesse in bataille, the ruine of his family, to the securitie of *Iehoram* in Izrael; nor the victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raised in Israel, by the coming of *Iehu*; but referring all vnto the will of God, I meane, to his reuealed will: from which that his hidden purposes doe not vary, this Storie, by many great examples, giues most notable prooffe. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these booke nothing largely described; nor per-

haps

haps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidney*, that Historians doe borrow of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, records not alwaies true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discover the passions which doe set them first on foot. Wherefore they are faine (I speake of the best, and in that which is allowed, for to take out of *Luce* euery one circumstance of *Claudius* his journey against *Asdrubal* in Italy, sitting all to another businesse, or any practice of that kinde, is neither Historically, nor Poetically) to search into the particular humour of Princes, and of those which haue gouerned their affections, or the instruments by which they wight, from whence they doe collect the most likely motives or impediments of euery businesse; and so figuring as neere to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they iudiciously consider the defects in counsaile, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to giue assurance, howsoeuer it may giue satisfaction. For the heart of man is vnsearchable: and Princes, howsoeuer their intents be seldome hidden from some of those many eyes which prie both into them, and into such as liue about them; yet sometimes either by their owne close temper, or by some subtil mist, they conceale the truth from all reports. Yea, manie times the affections themselves lye dead, and buried in obliuion, when the preparations which they begat, are conuerted to another vse. The industrie of an Historian, hauing so many things to wearie it, may well bee excused, when finding apparant cause enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions worke to the same end, that one small matter in a weak mind is more effectuall, than many that seeme farre greater. So comes it manietimes to passe, that great fires, which consume whole houles or townes, begin with a few strawes, that are wasted or not seene; when the flame is discovered, hauing fastned vpon some wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionlesse it is, that the warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the Greekes, proceeded from desire of the Persians to enlarge their Empire: howsoeuer the enterprize of the Athenians vpon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrell; yet *Herodotus* telleth vs, that the wanton desire of *Queen Atossa*, to haue the Grecian dames her bondwomen, did first moue *Darius* to prepare for this warre before hee had receiued any iniury, & when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enioy what was already gotten.

Herod. l. 1.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more iustly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alleading the vain appetite, and secret speech of the *Queen* in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great euils following; this I may boldly asseme, hauing, I thinke, in euery estate some sufficient witness that matters of much consequence, founded in all seeming vpon substantiall reasons, haue issued indeed from such pettie trifles, as no Historian would either thinke vpon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope made to a certaine Friar, comming to visit him in his Popedom, as hauing long before in his meaner estate, been his familiar friend. This poore Friar, being emboldened by the Pope to vse his old liberty of speech, aduentured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was possible for his Holinesse, whom he rather tooke for a direct honest man, than any cunning Politician, to attaine vnto the Papacy; in compassing of which, all the subtilty (said he) of the most crafty braines, finde worke enough: and therefore the more I thinke vpon the Art of the Conclue, and your vnaptnesse thereto, the more I needes must wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to satisfie the plaine dealing Friar, dealt with him againe as plainly, saying, Hadst thou liued abroad as I haue done, and seen by what follie this world is gouerned, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this bee referred vnto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affaires is moued, the Pope said true. For the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration, worke more closely, and earnestly; than right reason either needes or can. But if wee lift vp our thoughts to that supreme Gouernour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was said of *Iupiter*:

Va

Qui

*Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, & vrbes, regnas, tristia
Diuosq; mortalesq; turmas,
Imperio regit vnus aquo.*

Who rules the duller earth, the windefwolne streames,
The ciuill Cities and th' infernall realmes,
Whoth' host of heauen, and the mortall band,
Alone doth gouerne by his iust command.

Then shall we finde the quite contrary. In him there is no vncertainty nor change; he foreseeeth all things, and all things despoeth to his owne honour; He neither deceiveth nor can be deceived; but continuing one and the same for euer, doth constantly gouerne all creatures by that Law, which he hath prescribed, and will neuer alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contriuers, and the prosperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction: yea this broad and headlong passage to hell, is not so delightfull as it seemes at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poysons which infect the soule, many cruell thorns deeply wounding the body; all which, if any few escape, they haue only this miserable aduantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the seruice of God is the path guiding vs to perfect happines, & hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeelding such abundance of ioy to the conscience, as doth easily counteruaile all afflictions whatsoeuer; though indeede those brambles that sometimes teare the skin of such as walke in this blessed way, do commonly lay hold vpon them at such time as they sit down to take their ease, & make them with themselves at their iournies end, in the presence of their Lord whom they faithfully serue, in whose presence is the fulnesse of ioy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for euermore.


Isa. 16. 11.

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all History, to teach by example of times past, such wisdom as may guide our desires and actions, we should not maruaile though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda and Israel*, being written by men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct vs chiefly, in that which is most requisite for vs to know; as the means to attaine vnto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*. Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) beene written by some Prophet after the captivity: wee may well beleue that the counsaile of God therein, and the executioners of his righteous will, should haue occupied either the whole or the principall roome in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of *Darius*, the desire of his Wife, and the buisnesse at Sardes, with other occurrents, beene the lesse true, though they might haue beene omitted, as the lesse materiall: but these things it had beene lawfull for any man to gather out of prophane Histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein he should not haue done iniury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forbore to derogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the buisnesse that I haue now in hand: wherein I cannot beleue that any man of iudgement will taxe me, as either fabulous or presumptuous. For he doth not faine, that rehearseth probabilities as bare coniectures; neither doth he depraue the Text, that seeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reason, those things which authority alone, without further circumstance, ought to haue confirmed in euery mans beliefe. And this may suffice in defence of the liberty, which I haue vsed in coniectures, and may hereafter vse when occasion shall require, as neither vnlawfull, nor misbecoming an Historiann.

S. VII.

The conspiracie against Athalia.

 Hen *Athalia* had now fixe yeeres and longer worne the Crowne of Iuda, and had found neither any forreine enemy, nor domesticall aduersarie to disturbe her possession, suddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her

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wickednesse meeting together, tooke her away without any warning, by a violent and shamefull death. For the growth of the yongue Prince began to bee such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very vnfitting that his education should be simple, to make him seeme the childe of some poore man (as for his safety it was requisite,) when his capacity required to haue beene indued with the stomacke and qualities meete for a King. All this *Iehoiada* the Priest considered, and withall, the great increase of impiety, which taking deepe roote in the Court, was likely to spread it selfe ouer all the Country, if care were not vsed to weede it vp very speedily. Wherefore he associated vnto himselfe fiue of the Captaines, in whose fidelity he had best assurance, and hauing taken an oath of them, and shewed them the Kings sonne, he made a Couenant with them, to aduance him to the Kingdome. These drew in others of the principall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first only that they should repaire to Ierusalem, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perswasions to win them to the buisnesse: the promise of the Lord vnto the house of *David*, was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawfull, & likely to succeed as they desired.

But in compassing their intent, some difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the Captains, and other associats of *Iehoiada* able by close working, to draw together so many trusty & seruiceable hands as would suffice to manage the buisnesse. To helpe in this case, the Priest gaue order to such of the Leuites, as had finished their courses in waiting on the Diuine seruice at the Temple, and were now relieued by others that succeeded in their turnes, that they should not depart vntill they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new commers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made vp such a number, as would be able to deal with the Queenes ordinary Guard: and that was enough, for if the Tyrannesse did not preuaile against them at the first brunt, the fauour of the People was like to shew it selfe on their side, who made head against her. These Leuites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents, were bestowed in the vtter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it selfe had store enough; King *David* had left an Armory to the place, which was now employed to defence of his issue.

All things being in a readinesse, and the day come, wherein this high designe was to be put in execution; *Iehoiada* deliuered vnto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard vnto the Kings person, produced him openly, and gaue vnto him the Crowne; vsing all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings, the Queene was the last that heard any word. Which is not so strange as it may seeme: for insolent natures, by dealing outrageously with such as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly lose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilest yet it may be preuented, and haue no information of danger, till their owne eyes, amazed with the suddennesse, behold it in the shape of ineuitable mischief.

All Ierusalem was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the newes, others ran forth to see, and the common ioy was so great, that without apprehension of perill, vnder the windowes of the Court, were the people running and praising the King. *Athalia* hearing & beholding the extraordinary concourse, and noise of folkes in the streets, making toward the Temple, with much vnusuall passion in their lookes, did presently conceiue, that somewhat worthy of her care was happened; though, what it might be, she did not apprehend. Howsoeuer it were, shee meant to vse her owne wisdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may bee, that she thought it some especiall solemnitie vsed in the Diuine seruice, which caused this much adoe; and hercof the vnaccustomed number of Leuites, and of other deuout men, about the towne, might giue some presumption.

Many things argue that shee little thought vpon her owne Tragedy; although *Iosephus* would make it seeme otherwise. For we finde in the Text, *shee came to the people into the house of the Lord* (which was neete to her Palace) and that when she looked and saw the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or great men of the

2. Chron. 23. 11.

2. Chron. 23. 11.

1. King. 6. 11. v.

2. Chron. 23. 11.

Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him, shee rent her clothes, and cryed Treason, Treason. Hereby it appears that she was quietly going, without any mistrust or feare, to take her place; which when she found occupied by another, then she began to afflict her selfe, as one cast away, and cryed out in vaine vpon the Treason, whereby she saw that she must perish. But that she came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Iosephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten backe, shee entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the yong Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had she truly known how things went, she would surely haue gathered her friends about her, and vsed those forces in defence of her Crown, by which she gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that she, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had beene meere madnesse in her, to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if shee, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their owne weapons, could preuaile to let in her guard, would neuertheless take vpon her to command the death of the new King, calling a childe of seuen yeeres old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to be armed in his defence, may we not thinke that shee was mad in the most extreme degree? Certaine it is that the counsaile of God would haue taken effect, in her destruction, had she vsed the most likely meanes to disappoint it: yet vvee neede not so cut her throate with any morall impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zeale of *Iehoiada* found more easie successe, through her indiscretion, than otherwife could haue beene expected; so that at his appointment, shee was without more ado, carried out of the Temple and slaine, yea so, that no blood, saue her owne, was shed in that quarrell; her small train that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

§. VIII.

The death of Athalia, with a comparison of her and Iezabel.

MOST like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashnesse of her Nephew *Iehoram* the Israelite, who did foolishly cast himselfe into the very throate of danger, gaping vpon him, onely through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet, shee her selfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and hauing liued such a life as *Iezabel* had done, was rewarded with a sutable death. These two Queenes were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatresse and a Murtheresse. The onely difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Iezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them suruiuing her husband about eight yeeres, did spend their time in satisfying her owne affections; the one vsing tyrannie, as the exercise of her haughy minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her vnchaste body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seeme in this world to pertaine vnto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the iud. slaine by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming vpon the Treason, received sentence from the mouth of one that had liued vnder her subiection; in execution whereof, *Iezabel* was trampled vnder the feet of her enemies horses, *Athalia* slaine at her owne horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* hauing (though not much) the more leisure to vexe her proud heart; that of *Iezabel* the more indignitie, and shame of bodie. Touching their buriall, *Iezabel* was deuoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatned by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* wee doe not finde. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as hauing not persecuted and slaine the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument, for she was a Church-robber. The seruice of *Baal* erected by these two Queenes, was destroyed as soone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Priests of that Religion, slaine. Herein also it came to passe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who slew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazael* the Syrian; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the Syrian (who seemes to haue beene her good friend) pretended her reuenge, as anie part of his quarrell to Iuda. Concerning children, all belonging to *Iezabel* perished in few

few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behinde her, it is vncertaine; she had sons liuing after she was Queene, of whom, or of any other, that they were slaine with her, we doe not finde.

This is a matter not vnworthy of consideration, in regard of much that may depend vpon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had beene in Ierusalem when their Mother fell, their death would surely haue followed hers as neerely, and beene registred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Priest of *Baal*. That Law by which God forbade that the children should die for the fathers, could not haue saued these vngracious Impes, whom the clause following would haue cut off, which commands, that euerie man should die for his owne sinne. Seeing therefore that they had beene professors and aduancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of *Baal* with the spoyle of it; likely it is, that they should not haue escaped with life, if *Iehoiada* the Priest could haue gotten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cause enough requiring their death, so the security of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craued as much, and that very earnestly. For these had beene esteemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, and being reckoned as her assistants in that particular businesse of robbing the Temple, may bee thought to haue carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes, & fellowes with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is euident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in his warres against *Iehu*) absent from Ierusalem; whereby *Iehoiada* might, with the more confidence, aduenture to take Armes against their Mother, that was desolate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Ioas and Amasia, with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.

§. I.

Of Ioas his doings, whilest Ichoiada the Priest liued.

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole Countrie of Iuda was filled with great ioy and quietnesse; wherein *Ioas*, a childe of seuen yeeres old or there-about, began his reigne, which continued almost fortie yeeres. During his minority, he liued vnder the protection of that honourable man *Iehoiada* the Priest, who did as faithfully gouerne the Kingdome, as he had before carefully preserued the Kings life, & restored him vnto the Throne of his ancestors. When he came to mans estate, he tooke by appointment of *Iehoiada* two wiues, and begat Sonnes and Daughters, repairing the family of *Dauid*, which was almost worne out. The first Act that hee tooke in hand, when hee began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needfull piece of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickednesse of vngodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should vp-hold the Temple, whom the Temple had vp-held. This businesse he followed with so earnest a zeale, that not only the Leuites were more slacke than he, but euen *Iehoiada* was faine to be quickened by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the worke, partly out of the taxe imposed by *Moses*, partly out of the liberality of the people: who gaue so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of gold and siluer, and with all other Vensiles. The sacrifices likewise were offered, as vnder godly Kings they had beene, and the seruice of God was magnificently celebrated.

§. II.

The death of Iehoiada, and Apostasie of Ioas.

BVt this endured no longer than the life of *Iehoiada* the Priest: who hauing liued an hundred and thirtie yeers, dyed before his Countrie could haue spared him. He was buried among the kings of Iuda, as he well deserued, hauing preferred the race of them, & restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting vp themselves, and all their issue. Yet this honourable Funerall seems to haue bin giuen to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the Citie of Dauid*. As for the king himselfe, who did owe to him no lesse than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to haue been Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been discharged of some heauie debt.

For after the death of *Iehoiada*, when the Princes of Iuda began to flatter their king, he soone forgot, not onely the benefits, receiued by this worthy man his old Counsellour, but also the good precepts which he had receiued from him, yea & God himselfe, the Author of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, where-with *Iehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Country, in fifteene or sixteene yeeres; that thirty yeeres, or there-about, of the reigne of *Ioas*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to cleere it from that mischiefe. The king himselfe, when once he was entred into these courses, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his libertie, to despise the seruice of God; and a manifest proofe of his being now king in dedde, that he regarded no longer the fowre admonitions of deuout Priests. Hereby it appears, that his former zeale was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor vpon the stage, he had striven to expresse much more liuely affection, than they could shew, that were in dedde religious.

§. III.

The causes and times of the Syrians inuading Iuda in the dayes of Ioas.

BVt God, from whom he was broken loose, gaue him ouer into the hands of men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael* king of Aram, hauing taken Gath, a Town of the Philistims, addressed himselfe towards Ierusalem, whether the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did inuite him. He had an Army heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough that the kings of Iuda had assisted the Israelites, in their enterprises vpon Aram, at Ramoth Gilead. Yet I think he did not want some further instigation. For if the kingdome of Iuda had molested the Aramites, in the time of his predecessour, this was throughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour Israel, and leaving the ten Tribes in their extreame misery, to the fury of *Hazael* himselfe. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should haue gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and stirre vp against himselfe a powerfull enemy, before he had assured the conquest of Israel, that lay between Ierusalem and his owne kingdome, if some opportunity had not performed such easie and good successe, as might rather aduance, than any way disturbe his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sonnes of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countries vsually doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his side; and not to remaine, as *Ioas* did, a neutrall in the warre betweene him and Israel, but to ioyne all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of *Iehu* his posterity, who, like a bloody Traytor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred of the *Queenes*, their mother, euen the whole house of *Ahab*, to which hee was a subiect. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparant reason to inuade the Kingdome of Iuda. Howsoeuer it were, we finde it plainly, that *Ioas* was afraid of him, and therefore took all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his owne house, with which present hee redeemed his peace: the Syrian (questionlesse) thinking it a better bargaine, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the assurance of this,

2. King. 12. 18.

for

for the possibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich bootie of vnhappy treasure, which belonging to the liuing God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the graue. For in the thirtie seuenth yeere of *Ioas*, which was the fifteenth of *Iehoahaz*, hee made this purchase; but in the same or very next yeere he died, leauing all that hee had vnto his Sonne *Benhadad*, with whom these treasures prospered no otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of *Hazael*, is, by some, confounded with that warre of the Aramites vpon Iuda, mentioned in the second Booke of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alleadged by them that hold the contrary opinion, doe forcibly proue, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without blood-shed or fight; in the latter, *Ioas* tried the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life: In the one, *Hazael* himselfe was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwise, the king of Aram then reigning (who may seem to haue then been the Sonne of *Hazael*) is said to haue bene at Damascus. The first Armie came to conquer, and was so great, that it terrified the king of Iuda; The second was a small company of men, which did animate *Ioas* (in vaine; for God was against him) to deale with them, as hauing a very great Armie.

2. Chron. 24. 24

Now, concerning the time of this former inuasion, I cannot perceiue that God forsooke him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Iehoiada* the Priest, because that storie is ioyned vnto the restauration of the Temple. This had bene probable, if the death of *Iehoiada* had bene afterwards mentioned in that place of the second Book of Kings; or if the Apostasie of *Ioas*, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will & pleasure; neither was he more vniust in the afflictions of *Iob* that righteous man, or the death of *Iosias* that godly king, than in the plagues which he laid vpon *Pharaoh*, or his iudgements vpon the house of *Ahab*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent seruice of God therewithall, which are ioyned together, were vsed in the house of the Lord continually, all the dayes of *Iehoiada*; soone after whose death, if not immediately vpon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the fixe, or thirtie seuenth yeere of this *Ioas* his reign, the king falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foule Idolater.

2. Chron. 24. 14.

And indeed we commonly obserue, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay vpon his seruants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, haue alwaies tended vnto the bettering of their good. In which respect, euen the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (the death of his Saints being precious in the sight of the Lord) are to their great aduantage. But with euill and rebellious men, God keepeth a more euen and strict account; permitting vsually their faults to get the start of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the Amorites) till their wickednesse be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater miserie. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with *Ioas*. For this vnhappy man did not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetfull of God and all goodnesse, as if he had strouen to exceed the wickednesse of all that went before him, and to leaue such a villainous patterne vnto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should endure to imitate.

§. IV.

How Zacharia was murdered by Ioas.


SVndry Prophets hauing laboured in vaine to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia* the sonne of *Iehoiada* the Priest, was stirred vp at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickednesse, and make them vnderstand the punishment due vnto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so much honoured, and sonne to a man so exceedingly beloued in his lifetime, and reuerenced, that if *Ioas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honestie, to haue cloaked his ill affection, and haue vsed

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at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne vnto the King, and the vnrecountable benefits, which they had done vnto him, from his first infancie, were such, as should haue placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured loue of *Ioas*, yea though he had bin otherwise a man of very small make, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reuerence, how simple soeuer he appears that brings it. But this King *Ioas*, hauing already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deale with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen in that parable of our Saviour, dealt with the heire of the Vineyard; who said, *This is the heyre, come let vs kill him, that the inheritance may be ours*. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soeuer that mans deserting were, that did so, yea though Gods commandement required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the kings appointment; but whether by any forme of open Law, as was practised vpon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treachery, I doe neither reade, nor can coniecture. The dignitie of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracie, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publike iudgement, though that the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted vpon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the kings commandement, by which hee suffered, tooke place in stead of Law: which exercise of power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange amongst the kings of Iuda.

S. V.

How Ioas was shamefully beaten by the Amorites, and of his death.

 His odious murther, committed by an vnthankfull snake vpon the man in whose bosome he had been fostered, as of it self alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his own time, & his memory detested in all ages, so had it the well-described curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompanie it vnto the throne of God, & to call for vengeance from thence; which fell downe swiftly, & heauily vpon the head of that vngratefull monster. It was the last yeere of his reign; the end of his time comming then vpon him, when he thought himself beginning to liue how he list without controulment. When that yeer was expired, the Aramites came into the Countrey, rather as may seem to get pillage, than to performe any great action; for they came with a small company of men: but God had intended to doe more by them, than they themselves did hope for.

That *Ioas* naturally was a coward, his bloody malice against his best friend, is, in my iudgement, prooffe sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hazael*, when he might haue leauied (as his son after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the warre, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when hee might haue his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of Routers, hee tooke a very great Armie, so that wise men might well perceiue, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his Countrey, and expose himselfe to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meere ostentation, and no perill to be feared; hee going forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wise men thinke, and laugh at him in secret; considering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparant reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishnesse, did laugh not only at this vaine-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the Aramites & King *Ioas* met, whether it were by some folly of the Leaders, or by some amazement happening among the souldiers, or by whatsoeuer means it pleased God to work, so it was, that that great Army of Iuda receiued a notable ouerthrow, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of Iuda, at whose perswasion the King had become a Rebelle to the King of kings. As for *Ioas* himselfe (as *Abulen* and others

expound


expound the story) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they thinke) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excessiue ranfome.

And surely, all circumstances doe greatly strengthen this coniecture. For the Text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised vpon *Ioas* ignominious iudgements; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-fauouredly. Now at that time *Ioas* the sonne of *Iechonahaz* reigned ouer Israel, and *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael* ouer the Syrians in Damascus, the one a valiant vnder-taking Prince, raised vp by God to restore the State of his miserable Countrey; the other inferior euery way to his father, of whose purchases hee lost a great part; for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition found betweene these two Princes, promising no other euent than such as afterward followed, might haue giuen to the king of Iuda good cause to be bold, and plucke vp his spirits; which *Hazael* had beaten downe, if God had not bene against him. But his fearefull heart being likely to quake vpon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the Syrian king in hope, that by terrifying him with some shew of Warre at his doores, it were easie to make him craue any tolerable conditions of peace. The vnexpected good successe hereof, already related, & the (perhaps as vnexpected) ill successe, which the Aramites found in their following Warres against the king of Israel, sheweth plainly the weakenesse of all earthly might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the kingdom of Iuda, after more than forty yeeres time of gathering strength, was vnable to driue out a small companie of Enemies; and the kingdom of Israel, hauing so been trodden downe by *Hazael*, that onely fifty Horsemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thousand Footmen were left; preuailed against his Sonne, and recovered all from the victorious Aramites. But examples hereof are euerie-where found, and therefore I will not insist vpon this; though indeede wee should not, if we be Gods children, thinke it more tedious to heare long and frequent reports of our heauenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers vpon earth.

When the Aramites had what they listed, & saw that they were not able, being so few, to take any possession of the Countrey, they departed out of Iuda loaden with spoyle, which they sent to Damascus, themselves belike falling vpon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not halfe so wel. The king of Iuda being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sons of an Ammonitess, & of a Moabitess, whom some (because onely their Mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) thinke to haue bene bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, lest (as Tyrants vse) he should reuenge his disaster vpon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoeuer else it were that animated them to murder their king; the Scripture tels vs plainly, that, *For the blood of the children of Iechonahaz*, this befell him. And the same appears to haue bene vsed as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amazias*, the sonne and successor of *Ioas*, durst not punish them, till his kingdom was established: but contrariwise, his body was iudged vnworthy of buriall in the Sepulchres of the kings: whereby it appears, that the death of *Zacharia* caused the treason, wrought against the king, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his Sonne, vpon the Traytors, with well-deserued death.

S. VI.

Of the Princes liuing in the time of Ioas: of the time when Carthage was built; and of Dido.

 Here liued with *Ioas*, *Mezades* & *Diognetus* in Athens: *Eudemus* and *Aristomides* in Corinth: about which time *Agrippa Syluius*, and after him *Syluius Aladins*, were kings of the Albans in Italy. *Ocraxapes*, commonly called *Anacyn-daraxes*, the thirty seuenth king succeeding vnto *Ophrasanes*, began his reigne ouer the Assyrians, about the eighteenth yeere of *Ioas*, which lasted forty two yeeres. In the sixteenth of *Ioas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded vnto *Cheops* in the kingdom of Egypt, and held it fifty yeeres.

In this time of *Ioas*, was likewise the reigne of *Pigmalion* in Tyre; and the foundation of

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of Carthage by *Dido*, the building of which City is, by diuers Authors, placed in diuers ages, some reporting it to be 70. yeeres yonger than Rome, others about 400. yeeres elder, few or none of them giuing any reason of their assertions, but leauing vs vncertaine whom to follow: *Iosephus*, who had read the Annals of Tyre, counting one hundred forty and three yeeres and eight moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth yeer of *Hiram* king of Tyre, to the founding of Carthage by *Dido*, in the seventh of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this accompt (which is not rare in *Iosephus*) are very perplexed, and serue not very well to make cleer the totall summe. But whether it were so that *Iosephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the yeeres, which he reckoneth in Fractions, as they were diuided among the Kings of Tyre, from *Hiram* to *Pigmalion*, we may well enough beleue, that the Tyrian writers, out of whose books hee giues vs the whole summe, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, betweene two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or foure generations might easily reach. This hundred forty and foure yeeres current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleuenth yeere of *Iosias*, was a hundred forty and three yeeres before the birth of Rome, and after the destruction of Troy, two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of *Aeneas*, that wee might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ansonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

Aul. ep. 117.

*Illa ego sum Dido vultu quam conspicis hospes,
Assimulata modis pulchra, mirificis.
Talis eram, scilicet non Maro quam mihi finxit, erat mens,
Vita nec incestu lata cupidinibus,
(Namq; nec Aeneas vidit me Troius unquam
Nec Lybiam aduenit, clausibus Iliacis.
Sed furis fugiens, atq; arma procatas Iarbas,
Seruatus, fator, morte pudicitiam;
Pectora transfixo, castos quod pertulit enses)
Non furor, aut leso crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidisse iuuat: vixi, sine vulnere fame,
Vita virum, positis manibus appetij.
Inuida cur in me stimulaisti Musa Maronem,
Fingeret ut nostrae damna pudicitiae?
Vos magis Historicis lectores credite de me
Quam qui furta Deum concubitusq; canunt.
Falsidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,
Humanisq; deos assumulans vitij.*

Which in effect is this,

I Am that *Dido* which thou here do'st see,
Cunningly framed in beauteous Imag'rie.
Like this I was, but had not such a soule,
As *Maro* fained, incestuous and foule.
Aeneas neuer with his Trojan hoast
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.
But flying proud *Iarbas* villanie,
Not moud by furious loue or iea'lousie;
I did with weapon chaste, to saue my fame,
Make way for death vntimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but first I built a Towne,
Reueng'd by husbands death, liu'd with renowne.
Why did'st thou stirre vp *Virgil*, enuious Muse,
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?
Readers beleue Historians; not those
Which to the world their thefts and vice expose.
Poets are lyers, and for verses sake
Will make the gods of humane crimes partake.

From

From the time of *Dido* vnto the first Punick warre, that Carthage grew and flourished in wealth and conquests, we finde in many Histories: but in particular we finde little of the Carthaginian affaires before that war, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts of the Isle of Sicil. We will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mighty Citie, vntill such time as they shall encounter with the State of Rome, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the mean while the History that is now in hand.

§. VII.

The beginning of Amazia his reigne. Of Ioas King of Israel, and Elisha the Prophet.

Amazias, the son of *Iosias*, being twenty five yeeres old when his Father died, took possession of the Kingdome of Iuda, wherein he laboured so to demane himself, as his new beginning might be least offensive. The Law of *Moses* he professed to obserue; which howsoeuer it had bene secretly despised since the time of *Iehoram*, by many great persons of the Land, yet had it by prouision of good Princes, yea & of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deepe roote in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himselfe vnto it. And at that present time, the slaughter, which the Aramites had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late king from the seruice of God, being seconded by the death of the king himselfe, euen whilst that execrable murder, committed by the king vpon *Zecharia*, was yet fresh in memory, did serue as a notable example of Gods iustice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amazia* from following the way, which led to such an euill end. He therefore, hauing learned of his father the art of dissimulation, did not onely forbear to punish the Traytors that had slain king *Iosias*, but gaue way to the time, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Iehoram* formerly had been, in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the kings of Iuda. Neuerthelesse, after this, when (belike) the noyse of the people hauing wearied it selfe into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoeuer their deed done, was applauded as the handie worke of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as hauing done well, seeing it was not ill taken: the king, who perceiued his government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heate of mens affections being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish between their treasons and Gods iudgements, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to liue: which could not but giue contentment to the people, seeing that their king did the office of a iust Prince, rather than of a reuenging sonne. This being done, and his owne life better secured, by such exemplary iustice, against the like attempts; *Amazia* carried himselfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, & so continued in rest, about twelue or thirteen yeeres.

As *Amazia* gathered strength in Iuda by the commoditie of a long peace, so *Ioas* the Israelite grew as fast in power, by following the warre hotly against the Aramites. Hee was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had bene, worshipping the Calues of *Ieroboam*. For this sinne had God so plagued the house of *Iehu*, that the ten Tribes wanted little of being vtterly consumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Iehu* and his sonne *Iehoahaz*. But as Gods benefits to *Iehu*, sufficed not to withdraw him from this politique Idolatry, so were the miseries, rewarding that impietie, vnable to reclaime *Iehoahaz* from the same impious course: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of Israel, did condescend vnto the prayers of this vngodly Prince, euen then when hee and his miserable subiects, were obstinate in following their owne abominable waies. Therefore in temporall matters the ten Tribes recovered apace; but the fauour of God, which had bene infinitely more wroth, I doe not finde, nor beleue that they sought: that they had it not, I finde in the words of the Prophet, saying plainly to *Amazia*, *The Lord is not with Israel, neither with all the house of Ephraim.*

2. Chron. 25. 7.

Whether

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisha*, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperity of the Israelites vnder the reigne of *Joas*; or whether *Ichoahaz*, wearied and broken with long aduersity, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himselfe in part of the heauie cares attending those vnhappy Syrian Warres, by laying the burden vpon his hopefull sonne; wee finde that in the thirtieth yeere of *Joas*, King of *Iuda*, *Joas* the sonne of *Ichoahaz* began to reigne ouer *Israel* in *Samaria*; which was in the 15 yeere of his fathers reigne, and some two or three yeeres before his death.

It appeares that this yongue Prince, euen from the beginning of his Rule, did so well husband that poore stock that he receiued from his Father, of ten Chariots, fifty Horsemen, and ten thousand Foot, that he might seeme likely to proue a thriuer. Amongst other circumstances, the words which he spake to *Elisha* the Prophet, argue no lesse. For *Joas* visiting the Prophet, who lay sicke, spake vnto him thus; *O my father, my father, she Chariot of Israel, and the horsemen of the same*: by which manner of speech he did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his Kingdome in more stead, than all the Horses and Chariots could doe.

This Prophet who succeeded vnto *Elias*, about the first yeere of *Joas* the sonne of *Abah* king of *Israel*, died (as some haue probably collected) about the third or fourth yeere of this *Joas*, the Nephew of *Iehu*. To shew how the spirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did rest vpon him; it exceedeth my facultie. This is recorded of him, that hee did not onely raise a dead childe vnto life, as *Elias* had done, but when hee himselfe was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life vnto a carcase, which touched them in the graue. In fine, hee bestowed as a legacie, three victories vpon King *Joas*, who thereby did for *Israel* in a faire way of recouering all that the Aramites had vsurped, and weakened the Kings of *Damasco* in such sort, that they were neuer after terrible to *Samaria*.

§. VIII.

Of *Amazias* his warre against *Edom*; His Apostasie; and overthrow by *Joas*.

His happy successe which *Joas* had found in his war against the Aramites, was such as might kindle in *Amazias* a desire of vndertaking some expedition, wherein himselfe might purchase the like honour. His kingdome could furnish three hundred thousand seruiceable men for the Wars; & his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these, & the hire of many more. Cause of war he had very nist against the Edomites, who hauing rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Iehoram*, had about fifty yeeres been vnreclaimed, partly by reason of the troubles happening in *Iuda*, partly through the sloth and timorousnesse of his father *Joas*. Yet, forasmuch as the men of *Iuda* had in many yeeres beene without all exercise of Warre (excepting that vnhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the Aramites) hee held it a point of wisdom to increase his forces, with souldiers waged out of *Israel*, whence he hired for an hundred talents of siluer, an hundred thousand valiant men, as the Scripture telleth vs, though *Iesephus* diminish the number, saying that they were but twentie thousand.

This great Armie, which with so much cost *Amazias* had hired out of *Israel*, hee was faine to dismisse before he had imployed it, being threatened by a Prophet with ill successe, if he strengthened himselfe with the helpe of those men, whom God (though in mercy hee gaue them victory against the cruell Aramites) did not loue, because they were Idolaters. The Israelites therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dimission, as an high disgrace; which to reuenge, they fell vpon a piece of *Iuda* in their returne, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men, and some spoile, which they carried away. But *Amazias* with his owne forces, knowing that God would bee assistant to their iourney, entered courageously into the Edomites Countrey; ouer whom obtaining victory, he slew ten thousand, and tooke other ten thousand prisoners, all which he threw from an high rocke; holding them, it seemes, rather as Traytors, than as iust enemies. This victory did not seeme to reduce *Edom* vnder the subiection of the Crowne of *Iuda*; which might be the cause of that ferocity, which was vsed to the prisoners; the Edomites that had escaped, refusing to buy the liues of their friends & kinsmen at so deare a rate, as the losse of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount

Scir,

Scir, *Amazias* took, as appeares by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another yeere the better haue pursued the conquest of the whose countrey. Howsoever it were, he got both honour by the iourney, and gaine enough; had he not lost himselfe.

Amongst other spoiles of the Edomites, were carried away their gods, which being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserue well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwise know not by what strange witchcraft, so belotted this vnworthy King *Amazias*, that he set them up to be his gods, and worshipped them, and burned incense vnto them.

2 Chron. 25. 14.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet sent from God, hee gaue a churlish and threatening answer; asking the Prophet, Who made him a Counsellor, and bidding him hold his peace for feare of the worst. If either the costly stuffe, wherof these idols were made, or the curious workmanship and beautie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had rauished the kings fancie; me thinkes, he should haue rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as house-hold ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby haue suffered himself to be blinded, with such vnreasonable deuotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the Edomites had held them, were able to worke much vpon his imagination; much more should the bad seruice which they had done to their old Clients, haue moued him thereupon to laugh, both at the Edomites, and them. Wherefore it seemes to me, that the same affections carried him from God, vnto the seruice of Idols, which afterwards moued him to talke so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, & sent away such auxiliarie forces as he had gathered out of *Israel*; which done, it is said, that he was encouraged, and led forth his people, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason he should haue limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that *Esau* hauing broken the yoke of *Jacob* from his necke, accordingly as *Isaac* had fore-told, should no more become his seruant. If therefore *Amazias* did hope to reconquer all the Countrey of *Edom*, hee failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might haue well contented him.

2 Chron. 25. 15.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe vnto God the honor of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to vse their owne industrie, courage, or fore-sight. Therefore it is commonly scene, that they, who entring into battell, are carefull to pray for aide from heauen, with due acknowledgement of his power, who is the giuer of victorie; when the field is won, doe vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how he got such a ground of aduantage; another, how he gaue checke to such a battalion; a third, how he seized on the enemies Cannon; euery one struiuing to magnifie himself, whilest all forget God, as one that had not beene present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better successe, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Author of his happinesse; so he whose meere wisdom and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himselfe thankfull, both for the victory, and for those vertues by which the victory was gotten. And indeed so far from weaknesse is the nature of such thanksgiuing, that it may wel be called the height of magnanimity; no vertue being so truly heroically, as that by which the spirit of man aduanceth it selfe with confidence of acception, vnto the loue of God. In which sense it is a braue speech that *Euander* in *Virgil*, vseth to *Aeneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition:

Aude bosques consemnere opes, & te quoque dignum Finge Deo.

With this Philosophy *Amazias* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himselfe a better man of war than any king of *Iuda*, since the time of *Iehosaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should think him little inferior to *Dauid*: of which honour he saw no reason why the Prophets should rob him, who had made him lose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasure; he hauing preuailed by plaine force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That hee was distempered with such vaine thoughts as these (besides the witness of his impiety following) *Iesephus* doth

10. Ant. 1. 9. c. 10

testific; saying, That he despised God, and that being puffed up with his good success, of which neuertheless he would not acknowledge God to be the Author, he commanded *Ioas* King of Israel to become his subiect, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their Soueraigne, as they had done his Ancestors King *Dauid* and *Salomon*. Some thinke that his quarrell to *Ioas* was rather grounded vpon the injury done to him by the Israelites, whom hee dismissed in the iourney against Mount Seir. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stirre him up, than the remembrance of an old title, forgotten long since, and by himselfe neglected thirteene or fourteene yeeres. Neuertheless it might so be, that when he was thus prouoked, hee thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; that so the kings of Israel might, at the least, learne to keepe their subiects from offending *Juda*, for feare of endangering their owne Crownes. Had *Amazia* desired onely recompence for the iniurie done to him, it is not improbable that hee should haue had some reasonable answer from *Ioas*, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which *Ioas* returned, likening himselfe to a Cedar, and *Amazia* in respect of him to no better than a thistle, shewes that the challenge was made in insolent termes, stuffe perhaps with such proud comparison of Nobilitie, as might bee made (according to that which *Iosephus* hath written) between a king of ancient race, and one of lesse nobilitie than vertue.

*Sophocles in A-
sace 1. 07.*

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Ajax*, that when going to the warre of Troy, his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victory by Gods assistance, he made answer, That by Gods assistance, a coward could get victorie, but hee would get it alone without such helpe: after which proud speech, though he did many valiant acts, he had small thanks, and finally, killing himselfe in a madnesse, whereinto hee fell vpon disgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazia* did utter such wordes, I doe not finde: but hauing once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such words, he was rewarded with success according. The very first counsaile wherein this warre was concluded, serues to proue that hee was a wise Prince indeed at Ierusalem, among his Parasites; but a foole when he had to deale with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the Edomites, a weak people, trusting more in the site of their Countrey, than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Ioas*, who from so poore beginnings had raised himselfe to such strength, that hee was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained up in a long victorious warre. But as *Amazia* discovered much want of iudgement, in vnder-taking such a match; so in prosecuting the businesse, when it was set on foot, he behaued himselfe as a man of little experience, who hauing once onely tried his fortune, and found it to bee good, thought that in Warre there was nothing else to doe, than send a defiance, fight, and winne. *Ioas* on the contrary side, hauing bene accustomed to deale with a stronger enemy than the king of Iuda, vsed that celeritie, which peradventure had often stood him in good stead against the Aramite. Hee did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in and wasted his Countrey, but presented himselfe with an Army in Iuda, ready to bid battell to *Amazia*, and saue him the labour of a long iourney. This could not but greatly discourage those of Iuda; who (besides the impression of feare vvhich an inuasion beates into people, not inured in the like) hauing deuoured in their greedy hopes, the spoyle of Israel, fully perswading themselves to get as much, and at as easie rate as in the iourney of Edom, were so farre disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new assurance of good lucke, when the old had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their king that had stomach enough to challenge the patrimonie of *Salomon*, thought like another *Dauid* to winne it by the sword. The issue of which foole-hardinesse might easily haue bene foreseene in humane reason; comparing together, either the two kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the Warre. But meere humane wisdom, howsoeuer it might foresee much, could not haue prognosticated all the mischief that fell vpon *Amazia*. For as soone as the two Armies came in sight, God, whose helpe this wretched man had so despised, did (as *Iosephus* reports it) strike such terror and amazement into the men of Iuda, that without one blow giuen, they fled all away, leauing their king to shift for himselfe; which he did so ill, that his enemy had soone caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abiect basenesse. That the Army which fled

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fled, sustained any other losse than of honour, I neither finde in the Scriptures nor in *Iosephus*; he being likely that the soone beginning of their flight, which made it the more shamefull, made it also the more safe. But of the mischief that followed this ouerthrow, it was Gods will that *Amazia* himselfe should sustaine the whole disgrace. For *Ioas* carried him directly to Ierusalem, where he had him procure that the gates might bee opened to let him in and his Army, threatening him otherwise with present death. So much amazed was the miserable captiue, with these dreadful words, that he durst do no other, than perswade the Citizens, to yeeld themselves to the mercie of the Conqueror. The Towne, which afterwards being in weaker state, held out two yeeres, against *Nebuchad-
nezzar*, was utterly dismayed, when the King, that should haue giuen his life to saue it, vsed all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of Ierusalem were opened to *Ioas*, with vvhich honour (greater than any King of Israel had euer obtained) he could not rest contented, but, the more to despise *Amazia* and his people, he caused 400 cubits of the wall to be thrown downe, and entred the citie in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the king before him, as in triumph. This done, he sackt the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and so, taking hostages of *Amazia*, he dismissed the poor creature that was glad of his life, and returned to Samaria.

§. IX.

A discourse of the reasons hindering Ioas from uniting Iuda to the Crowne of Israel, when hee had won Ierusalem, and held Amazia prisoner. The end of Ioas his Reigne.

He may iustly maruell how it came to passe, that *Ioas*, being thus in possession of Ierusalem, hauing the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, & his own entire, could be so content to depart quietly, with a little spoyle, when he might haue seized vpon the whole Kingdome. The reigne of *Athalia* had giuen him cause to hope, that the issue of *Dauid* might be dispossessed of that crowne; his owne Nobility, being the sonne and gran-child of Kings, together with the famous acts that hee had done, were enough to make the people of Iuda thinke highly of him; who might also haue preferred his forme of gouernment, before that of their owne Kings, especially at such a time, vvhhen a long succession of vvhicked Princes had smothered the thanks, which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that vould haue ensued, vpon the vnion of all the twelue Tribes, vnder one Prince, is so apparant, that I neede not to insist on it. That any message from God forbad the Israelite (as afterwards in the victorie vvhich *Peka* the son of *Romelia* got vpon *Abaz*) to turne his present aduantage, to the best vse, wee doe not reade. All this makes it the more difficult to resolue the question, why a Prince so vvell exercised, as *Ioas* had bene; in recouering his own, and winning from his enemy, should forsake the possession of Ierusalem, and wilfully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away the full assurance of so faire a conquest, as the kingdome of Iuda.

But concerning that point, vvhich, of all others, had been most materiall, I mean the desire of the vanquished people to accept the Israelite for their king, it is plainly seene, that entring Ierusalem in triumphant manner, *Ioas* was vnable to concoct his own prosperitie. For, the opening of the gates had bene enough to haue let him not onely into the Citie, but into the Royall Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by faire intreaty (especially hauing sure meanes of compulsion) hee might haue made his owne, vvhhen they saw themselves betrayed, and basely giuen away by him whose they had bene before. The faire marke which this opportunitie presented, he did not ayme at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanelly busied, in leuelling at the glory of a triumphant entry through a breach. Yet this error might afterwards haue been corrected well enough, if entring as an enemy, and shewing what he could doe, by spending his anger vpon the wals, he had within the City done offices of a friend, and laboured to shew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his contentnesse beganne, and sought to please it selfe, with that which is commonly most ready to the spoyler, yet should be most forbore. The Treasure wherewith *Sefer*, *Hazael*, and the Philistims, men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirst, ought not to haue tempted the appetite of *Ioas*, who though an Idolater,

yet acknowledged also and worshipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at Ierusalem. Therefore when the people saw him take his way directly to seise that holy place, and lay his rauenuous hands vpon the consecrated vessels, calling the familie of *Obed-edom* (whose children had hereditarie charge of the treasure) to a strict account, as if they had beene officers of his owne Exchequer; they considered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a noble Prince, an Israelite and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely auoyded; by stealing a few Apples, he lost the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a few dayes, might by comparing themselves one to one, perceiue his Souldiers to be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of so great a Citie. It is not so easie to hold by force a mighty town entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by vnaduised feare. For when the Citizens, not being disarmed, recouer their spirits, and begin to vnderstand their first errour; they will thinke vpon every aduantage, of place, of prouisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-stones; and rather choose by desperate resolution, to correct the euills growne out of their former cowardise, than suffer those mischiefs to payson the body, which in such halfe-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more liuely example hereof cannot be desired, than the City of Florence, which through the weakenesse of *Peter de Medices*, gouerning therein as a Prince, was reduced into such hard tearmes, that it opened the gates vnto the French King *Charles* the Eighth, who not plainly professing himselfe either friend or foe to the State, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant manner, himself and his horse armed, with his lance vpon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell ministred, betweene them and the Townes-men: so farre forth that the Florentines, to preserue their libertie, were driuen to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge summes of ready money, and the absolute Signorie of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But *Peter Caponi*, a principall Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretarie, and tearing them before his face, bad him sound his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bells: which peremptorie words made the French bethinke themselves, and come readily to this agreement, that for forty thousand pounds, and not halfe of that money to bee paid in hand, *Charles* should not onely depart in peace, but restore whatsoever hee had of their Dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seeme for that braue Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of Naples, to fight in the streets, against the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that *Charles* had other businesse (and so perhaps had *Ios*, as shall anon bee shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses, vsually drawes every Citizen to saue his own, leauing victorie to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and resolued, women can quench, as fast as the enemy, hauing other things to looke vnto, can set on fire. And indeede that Commander is more giuen to anger than regardfull of profit, who vpon the vncertain hope of destroying a Towne, forsakes the assurance of a good composition. Diuersitie of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in Ierusalem, as we know it was in Florence.

How strongly soeuer *Ios* might hold himselfe within Ierusalem, he could not easily depart from thence, with his bootie safe, if the armie of Iuda, which had been more terrified than weakened in the late encounter, should re-enforce it self, & giue him a check vpon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him, to take hostages for his better security, his Army being vpon returne, and better loden than when it came forth, for which causes it was the more vnapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the Citie and without, seruing to coole the ambition of *Ios*, and keepe it down from aspiring to the Crown of Iuda; it appears that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Elisba* the Prophet; who when this *Ios* had smitten the ground with his arrowes thrice, told him that hee should no oftner smite the Aramites. The three victories which Israel had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probability, referred vnto the fifth, sixth and seventh yeeres

yeeres of *Ios*, after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good success, might the King of Israel haue likened himselfe to a stately Cedar, and worse could hee haue either seen the Iudaeans one hundred thousand men, or meet him in battell, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plaine by the words of *Elisba*, that after three victories, *Ios* should finde some change of fortune, and suffer losse, we must needs conclude, That the Aramite preuailed vpon him this yeere, it being the last of his Reigne. That this was so, and that the Syrians, taking aduantage of *Ios*'s absence, gaue such a blow to Israel, as the king at his returne was not able to remedie, but rather fell himself into new misfortunes, which increased the calamity, wee may evidently perceiue in that which is spoken of *Ieroboam* his sonne. For it is said, That the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Israel, and that hauing decreed to put out the name of Israel from vnder the heauen, he preferred them by the hands of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ios*. This is enough to proue, that the victorious Reigne of *Ios* was concluded with a sad catastrophe; the riches of the Temple hastning his miserie and death, as they had done with *Sesac*, *Abalia*, and *Hazeel*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Crassus*, and other sacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceiued against him, by the people of Ierusalem, and courage which they tooke to set vpon him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Country, to bid him battell in open field, and to recouer by a new charge the honor which was lost at the former encounter, or through the miseries daily brought vpon his own Countrey, by the Syrian in his absence (if not by all of these) *Ios* was driuen to lay aside all thought of winning the kingdome of Iuda, and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where he found a sad welcome, and being vtterly forsaken of his wonted prosperitie, forsook also his life in few moneths after, leauing his kingdome to *Ieroboam* the second, his fortunate and valiant sonne.

§. X.

The end of Amazia his Reigne and Life.

Any man is able to ghesse how *Amazia* looked, when the enemy had left him. Hee that had vaunted so much of his owne great prowesse and skill in Armes, threatening to worke wonders, and set vp a new the glorious Empire of *Dauid*, was now vncafed of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had beene painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had ministred vnto such, as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtlesse, were very many: for the shame that fals vpon an insolent man, seldeme failes of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazia* (besides that the multitude are alwaies prone to lay the blame vpon their Gouernours, euen of those calamities which happen by their owne default) there was no childe in all Ierusalem, but knew him to be the root of all this mischiefe. He had not onely challenged a good man of War, being himselfe a Dastard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common enemy, to haue him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes he might see what spoyle there was, and not make a bad bargain by heare-say. The father of this *Amazia*, was a beastly man; yet when the Aramites tooke him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his owne life at so dear a rate, as the Citie and Temple of Ierusalem. Had he offered, should they haue made his promise good? surely the haste which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was very vnfortunate: for by keeping out the Israelite (which was easie enough) any little while, they should soon haue been rid of him, seeing that the Aramites would haue made him run home, with greater speed than he came forth. Then also, when hauing trusted vp his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would haue serued to perswade him to leaue his load behind; had not their good K. deliuered vp hostages, to secure his returne, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this vnhappy king: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault vnto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But wee finde no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that hee continued an Idolator to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, they wrought treason against him in Ierusalem: a manifest

proofe that he was not reclaimed, vnto his liues end. And certainly, they which tell a man in his aduersity of his faults, shall sooner be thought to vpbraid him with his fortune, than to desire his reformation. Wherefore it is no maruell, that Priests and Prophets were lesse welcome to him, than ever they had been. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereof themselves might alwaies bee masters, wanted not plausible matter to reuenge him. For he was not first, nor second, of the Kings of Iuda, that had bene ouercome in battell. *David* himselfe had abandoned the Citie, leauing it, before the enemy was in sight. *Abisalom* his rebellious sonne. Many besides him had receiued losses, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Isaiah* might so easily haue bene kept out; why did their Ancestors let *Sesai* in? *Asa* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his owne hands hee emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessitie of the State. Belike those traducers would commend no actions but of dead Princes: if so, hee should rather lue to punish them, than dye to please them. Though wherein had hee given them any cause of displeasure? It was hee indeede that commanded to set open the gates to *Isaiah*, but it was the people that did it. Good seruants ought not to haue obeyed their Masters Commandements, to his disadvantage, when they saw him not master of his owne Person. As his captiuitie did acquite him from blame, of all things that hee did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune it selfe, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his losse. For had he been as hasty to dye, as others were; hee might haue escaped, as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base Multitude courage, by his Royall example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom he trusted. Vnworthy creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans words, hee commanded them to yeeld; haue neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bade them stand to it and fight like men. The best was, that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand liues were saued; the enemy hauing wisely preferred the surprise of a Lion that was Capitaine, before the chafe and slaughter of an Army of Stags that followed him.

These or the like words comforting *Amaziah*, were able to perswade him, that it was euen so indeed. And such excuses might haue serued well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But hee that was vnhwilling to ascribe vnto God the good successe foretold by a Prophet; could easily finde how to impute this late disaster, vnto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seemes that hee meant to keepe himselfe safe from her, by sitting still; for in fiftene yeeres following (so long he out-liued his honor) vve find not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government, yet vve may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred, to his owne ruine. He that suspecteth his owne worth, or other mens opinions, thinking the lesse regard is had of his person, than he beleueth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authoritie, in purchasing the name of a seuerer man. For the affected sownesse of a vaine fellow, doth many times resemble the grauity of one that is wise: and the feare vvherein they lue, which are subiect vnto oppression, carries a shew of reuerence, to him that does the wrong; at least it serues to dazle the eyes of vnderlings, keeping them from prying into the vveakenesse of such as haue iurisdiction ouer them. Thus the time, vvherein, by vvell vsing it, men might attaine to be such as they ought, they do vually mis-spend, in seeking to appeare such as they are not. This is a vain & decciueable course; procuring in stead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequence, especially vvhether an vnable spirit, being ouer-pert vwith so high authority, is too passionate in the execution of such an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amaziah* thought by extreame rigour to hold vp his reputation, vvhether did he else than strue to make the people think he hated them, vvhether of themselves they were apt enough to beleue that he did not loue them? the best was, that he had, by reuenging his fathers death, provided vvell enough for his own security: but vvhether should take vengeance (or vpon vvhom) of such a murder, vvhether in euery one had a part? Surely God himselfe, vvhether had not given commandment or leaue vnto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the blood of his Annoynted. Yet as *Amaziah*, careless of God, was carried

headlong

headlong by his owne afflictions, so his subjects, following the same ill example, without requiring what belonged vnto their duties, rose vpp against him, with such headlong fury, that being vnable to defend himselfe in Ierusalem, he was driven to forsake the Citie, and flye to Lachis, for safeguard of his life. But to purge him was the hatred conceiued against him, and so generally that neither his absence could allay the rage of it in the Capitall Citie, nor his presence in the Countrey abroad procure friends to defend his life. Questionlesse hee chose the Towne of Lachis for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected to him; yet found hee there none other fauour, than that the people did not kill him with their owne hands; for when the Conspirators (who troubled not themselves about raising an Armie for the matter) sent pursuers after him, he was abandoned to death. Lachis was the vtmost Citie of his Dominion Westward, standing somewhat without the border of Iuda; so that hee might haue made an easie escape (if he durst adventure) into the Territorie of the Philistines, or the Kingdome of Israel. Therefore may seeme that hee was detained there, where certaine it is that he found no kind of fauour: for had not the people of this Towne, added their owne treason to the general insurrection; the murderers could not at so good leisure as they did, haue carried away his body to Ierusalem, where they gaue him buriall with his fathers.

S. XI.

Of the Interregnum, or vacancie, that was in the Kingdome of Iuda, after the death of Amaziah.

It hath already beene shewed, that the Reignes of the Kings of Iuda and Israel were sometimes to bee measured by compleat yeeres, otherwhiles, by yeeres current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last yeeres of his fathers Reigne, or the foremost of his sonnes. But we are now arriued at a meere vacation, wherein the Crown of Iuda lay voyd cleauen whole yeeres: a thing not plainly set downe in Scriptures; nor yet remembred by *Iosephus*, and therefore hard to be beleued, were it not proued by necessary consequence.

Twice we finde it written, that *Amaziah*, King of Iuda, liued after the death of *Isaiah* King of Israel fiftene yeeres; whereupon it followes, that the death of *Amaziah* was about the end of fiftene yeeres compleate, which *Ieroboam* the second (who in the fiftieth yeere of *Amaziah* was made king over Israel) had reigned in Samaria. But the succession of *Azaria*, who is also called *Azaziah*, vnto his father in the Kingdome of Iuda, was cleauen yeeres later than the sixteenth of *Ieroboam*; for it is expressed, that *Azaria* began to reign in the seauen and twentieth yeere of *Ieroboam*; the sixteenth yeere of his life, being ioyned with the first of two and fiftie that he reigned. So the Interregnum of cleauen yeeres cannot be diuided, without some hard means vsed, of interpreting the Text otherwise than the letter sounds.

Yet some coniectures there are made, which tend to keepe all euen, without acknowledging any voyd time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the seuen and twentieth yeere of *Ieroboam*, wee should perhaps vnderstand the seauen and twentieth yeere of his life; or else (because the like words are no where else interpreted in the like sense) that *Azaria* was cleauen yeeres vnder age, that is, fue yeeres old, when his father died, and so his sixteenth yeere might concur with the seauen and twentieth of *Ieroboam*; or that the Text it selfe may haue suffered some wrong, by miswriting twenty seauen for seauenteene yeeres; and so, by making the seauenteenth yeere of *Ieroboam* to be newly begun, all may bee salued. These are the coniectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the first of which it may suffice, that the Author himselfe doth easily let it passe, as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that vpon euery doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be fatished in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that *Azaria* began his Reign being fue yeeres old; but then must wee adde those cleauen yeeres which passed in his minority, to the two and fiftie that followed his sixteenth yeere, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an interregnum.

But why should we be so carefull to auoide an interregnum in Iuda, seeing that the like necessity

necessity hath enforced all good Writers, to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few yeeres, in the kingdome of Israel: The space of time betwene *Ieroboams* death, and the beginning of *Zachariahs* Reigne, and such another gap found between the death of *Pekah*, and the beginning of *Hosias*, haue made it easie to be admitted into Samaria; which the consideration of things as they stood in Iuda, when *Admazias* was slaine, doth make more probable to haue happened there, yea although the necessity of computation were not so apparant.

For the publicke furie, hauing so farre extended it selfe, as vnto the destruction of the kings own person, was not likely to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redresse of those matters, which had caused it at the first to break forth into such extremity. Wee neede not therefore wonder how it came to passe, that they which already had throwne themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the Crowne from a Prince of that age, which being invested in all ornaments of Regality, is neuertheless exposed to many iniuries, proceeding from head-strong, and forgetfull subiects.

As for their coniecture, who make *Azarias* to haue bene King but one and fortie yeeres, after hee came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harshly with the Text. The best opinion were that, which giues vnto *Ieroboam* cleauen yeeres of Reigne with his Father, before hee began to reigne single in the fifteenth of *Amazias*; did it not swallow vp almost the whole reigne of *Iouis*, and extending the yeeres of those which reigned in Israel (by making such of them compleat, as were onely current) and take at the shortest the Reignes of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: euery man may follow his owne opinion, and see mine more plainly in the Chronologicall Table, drawne for these purposes:

S. XII.

Of Princes Contemporarie with *Amazias*, and more particularly of *Sardanapalus*.

THe Princes liuing with *Amazias*, and in the cleauen yeeres that followed his death, were *Iouis* and *Ieroboam* in Israel; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in Egypt; *Syllius Alladius*, and *Syllius Auctinus* in Alba; *Agamemnon* in Corinth; *Diogenes Pheredus*, and *Ariphron* in Athens; in Lacedæmon *Theodorus*, in whose time the Spartans wan from the Achæians, *Gerauthæ*, *Amyclæ*, and some other Townes.

But more notable than all these, was Assyrian *Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth yeere of *Amazias*, succeeding his father *Oerazapes* or *Amacyndaraxes*, reigned twenty yeeres, and was slaine the last of the eleuen void yeeres which fore-went the Reigne of *Azarias*. In him ended (as most agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thousand, two hundred and forty yeeres. A most luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, passing away his time among strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparell and behauiour.

In these voluptuous courses he liued an vnhappy life, knowing himselfe to be so vile, that he durst not let any man haue a sight of him; yet scene he was at length, and the sight of him was so odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who gouerned *Media* vnder him, finding meanes to behold the person of his King, was so incensed with that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans attire, & struing to counterfeit an harlot, that hee thought it a great shame to liue vnder the command of so vnworthy a creature. Purposing therefore to free himselfe and others from so base subiection, hee was much encouraged by the prediction of *Belesus* or *Belosus* a Chaldean, who told him plainly, that the Kingdome of *Sardanapalus* should fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleased with the propheticie, did promise vnto *Belosus* himself the gouernment of *Babylon*; and so concluding how to handle the businesse, one of them stirred vp the Medes, and allured the Persians into the quarrell, the other perswaded the Babylonians and Arabians to venture themselves in the same cause. These foure Nations armed forty thousand men against *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himselfe, but gathering such forces as he could, out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that would by deedes refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, answer to the manner of his retirednesse. For in three

battailles

battailles he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearful termes, that had not *Belosus* promised them constantly some vnexpected succours, they would forthwith haue broken vp their Camp. About the same time, an Armie out of *Bactria* vvas comming to assist the King; but *Arbaces* encountering it vpon the vway, perswaded so strongly by promise of liberty, that those forces ioyned themselves with his. The sudden departure of the enemy seeming to be a flight, caused *Sardanapalus* to feast his Armie, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being strengthened vwith this new supply, came vpon him by night, and forced his Campe, vvhich through ouer-great security vvas vnprepared for resistance.

This ouerthrow did so vveaken the kings heart, that leauing his vviues brother *Salammennus* to keep the field, he vvithdrew himself into the City of *Niniue*; vvhich, till new aides that hee sent for should come, hee thought easie to defend; it hauing bene prophesied, that *Niniue* should neuer be taken, till the Riuer were enemy to the Towne. Of the greatnesse and strength of *Niniue*, enough hath bene spoken in our discourse of *Ninus*. It was so vvell victualled, that *Arbaces* (hauing in two battailles ouerthrowne the Kings Armie, and slaine *Salammennus*) vvas faine to lye two vvhole yeeres before it, in hope to vwinne it by famine; vvhereof yet he saw no appearance. It seemes that he wanted Engines and skill to force those vvalls, vvvhich vvere a hundred foote high, and thicke enough for three Chariots in front to passe vpon the rampire. But that vvich he could not doe in two yeeres, the Riuer of *Tygris* did in the third: for being high swolne vvith raines, it not onely drowned a part of the city through vvvhich it ranne, but threw downe twenty furlongs of the vvall, and made a faire breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified vvith the accomplishment of the old Oracle, or seeing no meanes of resistance left, shutting vp himselfe into his Palace, vvith his vviues, eunuches, and all his treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith hee and they were together consumed. *Strabo* speaks of a monument of his, that was in *Anchiale* a Citie of *Cilicia*, wheron was found an inscription, shewing that he built that Citie and *Tharsus* vpon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eate and drink, and make merry, encouraging others, vvith verses well knowne, to a voluptuous life, by his owne example testified that his nature was more prone to sensuality, than to any vertue besee-ming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that *Arbaces*, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly he slew him vvith a dagger. But the more general consent of Writers agrees vvith this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a Greeke Writer, that liued in the Court of Persia, where the truth might best be known.

Concerning the Princes which reigned in Assyria; from the time of *Semiramis*, vnto *Sardanapalus*, though I beleue that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) busied in offensiu or else defensiu armes; yet for the most part of them I doe better trust *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith that their names were ouerpassed by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatsoeuer they did, that vvich *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath said of them is very true; Silence and Oblivion hath oppressed them.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Vzzia.

S. I.

The prosperitie of Vzzia, and of Ieroboam the second, who reigned with him in Israel. Of the Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes after the death of Ieroboam. Of Zacharia, Salum, Menahem and Pekahia.

Vzzia, who is also called *Abazia*, the sonne of *Iotham*, was made king of Iuda, when hee was sixteen yeeres old, in the seauen and twentieth yeere of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioa* king of Israel. Hee serued the God of his father *Dauid*, and had therefore good successe in all his enterprises. Hee built *Eloth*, a Towne that stood neere to the Red Sea, and restored it to Iuda. He ouercame the Philistims, of whose Townes he dismanled some, and built others in sundry parts of their Territories. Also he got the masterie ouer some parts of Arabia, and brought the Ammonites to pay him tribute. Such were the fruites of his prosperous warres, wherein (as *Iosephus* rehearseth his acts) hee began with the Philistims, and then proceeded vnto the Arabians and Ammonites. His Armie consisted of three hundred and seauen thousand men of warre, ouer which were appointed two thousand and sixe hundred Captaines. For all this multitude the king prepared *shields, and speares, and helmets*, and other Armes requisite; following therein happely a course quite opposite vnto that which some of his late predecessours had held, who thought it better policie to vse the seruice of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude, carrying forth to warre *the Princes and all the Chariots*.

2 Chr. 26. 14.

2 Chr. 26. 14.

As the victories of *Vzzia* were faire more important, than the atchieuements of all that had reigned in Iuda, since the time of *Dauid*; so were his riches and magnificent workes, equall, if not superiour to any of theirs that had beene kings betwene him and *Salomon*. For, besides that great conquests are wonne to repay the charges of Warre with triple interest, he had the skill to vse, as well as the happinesse to get. He turned his Lands to the best vse, keeping Ploughmen and Dressers of Vines, in grounds conuenient for such husbandry. In other places he had Cattell feeding; whereof hee might well keepe great store, hauing wonne so much from the Ammonites and Arabians, that had abundance of waste ground seruing for pasturage. For defence of his Cattell and Heardmen, he built Towres in the wilderness. He also digged many Cisternes or Ponds. *Iosephus* calls them Water-courses; but in such dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towres hee so commanded the water, that none could without his consent, releue themselves therewith; questionlesse he tooke the onely course, by which hee might securely hold the Lordship ouer all the Wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the vse of Trauailers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of sundry Townes among the Philistims; he repaired the wall of Ierusalem, which *Ioa* had broken downe, and fortified it with Towres, whereof some were an hundred and fifty Cubits high.

The State of Israel did neuer so flourish, as at this time, since the diuision of the twelue Tribes into two kingdomes. For as *Vzzia* preuailed in the South, so (if not more) *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioa*, king of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories against the Syrians, he wan the Royall citie of *Damascus*, and he wan *Hamath*, with all the country thereabout *from the entring of Hamath, vnto the Sea of the wilderness*, that is, (as the most expound it) vnto the vast deserts of Arabia, the end whereof was vndiscovered. So the bounds of Israel in those parts, were in time of this *Ieroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had beene in the Reigne of *Dauid*.

2 King. 14. 25.

26.

But

But it was not for the piety of *Ieroboam*, that he thrived so well; for hee was an Idolater: it was only the compassion vvhich the Lord had on Israel, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction, vvhercinto the Aramites had brought his people, vvhich caused him to alter the succession of warre, and to throw the victorious Aramites vnder the feete of those whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of *Iehu*, to vvhich God had promised the kingdom of Israel, vnto the fourth generation, was now not farre from the end; and now againe it was inuited vnto repentance, by new benefites, as it had been at the beginning. But the sinne of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Nebat*, was held so precious, that neither the Kingdom it selfe, giuen to him by God, was able to draw *Iehu* from that politike Idolatry; nor the misery falling vpon him and his posteritie, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperity of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioa*, to make him tender the honour that was due, to the onely giuer of victorie. Wherefore the promise of God, made vnto *Iehu*, that his sons, vnto the fourth generation, should sit on the throne of Israel, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gaue warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that we, who finde no particulars recorded, can hardly ghesse at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

Reg. 10. 13

When *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioa*, after a victorious reigne of one and forty yeeres, had ended his life; it seemes in all reason that *Zacharia* his sonne, should forthwith haue been admitted, to reign in his stead; the Nobilitie of that race hauing gotten such a lustre, by the immediate succession of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crown passed by election, must needs haue appeared base; and the vertue of the last king, hauing beene so great, as might well serue to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the already confirmed right of a family so rooted in possession. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twenty yeeres did passe, before *Zacharia* the sonne of *Ieroboam* was, by vniforme consent, receiued as king. The true originall causes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden Calues did stand: yet second instruments of this disturbance, are likely not to haue been wanting, vpon which, the wisdom of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is, that the Captaines of the army (who afterwards slew one another, so fast, that in fourteen yeers there reigned sixe kinges) did now by head-strong violence, rend the kingdom asunder; holding each what hee could, and either despising or hating some qualities in *Zacharia*, vntill, after many yeers, wearied with dissention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yeeld all quietly to the son of *Ieroboam*. That this Anarchie lasted almost three & twenty yeeres, we find by the difference of time, between the fiftieth yeere of *Vzzia*, which was the last of *Ieroboam* his one and fortieth (his seauen and twentieth concurring with the first of *Vzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the same *Vzzia*, in the last sixe moneths wherof *Zacharia* reigned in Samaria. There are some indeede, that by supposing *Ieroboam* to haue reigned with his father eleauen yeeres, do cut off the interregnum in Iuda (before mentioned) and by the same reason, abridge this Anarchie, that was before the reigne of *Zacharia* in Israel. Yet they leaue it twelue yeeres long: which is time sufficient to proue, that the kingdom of the ten Tribes was no lesse distempered, than as is already noted. But I chooseth rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtful coniecture, that giues to *Ieroboam* two and fifty yeeres, by adding three quarters of his fathers Reign vnto his owne, which was it selfe indeed so long, that hee may well seeme to haue begun it very young: for I do not think, that God blessed this Idolater, both with a longer reign, and with a longer life, than hee did his seruant *Dauid*.

Thus much being spoken of the time, wherein the Throne of Israel was voyde, before the reigne of *Zacharia*; little may suffice to bee said of his Reigne it selfe, which lasted but a little while. Sixe moneths onely vvas hee king; in vvhich time he declared himselfe a vvorshipper of the golden Calues; vvhich vvas enough to iustifie the iudgement of God, vvhcreby hee vvas slaine. Hee vvas the last of *Iehu*'s house, being (inclusively) the first of that line; vvhich may haue beene some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession: the propheticke hauing determined that race in the fourth generation. But (besides that Gods promise was extended vnto the vtmost) there was no warrant giuen to *Salum* or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had beene giuen to *Iehu*, for the slaughter of *Ieroboam*, and for the eradication of *Ahab*'s house.

Zacharia

Zacharia having bene fixe moneths a King, was then slaine by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, the space of a moneth in *Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I doe not finde, save onely that hee was a Traytor, and the sonne of one *Iahsh*, whereby his father got no honour. It seemes that hee was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himselfe; and now when all other Competitors were sitten downe, thought easily to prevaile against that King, in whose person the race of *Iehu* was to faile. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong party: for *Tiphah* or *Thapsa*, and the coast thereof cuen from *Tirzah*, where *Menabem* his enemy and supplanter then lay, refused to admit, as King in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* received the reward of his treason, and was slaine by *Menabem* who reigned in his place.

Menabem the sonne of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten yeeres. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane: for he not onely destroyed *Tiphah*, and all that were therein, or therabouts, but he ript vp all their women with childe, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been vsed in reuenge of *Zacharia* death, it is like that he would haue been as earnest, in procuring vnto him his Fathers Crown when it was first due. But in performing that office, there was vsed such long deliberation, that we may plainly discouer Ambition, Disdain, and other priuate passions, to haue been the causes of this beastly outrage.

In the time of *Menabem*, and (as it seemes) in the beginning of his Reigne, *Pul*, King of *Assyria*, came against the Land of *Israel*; whom this new King appeased, with a thousand talents of siluer, leuiued vpon all the substantiall men in his Countrey. With this money the *Israelite* purchased, not onely the peace of his kingdom, but his owne establishment therein: some factious man (belike) hauing either inuited *Pul* thither, or if he came vncalled, sought to vse his helpe, in deposing this ill beloued King. *Iosephus* reports of this *Menabem*, that his Reigne was no milder than his entrance. But after ten yeeres, his tyrannie ended with his life: and *Pekahia*, his Sonne, occupied his roome.

Of this *Pekahia* the storie is short: for he reigned onely two yeeres; at the end whereof, he was slaine by *Peka*, the sonne of *Remalia*, whose treason was rewarded with the Crowne of *Israel*, as, in time coming, another mans Treason against himselfe shalbe. There needs no more to be said of *Menabem*, and his sonne, save that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the sonne (as we finde in *Iosephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Assyrian* King, who first opened vnto those Northern Nations the way into *Palastina*; it will shortly follow in order of the Story, to deliuer our opinion: whether he were that *Belofus* (called also *Beleses*, and by some, *Phul Belochus*) who toynd with *Arbaces* the *Median*, against *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were some other man. At the present it is more fit that we relate the end of *Vzzia*'s life, who out-liued the happinesse wherein we left him.

§. II.

The end of *Vzzia* his Reigne and Life.

As the zeale of *Iehoiada*, that godly Priest, was the meane, to preserue the linage of *Dauid*, in the person of *Ious*; so it appeares, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Vzzia*, to bring him vp, and aduance him to the Crown of *Iuda*, when the hatred borne to his Father *Amazias*, had endangered his succession. For it is said of *Vzzia*, That he sought God in the daies of *Zacharia* (which understood the visions of God) and when as he sought the Lord, God made him prosper.

But, when hee was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for hee transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burne incense, vpon the Altar of incense. Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by meddling in the Priests office; whose power had in euery extremity been so helpfull to the kings of *Iuda*, that meere gratitude, and ciuill policie, should haue held backe *Vzzia* from incroaching therevpon; yea, though the Law of God had been silent in this case, and not forbidding it. Howsoeuer, the king forgot his duty, the Priests remembered theirs, and God forgot not to assist them. *Azaria* the high Priest interrupted the kings purpose, and gaue him to vnderstand, how little to his honour it would proue, that he tooke vpon him the office of the sonnes of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* fourescore other Priests, valiant men, but their

their valour was shewed onely in assisting the high Priest, when (according to his duty) he reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, thereto God himselfe perswaded. We finde in *Iosephus*, that the King had apparelled himselfe in Priestly habit, and that he had earned *Azarias* and his Companions, to punish them with death, vnlesse they would be quiet. *Iosephus*, indeed, enlargeth the Story, by inserting a great Earth-quake, which did reare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled foure hundredings, till it rested against another Hill, stopping vp the high wayes; and spoyling the Kings Garden in the passage. With this Earth-quake, he saith, that the rooffe of the Temple did cleaue, and that a Sunne-beame did light vpon the Kings face, which was presently infected with leprosie. All this may haue bene true; and some there are who thinke that this Earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; wherein they doe much misse reckon the times. For the Earth-quake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the dayes of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*, who dyed seuen and thirty yeeres before *Vzzia*; so that *Ieroboam* the Sonne of *Uzzia*, which supplied his Fathers place in government of the Land, should, by this accompt, haue bene then vnborne: for he was but five and twenty yeeres old, when he began to reigne as King. Therefore, thus farre only we haue assurance; that while *Vzzia* was wroth with the Priests, the leprosie rose vp in his forehead, beset the Priests. Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, and to liue in a house by himselfe, vntill he dyed; the rule ouer the Kings house; and ouer all the Land, being committed to *Iotham*, his Sonne and Successor. *Iotham* tooke not vpon himselfe the stile of a King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred; yet in a Monument apart from the rest, because hee was a Leper.

§. III.

Of the Prophets which liued in the time of *Vzzia*; and of Princes then ruling in *Egypt*, and in some other Countreies.

In the time of *Vzzia* were the first of the lesser Prophets, *Hosea*, *Iael*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, and *Ionas*. It is not indeede set downe, when *Iael* or *Obadiah* did propheticie: but if the Prophets, whose times are not expresse, ought to be ranged (according to Saint *Hieromes* rule) with the next before them; then must these two be iudged contemporary with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who liued vnder King *Vzzia*. To enquire which of these fise was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* liued, hath so painetfully bene sought, without reprehension; how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquity of these holy Prophets? It seemes to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet *Ionas*; who foretold the great victories of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; and therefore is like to haue propheticied in the dayes of *Ious*, whilst the affliction of *Israel* was exceeding bitter; the Text it selfe intimating no lesse: by which consequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whose workes are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdom of *Israel*, are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seemes, not without reason vnto some very learned, to haue belonged vnto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose dayes *Nineue* was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the rest are found expresse promises of the Messias.

In the reigne of *Vzzia* likewise it was, that *Esay*, the first of the foure great Prophets, began to see his visions. This difference of great and lesser Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they haue left written (as *S. Augustine* giues reason of the distinction) because the greater haue written larger Bookes. The Prophet *Esay* was great indeede, not onely in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobility, for their opinion is reiected, who thinke him to haue bene the sonne of *Amos* the Prophet; and the high account wherein he liued, but for the excellency, both of his stile & argument, wherein he so plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole History of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Euangelist, as a Prophet; hauing written in such wise, That (as *Hierome* saith) one would thinke he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an History of matters already past.

Bocchoris was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth yeere of his Reigne, by our computation

whereof in due place we will giue reason) was current, when *Vzzia* tooke possession of the Kingdome of *Iuda*.

After the death of *Baccharis*, *Asschis* followed in the Kingdome of *Egypt*, vnto him succeeded *Amphis*; and these two occupied that Crowne fiftie yeeres. Then *Sabaon*, an *Ethiopian*, became King of *Egypt*, and held it fiftie yeeres; whereof the ten first ranke along with the last of *Vzzia* his Reigne and life. Of these and other *Egyptian* Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affaires shall come to be intermixed with the busines of *Iuda*.

In *Athens*, the two last yeeres of *Ariphron* his twenty, the seuen and twentieth of *Thestius*, the twentieth of *Agamemnor*, and three the first of *Eschylus* his three and twenty, made euen with the two and fiftie of *Vzzia*: as likewise did in *Alba* the last seuen of *Siluius Anentius* his seuen and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Siluius Proca*, and two and twenty the first of *Siluius Amulius*. In *Media* *Arbaces* began his new Kingdome, in the first of *Vzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty yeeres, his Sonne *Sofarnus* succeeded him, and reigned thirty yeeres. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diuision of the *Assyrian* Empire, betwene him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it conuenient to vse more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great vncertainty in the Story of the *Assyrian* kings, who haue already found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

S. IIII.

Of the *Assyrian* Kings, descending from *Phul*: and whether *Phul* and *Belofus* were one person, or heads of sundry Families, that reigned a-part in *Ninene* and *Babylon*.

BY that which hath formerly bene shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparant, that the chiefe therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the rest of the Confederates did not onely submit themselves in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to be iudged by him, receiuing by his authority sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited liues. The first example of this his power, was showne vpon *Belofus* the *Babylonian*, by whose especiall aduice and helpe, *Arbaces* himselfe was become so great: Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannicall a manner, as might giue offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belofus*, he vsed the counsaile of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne grace, allowing him to hold, not onely the City and Prouince of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embezzeling whereof his life had bene endangered.

In like manner, he gaue rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Prouinces; retaining (as it appeares) onely the Soueraignty to himselfe, which to vse immoderately he did naturally abhorre. He is said, indeede, to haue excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding vnto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the City of *Ninene*, permitting the Citizens neuerthelessse to take and carry away euery one his owne goods. The other Nations that ioyned with him, as the *Persians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his side, by the allurements of liberty; which he himselfe so greatly loued, that by slackning too much the reins of his owne Soueraignty, hee did more harme to the generall estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedome, which it enioyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Countrey was pared narrower by *Salmanassar* (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom wee finde in the Scriptures to haue held some Townes of the *Medes*; and the ciuill administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deioces*, the fift of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that gouernment, by reducing them into stricter teames of obedience.

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to be such, as might in fourescore yeeres, if not sooner, both extend it selfe vnto the conquest of *Israel*, & tear away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of *Ninene*, & subuersion of the *Assyrian* Kingdome, whereof the *Medes*, vnder *Arbaces*, had the honor, who may seeme at that time to haue kept the *Assyrians* vnder their subiection, when the rest of the Prouinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who

who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Ninene*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their History is made vncertaine.

I will first therefore deliuer the opinion generally receiued, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it, I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Ioseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the iudgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or haue followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to set downe a-part the seuerall authorities & arguments of sundry men adding somewhat of weight or of clearnesse one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: to which I will do as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partiality, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancy of mine owne, but meereled by those reasons which vpon examination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though to others they may perhaps appeare weak.

That which, vntill of late, hath passed as currant, is this; That *Belofus* was the same King, who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palestina* with an Army; being called *Phul*, or *phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Ammius* his Authors with such as follow them, *Phul Belofus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skilfull Astrologer, subtile, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Assyria*: finally, that he reigned eight and forty yeeres, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglat-phalassar* his Sonne, in whose Posterity it continued some few descents, till the house of *Meredach* preuailed. The truth of this, if *Ammius* his *Metasthenes* were sufficient prooffe, could not be gainsaid: for that Author (such as he is) is preemprory herein. But, howsoeuer *Ammius* his Authors deserue to bee suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, who maintaine this Tradition, iustifie it by diuers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant vnto no History at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeede the foundation whereupon all haue built) that *Arbaces* and *Belofus* were Partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who ioyned with them, were thought well rewarded with liberty, as likewise other Captaines were with gouernements: but that any third person was so eminent, as to haue *Assyria* it selfe, the chiefe Countrey of the Empire, bestowed vpon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any History. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Assyrians* should be committed vnto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meete to trust them in their owne wals and houses. Rather it is apparant, that the destruction of *Ninene* by *Arbaces*, & the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policy, because thereby the people of that Nation might be kept downe from aspiring to recouer the Soueraignty, which else they would haue thought to belong, as of right, vnto the Seat of the Empire.

Vpon such considerations did the *Romanes*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage*, and dissolue the Corporation, or Body politike, of the Citizens of *Capua*; because those two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed ouer-dangerous, euen to Rome it selfe, that was Mistresse of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Assyrians* in three or foure yeeres had erected their Kingdome a-new, vnder one *Phul*? or what must this *Phul* haue bene (of whose desertings, or intermeddling, or indeed of whose very name, we finde no mention in the Warre against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall parts of the Empire fell, either by generall consent in diuision of the Prouinces, or by his owne power and purchase very soone after? Surely he was none other than *Belofus*, whose neer Neighbourhood gaue him opportunity (as he was wise enough to play his owne game) both to get *Assyria* to himselfe, and to empeach any other man, that should haue attempted to seize vpon it. The Prouince of *Babylon*, which *Belofus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches, and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a businesse: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and siluer that had bin in the Palace of *Ninene*. And questionlesse to restore such a City as *Ninene*, was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such meanes as *Belofus* had; which *Phul*, if he were not *Belofus*, is likely to haue wanted.

Besides all this, had *Phul* been a distinct person from *Belofus*, and Lord of *Assyria*, which

Ioseph. ant. l. 10.
cap. 12.

lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not haue beene an easie matter for him, to passe quite through another mans Kingdome with an Army, seeking booty as farre off in *Israel*: the onely action by which the name of *Phul* is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Phul* or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers haue called *Belofus*, *Belesus*, and *Belesis*, (in like manner as *Iosephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the Scriptures called neuer otherwise than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the sonne of *Astages*, and called of the *Greekes* by another name, that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this scruple utterly remoued. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border vpon *Syria* and *Palestina*: so that *Belofus* hauing settled his affaires in *Affria* towards the East and North, might with good leasure encroach vpon the Countries that lay on the other side of his Kingdome, to the South and West. He that lookes into all particulars, may finde euery one circumstance concurring, to proue that *Phul* who inuaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belofus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who ioyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was ouerthrowne, did enter into that action, meerey for the loue of *Belofus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of maine importance, to those that were to passe ouer *Euphrates* with an Army into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belofus*, that held good correspondence with them; and whose most fruitful Prouince, adioyning to their barraine quarters, might yeerely doe them inestimable pleasures; was not onely likely to haue quiet passage through their borders, but their utmost assistance: yea, it stands with good reason, that they, who loued not *Israel*, should for their owne behoofe haue giuen him intelligence, of the destruction and ciuill broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby as this *Phul* got a thousand talents, so it seemes that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heauie neighbour of *Ieroboam*, recovered their owne, setting vp a new King in *Damasco*, and clearing the coast of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wildernesse to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garrisons. Neither vvas it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations, diuided by *Euphrates*, hold together in so good termes of friendship: it was ancient consanguinity, the memory whereof was auailable to the *Syrians*, in the time of *Dauid*, when the *Aramites* beyond the Riuer came ouer willingly, to the succour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belofus* had good reason to look into those parts: what a King reigning so farre off as *Ninene*, should haue to doe in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to *Euphrates*, it vvore hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palestina*, it may be doubted, lest it should seeme to haue ill coherence with that which hath beene said of the long Anarchie that vvas in the tenne Tribes. For if the Crowne of *Israel* vvore woune by no man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that *Belofus* was either vnwilling to stirre, or vnable to take the aduantage when it was fairest, and first discovered. This might haue compelled those, vvho alone vvore not strong enough, to seeke after helpe from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belofus*, vvould be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belofus* did passe the riuer of *Euphrates*, as soon as he found likelihood of making a prosperous iourney, then may it seeme that the inter-regnum in *Israel* vvore not so long as we haue made it: for three and twenty yeers leasure vvould haue afforded better opportunity, which ought not to haue been lost.

For answer hereunto, we are to consider, what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* haue written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they preuailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deiotes* the *Medes*. Now, though it bee hold an error of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldeans*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* doe concur, that the authority of *Arbaces* did restraints the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull onely of it selfe. Now, though some haue coniectured that all *Affria* was giuen to *Belofus* (as an ouerplus, besides the Prouince of *Babylon* vvich vvore his by plaine bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deseruings; yet the opinion more commonly receiued, is, that hee did onely encroach vpon that Prouince by little and little, whilest *Arbaces* liued, and afterwards dealing inore openly, got it all himselfe. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelue yeeres betwene the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Sennacherib* his Reigne; manifest it is, that the conquest

of *Affria*, and settling of that Countrey, was worke enough to hold *Belofus* occupied, besides the restauration of *Ninene*, which alone was able to take vp all the time remaining of his Reigne, if perhaps he liued to see it finished in his owne dayes. So that this argument may rather serue to proue that *Phul* and *Belofus* were one person, forasmuch as the iourney of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made vntill *Belofus* could finde leasure; & the time of aduantage vvich *Belofus* did let slip, argued his businesse in some other quarter, namely in that Prouince of vvich *Phul* is called King. Briefely, it may be said, that he vvho conquered *Affria*, and performed somewhat vpon a Countrey so farre distant as *Palestina*, was likely to haue been, at least, named in some Historie, or, if not himselfe, yet his Countrey to haue beene spoken of for those victories: but we neither heare of *Phul*, in any prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the *Affrians*, done in those times; whereas of *Belofus*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, we finde good Record.

Surely, that great slaughter of so many thousand *Affrians*, in the quarrell of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and infortunate warre, vvich ouerwhelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the ruine & utter desolation of *Ninene*, must needs haue so weakened the state of *Affria*, that it could not in thirty yeeres space be able to inuade *Palestina*, vvich the ancient Kings, reigning in *Ninene*, had, in all their greatnesse, forborne to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Countrey, did helpe to enable *Belofus* to subdue it, vvho hauing once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (especially if he had compounded vvith the *Medes*) by the interposition of that Countrey, secure of the *Scythians*, & other war-like Nations on that side, might very well turne Southward, and try his fortune in those Kingdomes, vvhereinto ciuill dissention of the inhabitants, & the bordering enuy of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damasco*, friends and Cousins to the *Chaldeans* and *Mesopotamians*, did inuite him. For these, and the other before alleadged reasons, it may be concluded, That vvhat is said of *Phul* in the Scriptures, ought to be vnderstood of *Belofus*; euen as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artaxerxes*, and *Ahasuerus*, vvith the like, are thought, or knowne, to be meant the same, vvhom prophane Historians, by names better knowne in their owne Countreies, haue called *Nabopolassar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradiet any thing that hath beene vvritten of old, nor neede to trouble our selues and others with framing new coniectures. This in effect is that, vvich they alleadged in maintenance of the opinion commonly receiued.

Now this being once granted; other things of more importance vvill of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that vvich depends thereon) Whether *Phul* vvore *Belofus*, or some other man: the whole race of these *Affrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, vvhercin are found those famous Princes, *Nabonassar*, *Mardacempadus*, and *Nabopolassar* (famous for the Astronomical observations recorded from their times) is the maine ground of this contention. If therefore *Belofus*, or *Belesus* were that *Phul* vvich inuaded *Israel*, if he and his posterity reigned both in *Ninene* & in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Tiglat-Phul*, *Asor*, from vvhom *Salmanassar*, *Sennacherib*, and *Asarhaddon* descended; then it is manifest, that we must seeke *Nabonassar*, the *Babylonian* King, among these Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other than *Salmanassar*, vvho is knowne to haue reigned in those yeeres, vvich *Ptolemy* the Mathematician hath assigned vnto *Nabonassar*. As for *Mardach*, vvho supplanted *Asar-haddon*, manifest it is, that he and his successors vvore of another house. This is the scope and end of all his disputation.

But they that maintaine the contrary part, vvill not be satisfied with such coniectures. They lay hold vpon the conclusion, and by shaking that into peeces, hope to ouerthrow all the premisses, vpon vvich it is inferred. For (say they) if *Nabonassar* that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanassar*, or any of those other *Affrian* Kings, then is it manifest, that the races vvore distinct, and that *Phul* and *Belofus* vvore seuerall Kings. This consequence is so plaine, that it needes no confirmation: To proue that *Nabonassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanassar*, are brought such arguments as vvould stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrary. For first, *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*; and not of *Affria*. This is proued by his name; vvich is meerey *Chaldean*, vvhereas *Salman*, the first part of *Salmanassars* name, is proper to the *Affrians*.

It is likewise proued by the Astronomical obseruations, which proceeding from the Babylonians, not from the Assyrians, doe shew, that Nabonassar, from whom Ptolemy drawes that Epochæ, or account of times, was a Babylonian, and no Assyrian. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the successfull of Nabonassar, which was Mardocempadus, called in his owne language Mero-dac-ken-pad, but more briefly in Esay his propheticall, Merodach, by the former part of his name; or Merodach Baladan, the sonne of Baladan. Now if Merodach, the sonne of Baladan, King of Babel, were the sonne of Nabonassar, then was Nabonassar none other than Baladan King of Babel, and not Salmanassar King of Assyria.

Esay 39. 1.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, Nabonassar and Salmanassar, which in Greeke or Latine writing hath no difference, we are taught by Scaliger, that in the Hebrew letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of Babylonia, whereinto Salmanassar carried captiue some part of the ten Tribes, it may well be granted, that in the Prouince of Babylon, Salmanassar had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of Babylon it selfe. To conclude, Merodach began his reign ouer Babylon in the sixty yeare of Hezekia, at which time Salmanassar tooke Samaria; therefore, if Salmanassar were King of Babylon, then must we say that he and Merodach, yea & Nabonassar, were all one man. There are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer Ioseph Scaliger; vvhich not contented to follow the common opinion, founded vpon likelihood of coniectures, hath drawne his proofes from matter of more necessary inference.

Touching all that was said before of Phul Belosus, for the prouing that Phul and Belosus were not sundry Kings, Ioseph Scaliger pitties their ignorance, that haue spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painefull men he confesseth that they were, who by their diligence might haue won the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning Anniius his Authors, giuen such offence, that men refused thereupon to read their Bookes and Chronologies. A short answer.

For mine owne part, how to mer I beleue nothing that Anniius his Berofus, Metasthenes, and others of that stampe affirme, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of these good fellows alleadged in it: I haue (somewhat peradventure too often) already spoken my mind of Anniius his Authors: Neuerthelesse, I may say here againe, that where other Histories are silent, or speake not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elswhere we finde, and serueth to explaine or enlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeede are those honest and painfull men (as Scaliger tearmes them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good silly fellowes) who set downe the Assyrian Kings from Pul forwards, as Lords also of Babylon, taking Pul for Belosus, and Salmanassar for Nabonassar, such Writers as a man should bee ashamed or vnwilling to reade. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow Anniius, though disliking him in generall) Gerard Mercator, is not so slight a Chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doores, vvith the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons betweene Scaliger and Mercator; they were both of them men reasonably learned: let vs examine the arguments of Scaliger, and see whether they be of such force, as cannot either be resisted or auoided. It vvill easily bee granted, that Nabonassar was King of Babylon; that he vv as not King of Assyria, some men doubt vv whether Scaliger's reasons bee enough to proue. For though Nabonassar bee a Chaldean name, and Salmanassar an Assyrian; yet what hinders vs from beleueing, that one man in two languages might bee called by two severall names? That Astronomy flourished among the Chaldees, is not enough to proue Nabonassar either an Astrologer, or a Chaldean: So it is, that Scaliger himselfe calls them, *Prophetas nescio quos, qui Nabonassarum Astronomum suum in somnis viderunt, Prophetas nescio quos, qui in their sleepe haue* Account of Nabonassar, that he was an Astrologer.

Scal. Canon. 1. 3.

Whether Nabonassar were an Astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the negatiue. But as his being Lord ouer the Chaldeans; doth not proue him to haue bene learned in their Sciences; so doth it not proue him, not to haue bene also King of Assyria. The Emperour Charles the fift, who was borne in Gant, and Philip his Sonne, King of Spaine; and Lords of the Netherlands, had men farre more learned in all Sciences,

Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subiects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then liuing in Spaine, if Spaine at that time had any; yet I thinke, Posterity will not vse this as an argument, to proue that Spaine vv as none of theirs. It may well be, that Salmanassar or Nabonassar, did vse the Assyrian Souldiers, & Babylonian Schollers: but it seemes, that hee and his posterity, by giuing themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued, as likewise king Philip lost partly, & partly did put to a dangerous hazzard all the Netherlands, by such a course. As for the two vn-answerable arguments, (as Scaliger termes them, being me-thinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alleadged on the contrary side) one of them vvich is drawne from the vnlike sound and writing of those names, Salmanassar and Nabonassar in the Hebrew, I hold a point about which no man vvill dispute; for it is not likeness of sound, but agreement of time; and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that Salmanassar might be Lord of some places in the Prouince of Babylon, yet not king of Babylon it selfe: this indeed might be so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothing saue coniecture. But in that which is alleadged out of the Prophet Esay concerning Merodach the sonne of Baladan; and in that which is said of this Merodach, or Mardocempadus, his being the Successor of Nabonassar, and his beginning to reigne in the sixty yeare of Hezekia, I finde matter of more difficulty, than can be answered in haste. I will therefore deferre the handling of these obiections vntill I meet vvith their subiect in his proper place; vvich will bee vvhen wee come to the time of Hezekia, vvherein Merodach liued and vv as King. Yet that I may not leaue too great a scruple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre vvill I heere satisfie him; that how strong soeuer this argument may seeme, Scaliger himselfe did liue to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking Merodach to be the son of Nabonassar, he had beene deceived.

Now therefore let vs consider, in what sort they haue fashioned their Story, vvho taking Pul to bee a distinct person from Belosus or Belesitis, haue in like sort, as was necessarily, distinguished their off-spring, making that of Pul to faile in Asarhaddon, vvich left all to Merodach the Babylonian. And heere I must first confesse my vvant of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that haue gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present vnto vs the body of this History, in one view. Diuers, indeede, there are, vvhom I haue seene, that since Ioseph Scaliger deliuered his opinion, haue written in fauour of some one or other point thereof: but Seckius Caluissius himselfe, vvho hath abridged Scaliger's learned Worke, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not beene careful to giue vs notice, how long Belosus, Baladan, Pul, or Tiglat Palassars, did reigne; (perhaps because he found it not expresse in Scaliger) but is content to set downe Baladan, for the same person vvith Nabonassar, vvich Scaliger himselfe renoked. In this case therefore I must lay downe the plot of these diuided Kingdomes, in such sort as I find it continued by Augustinus Tornicius; vvho onely of all that I haue seene, sets downe the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that reigned in Assyria after Sardanapalus, distinguishing them from Belosus, and his Posterity, of vvhom hee hath the like remembrance. This Tornicius is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of S. Paul, vvho's Annales were printed the last yeare; he appeares to me a man of a curious industry; sound iudgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, vvillfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning those Protestant Writers, by vvho's Bookes hee hath receiued good information, and enriched his vvorkes by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this businesse hee hath openly professed to follow Scaliger, vvho's helpe, vvithout wrong or dishonour to himselfe, he hath both vsed and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I vvill not spare to doe right vnto Tornicius; but confesse my selfe to haue receiued benefit by his writing; and vvith that his Annales had sooner come to light, for that as he hath much confirmed mee in some things, so vvould he haue instructed and emboldned me, to write more fully and lesse timorously in other things, vvich now I haue not leisure to reuise. Particularly in that coniecture (vvich I had faintly deliuered, and yet feared lest it had ouer-hastily passed out of my hand, and bene expoled to other mens constructions) of the foure Kings that inuaded the Vally of Sadding, and were slaine by Abraham, I finde him aduenturing, as I haue done, to say, that they may probably bee thought to haue bene some petty Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let vs consider how

C. 1. 6. 13.

how he hath ordered these last *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces* being the most mighty, fought to get all to himselfe, but was opposed by *Belofus*; in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerfull man in *Affyria*, sided with *Belofus*, and they two preuailed so farre, that finally *Arbaces* was content to share the Empire with them, making such a diuision thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire, between *Othman*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*.

Another coniecture is (for *Torniellus* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainty) that *Arbaces* made himselfe Soueraigne Lord of all, and placed the seate of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Belofus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Affyria*. But in short space, that is, in foure yeeres, it came to passe, by the iust iudgement of God, to that *Phul* and *Belofus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*; and in stead of being his Vice-Royes, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this latter opinion *Torniellus* himselfe leanes, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposition, resolving to hold the later, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guesse. Having thus deuised, how *Phul* and *Belofus* might, at the first, attaine to be Kings, he orders their time, and their successors, in this manner.

Foure yeeres after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reigne, and continues eight and forty years. *Theglathafasar* (whose name, and the names of other Princes, I write diuersly, according as the Authors whom I haue in hand are pleased to diuersifie them) succeeding vnto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanassar* followed him, and reigned tenne. After him *Senacherib* reigned seuen: and when he was slaine, *Asarhaddon* his sonne ten yeeres; in vvhom that Line failed.

The same time that *Phul* tooke vpon him as King of *Affyria*, or not long after, (why not rather afore: for so it had bene more likely) *Belofus* vsurped the Kingdome of *Babylonia*, and held it threescore and eight yeeres; at the least threescore and eight yeeres did passe, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To *Nabonassar*, vvhom (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Baladan*, are assigned sixe and twenty yeeres: then two and fifty to *Aterodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: foure and twenty to *Bem Aterodach*: and lastly, one and twenty to *Nabonassar*, the father of *Nabuchodonosor*, vvhom is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the originall of these *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdomes, I may truly say, That the coniectures of other men, who giue all to *Belofus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appeare to me more needrely resembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that *Torniellus* would haue conceiued two different vvaies, by which *Phul* might haue gotten *Affyria* (for how *Belofus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could haue contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Historians. But he perceiued, that to make *Phul* on the suddain King of *Affyria*; or to giue him to noble a Prouince, as would, of it selfe, inuite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most vnlikely to haue happened, vnlesse his deserts (whereof wee finde no mention) had bene proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he deuised the meanes, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that diuided all betwene them, was vtterly forgotten by all Historians: yea, why this Diuision it selfe, and the ciuill Warres that caused it, were neuer heard of? Questionlesse, the interuening of some Treasures by *Belofus*, with his Iudgement, Condemnation; and Cardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconueniences can this way be auoyded; but that eyther we must confesse, the Dominion giuen to *Phul* to haue bene exceeding his merits; or else his merits, and name withall, to haue bene strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make vs thinke, that rather the coniecture, inferring such a sequele, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul* and *Belofus* against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Affyrians* to recouer such strength in foure yeeres, as might serue to hold out in rebellion: for *Belofus* it was needlesse to rebell, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seeke to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an ouer-great fauourer of liberty) euen the *Aedes*, that were vnder his owne Government, to doe what they listed.

But

But it is now fit that wee peruse the Catalogue of these Kings, not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their owne times) but speaking of their order and time in generall. If it be so vnlawfull to thinke, that some of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may be true, especially such as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparant likelihood; why then is it said, that *Phul* did reigne in *Affyria* eight and forty yeeres? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true, that painefull and iudicious Writers haue found this number of yeeres, to agree fitly with the course of things in History: yet all of them tooke it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annius* his forgery (as questionlesse he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probability, he be not beleeued for his owne sake; though for our owne sakes wee make vse of his boldnesse, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) wee are vnwilling our selues to be Authors of new, though not vnprofitable coniectures. Heerein we shall haue this commodity, that we may without blushing alter a little, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame vpon *Annius*, against whom wee shall be sure to finde friends that will take our part.

The reignes of *Theglathafasar* and *Salmanassar* did reach, by *Annius* his measure, to the length of five and twenty yeeres the one, and seenteene the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and seuen from the later of them, to fit (as I thinke) his own computation; vsing the liberty whereof I spake last: for that any Author, haue our good *Metasthenes*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reigne, it is more than I haue yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Asarhaddon*, *Torniellus* giues the same length of reigne, vvhich is found in *Metasthenes*. I thinke there are not many, that will arrogate so much vnto themselves, as may very well bee allowed vnto a man so iudicious as is *Torniellus*: and yet I could wish that hee had forborne to condemne the followers of *Annius*, in this businesse, wherein hee himselfe hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must haue done, almost nothing.

The like liberty we finde that he hath vsed in measuring the reignes of the *Chaldeans*; filling vp all the space betwene the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the threescore and eight yeeres of *Belofus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Belofus* might haue begun his reign somewhat later than *Phul*: for threescore and eighty yeeres would seem a long time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no yong man when he tooke possession of it. But how is any vvhie of his age abated by shortning his reigne, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a priuate man, enough for a long liue? Indeed, eight and forty yeeres had been somewhat of the most, considering that he seemes by the story to haue bene little lesse, at such time as he ioyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty yeeres, did well deserue that note (which *Torniellus* aduisedly giues) that if his reigne extended not so far, then the reigne of such as came after him, occupied the middle time, vnto *Nabonassar*.

Neither doe reprehend the boldnesse of *Torniellus*, in coniecturing, nor the modesty of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calvisius*, in forbearing to set downe as warrantable, such things as depend only vpon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from vs by Antiquity, must be described in History, as Geographers in their Maps describe those Countries, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery, that is, either by leauing some part blanke, or by inserting the Land of Pigmies, Rockes of loades, ~~None~~ with Head-lands, Bayes, great Riues, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allowes not such liberty to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remedlesse obliuion of confuning time. For it is true that the Poet saith;

— Neg, feruidis
Pars in clausa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreae finitimum latas,
Durat an, sole Nives,
Mercatores abigunt: horrida callidi
Vincent aequora Nauite.

Nor

Nor Southerne heate, nor Mortherne snow
 That freezing to the ground doth grow,
 The subiect Regions can fence,
 And keep the greedy Merchant thence:
 The subtile Shipmen way will finde,
 Storme neuer so the Seas with Winde.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called coniectures) painted in Maps, doe serue only to mis-lead such discouersers as rashly belecue them; drawing vpon the publishers, either some angry curses, or well deserved scorne; but, to keepe their owne credit, they cannot serue alwaies. To which purpose I remember a pretie iest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spanish* Gentleman, who had bene employed by his King in planting a Colony vpon the Streights of *Magellan*: for when I asked him, being then my Prisoner, some question about an Island in those Streights, which, mee thought, might haue done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprize, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters wines Island*; saying, That whilest the fellow drew that Map, his wife sitting by, desired to put in one Countrey for her; that she, in imagination, might haue an Island of her owne. But in filling vp the blankes of old Histories, wee need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time should runne backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our coniectures appeare ridiculous: What if some good Copy of an ancient Author could be found, shewing (if we haue it not already) the perfect truth of these vncertainties? would it bee more shame to haue beleueed in the meane while, *Annins* or *Tornielus*, than to haue beleueed nothing? Heere I will not say, that the credit, which wee giue to *Annins*, may chance otherwhiles to be giuen to one of those Authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Tornielus*, than *Annins*, yet him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Histories than their coniecture, as in this point it seemes to me; it hauing moreouer gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation, I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, as haue once gotten the credit of being generall, so to deale as *Pacinnus* in *Capnadid* with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senatours of the City to death. He lockt the Senatours vp within the State-houise, and offered their liues to the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, vntill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hasty; for as fast as euery name was read, all the town cryed, Let him die: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting of another, some notorious vice of the Person, or baseness of his condition, or insufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered, to be reiectet: so that finding the worse and lesse choice, the further and the more that they sought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lacke of better.

§. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

After this diuision of the *Assyrian* Empire, follows the instauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reigne of the same King *Vzzia*, and in his one and fiftieth yeere. It is, I know, the generall opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus* in the first of *Iotham*: yet is not that opinion so generall, but that Authors, weighty enough, haue giuen to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things vnto the sacred History, which are found in prophane Authors, wee should not be too carefull of drawing the *Hebrewes* to those workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of accompts, we ioyn them to matters of *Israel* and *Juda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of actiuitie, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the race by his owne foote; by which *Pythagoras* found out the stature and likely strength of *Hercules* his body. They tooke name, not from the Mountaine *Olympus*, but from the City *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, neere vnto *Elis*; where also

Iupiters

Iupiters Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of *Iupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from euery fourth yeere compleat, in the plaines of *Elis*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, neere the riuer *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many yeeres, till *Iphitus*, by aduice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Licurgus* the Law-giuer then liuing: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reigne of *Theodosius* the Emperor, according to *Cedrenus*: others thinke that they were dissolved vnder *Constantine* the Great.

From this institution, *Varro* accompted the *Grecian* times, and their stories, to be certaine: but reckoned all before either doubtfull, or fabulous: and yet *Pliny* giues little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reigne of *Cyrus*, who began in the fiftieth Olympiad, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Cassor*, *Polybius*, and others hath gathered, in whole time the seven wise *Grecians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Craesus*, and *Craesus* was ouerthrowne and taken by *Cyrus*.

Many patient and piercing braines haue laboured to finde out the certaine beginning of these Olympiads, namely, to set them in the true yeere of the World, and the reigne of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds yeare, they can hardly iump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril against *Iulian* and *Didymus*, begin the Olympiads the nine and fortieth of *Osius*, or *Acariab*.

Eusebius, who is contrary to himselfe in this reckoning, accounts with those that find the very first Olympiad in the beginning of the foure hundredth and sixth yeere after *Troy*, yet hee telleth vs, that it was in the fiftieth yeere of *Vzzia*, which is (as I finde it) two yeeres later.

Eratosthenes placeth the first Olympiad foure hundred and seuen yeeres after *Troy*, reckoning the yeeres that passed betweene; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The distance betweene the destruction of *Troy*, and the first Olympiad, is thus collected by *Eratosthenes*. From the taking of *Troy*, to the descent of *Hercules* his Posterity into *Peloponnesus*, were fourescore yeeres; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threecore yeeres, from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his gouernment in *Sparta*, one hundred fiftie nine; and thence to the first Olympiad, one hundred and eight yeeres. In this account the first yeare of the first Olympiad is not included.

But vaine labour it were, to seeke the beginning of the Olympiads, by numbring the yeeres from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date farre more vncertaine. Let it suffice, that by knowing the instauration of these games, to haue been in the foure hundredth and eight yeere current after *Troy*, wee may reckon backe to the taking of that City, setting that, and other accidents, which haue reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the Olympiads, must needs teach vs how to finde when they began.

To this good vse, we haue the ensuing yeeres, vnto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus diuided by the same *Eratosthenes*. From the beginning of the Olympiads, to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundredth fourescore and seuentene yeeres; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, eight and forty yeeres; forwards to the victory of *Lysander*, seuen and twenty; to the battaile of *Leuctra*, thirty foure; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, fiftie and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelue. The whole summe ariseth to 453. yeeres; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the Olympiads in the one & fiftieth yeere of *Vzzia*, we haue arguments grounded vpon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reigne, and the death of *Alexander*; as also vpon the Astronomically calculation of sundry Eclipses of the Sunne; as of that which happened when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his Army to inuade *Greece*; and of diuers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reigne as King, before he was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the first yeere of the fiftie and fiftieth Olympiad, and that hee reigned thirty yeeres: they who giue him but twenty nine yeeres of reigne (following *Herodotus* rather than *Tully*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, and others) begin a yeere later, which comes

all

all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good Writers, in the first year of the hundredth and fourteenth Olympiad. This later note of *Alexanders* death, forceth well to leade vs backe to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like obseruations do: For if wee reckon vpwards from the time of *Alexander*, wee shall finde all to agree with the yeeres of the Olympiads, wherein *Cyrus* began his reigne; either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to signifie a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch: From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first year of the five and fiftieth Olympiad, vnto the end of the Persian Empire, which was in the third of the hundredth and twelfth Olympiad, wee finde two hundred and thirty yeeres compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchy, vvhich lasted but seven yeeres, wee finde compleat two hundred and seven yeeres, vvhich was the continuance of the Persian Empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first year of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (vvhich was the last of the sixtieth Olympiad; and the two hundredth and fortieth yeere from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*) followed the last of the seuenth yeeres of the captivity of *Juda*, and desolation of the Land of *Israel*: manifest it is, that vve must reckon backe those seuenth yeeres, and one hundred threescore and ten yeeres more, the last vvhich passed vnder the Kings of *Juda*, to finde the first of these Olympiads; vvhich by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Vzziah*, as vve haue already noted.

The Eclipses vvhich we made mention, serue vvell to the same purpose. For examples sake; that vvhich was scene when *Xerxes* mustered his Army at *Sardis*, in the two hundredth threescore, and seuenth yeere of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the threescore and fourteenth Olympiad, leades vs back vnto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we haue a faire way through the threescore and ten yeeres, vnto the destruction of *Ierusalem*; and so vpwards through the reignes of the last Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth yeere of *Vzziah*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these Olympiads began.

To tell the great solemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running, Wrestling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they onely contend for the Mastery in those feats, whereof there was good vse, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kindes of exercises, that serued onely for ostentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable quality, to make triall of their skill. Yea the very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour of hauing plaid the best part.

The *Eleans* were Presidents of those Games; whose iustice, in pronouncing without partiality who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards giuen to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Oliue, without any other commodity following, than the reputation. Indeepe there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diagoras* had scene his three sonnes crowned for their feuerall victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere*, *Diagoras*, non enim in celum ascensus es; that is, *Die*, *Diagoras*, for thou shalt not clime up to heauen: as if there could be no greater happinesse on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like sense *Horace* speaks of these Victors, calling them,

*Quos Elea domum reducit
Palma caelestes.*

Such as like heauenly wights doe come
With an *Elean* Garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had wonne those Olympian prizes; but euen graue Historians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greekes*, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour, to haue wonne the Victory at Running or Wrestling in those games, as to haue triumphed in *Rome* for some famous victorie, or conquest of a Prouince.

That these Olympian games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and vpon the fiftieth

*Horat. Carin.
l. 4. ode. 2.*

*Tull. in Orat.
pro Cluagco.*

fiftieth day of the Moneth *Hecatombeon*, which doth answer to our *June*; and what means they vsed to make the Moneth begin with the new Moone, that the fiftieth day might be the full; I haue shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne vnto the Kings of *Juda*, & leaue the merrie *Greekes* at their games, whom I shall meet in more serious employments, when the Persian quarrells draw the bodie of this Historie into the coasts of *Ionia* and *Hellepont*.

§. VI.

Of Iotham and his Contemporaries.

Iotham the sonne of *Vzziah*, when he was five and twenty yeeres old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was anointed King in *Ierusalem*, his Father yet liuing. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of threescore cubits ypright, and therefore called *Ophel*: besides diuers Cities in the Hills of *Juda*, and in the Forests, Towers and Palaces: he enforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundredth talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thousand measures: he reigned fixe and twentie yeeres: of whom *Iosephus* giues this testimonie: *Eiusmodi vero Princeps fuit, ut nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo pie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo iuste praeferat, urbem ipsam tanta sibi cura esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut uniuersum regnum hostibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem suis inuictis atque ciuibz felix, sanctum & fortunatum sua virtute efficeret*; This was such a Prince, as a man could finde no kinde of vertue wanting in him: he worshipped God so religiously, he gouerned his men so righteously, he was so prouident for the Citie, and did so greatly amplify it, that by his vertue and prowesse he made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Seruants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happie.

This is all that I find of *Iotham*: his reigne was not long, but as happie in all things, as he himselfe was deuout and vertuous.

Anchomenes about this time succeeded *Phelesteus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magistrates, which gouerned from yeare to yeare. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Booke, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places, are of opinion, That *Corinth* was gouerned by Kings of the race of the *Bacide*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who droue them out.

Tiglathphalassar, or *Tiglathpelsezer*, the son of *Phul* the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* that was of this new race, about this time inuaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murdered his Master *Pekaiab*) was King thereof. In which Expedition he tooke most of the Cities of *Nephthali* and *Galile*, with those of *Gilead*, ouer *Jordan*, and carried the inhabitants captiue. This *Tiglath* reigned five and twenty yeeres, according to *Mesasthenes*. But *Krentzheimius* findes, that with his sonne *Salmanassar* he reigned yet two yeeres longer: which yeeres I would not ascribe to the sonne, because the *Aera* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single reigne, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulassar* himselfe, who there-with reigned 27 yeeres.

Eschylus, the sonne of *Agamemnon*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled 25 yeeres. *Alcamenes* gouerned *Sparta*: after whom, the Estate changed, according to *Ensebius*. But therein surely *Ensebius* is mistaken: for *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others witness the contrary. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and reigned 60 yeeres, and out-liued the *Messenian* warre: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the sonne of *Nicander*, his royall companion.

At this time liued *Nachum* the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the Citie of *Ninewe*; which succeeded (saith *Iosephus*) a hundred & fifteen yeeres after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were Built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sosarmus* and *Medius* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

§. VII.

Of Achaz and his Contemporaries.

Ahus, or *Achaz*, succeeded vnto *Iotham* in the seuenteenth yeere of *Pekah*, the son of *Remalia*: the same being also the last yeere of his fathers reigne, who began in the second of the same *Pekah*, and reigned 16. but not compleat yeeres. This

C c c

Ahus

2 King. 16. 11.
2 Chron. 28.

C. 7. 19. 32.

Euseb. de Prep.
Evang. l. 6.
Dion. l. 1.
Diod. l. 20.Acoft. de Hift.
nat. & mor.
Ind. 1.

2 Chron. 28. 6.

6 Chron. 28.

2 King. 16.

Ahaz was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for Baalim, and burnt his son for sacrifice before the Idoll *Molech*, or *Saturne*, which was represented by a man-like brazen bodie, bearing the head of a Calf, set vp not far from *Ierusalem*, in a Valley shadowed with Woods, called *Gebinnum*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is vied for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the car-kasse of this Idoll, and as the fire encreased, so the sacrificers, with a noyse of Cimbals and other Instruments, filled the ayre, to the end the pittifull cries of the children might not be heard: which vnnaturall, cruell, and diuellish Oblation, *Jeremie* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which *Saint Hierome* vpon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leuiticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sinne was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomie*, it is called an abomination which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations, is more from *Iudea*, diuers Authors witnesse; as *Virgil* in the second of *Æneids* — *Sanguine placatis, &c. and Siluius*, — *Pescere cadē Deos*. *Saturne* is said to haue brought this custome into *Italie*, besides the casting of many soules into the Riuer, of *Tyber*, in stead of which, *Herculus* commanded, that the waxen Images of men should be throwne in and drowned. The Deuill also taught the *Carthaginians* this kinde of butcherie, in so much, that when their Citie was besieged, and in distress, the Priest made them beleue, that because they had spared their own children, and had bought and brought vp others to be offered, that therefore *Saturne* had stirred vp, and strengthened their Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their Citie to be slaine, and offered to *Saturne* or *Satan*, to appease him: who besides these forenamed Nations, had instructed the *Rhodians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Acçenna*, of *Galatia*, with the *Massagets*, and others, in these his seruices. Further, as if he were not content to destroy the soules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, (as *Acofta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the Deuill vnder this fearefull seruitude, in which hee also holdeth the *Floridians* and *Virginians* at this day.

For the wickednesse of this King *Ahaz*, God stirred vp *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Israel* against him, who invaded *Iudea*, and besieged *Ierusalem*, but entered it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, posselt himselfe of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and cast the *Iewes* out of it; and *Pekah* slaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thousand *Iudeans*, of the abilitie of the kingdom, at which time *Manasseah*, the Sonne of *Achaz* was also slaine by *Zichri*, with *Azrikam* the Gouvernour of his house, and *Eleanath* the second person vnto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women & children, the *Israelites* led away to *Samaria*: but by the counsell of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and deliuered backe againe.

As *Israel* and *Aram* vexed *Iuda* on the North; so the *Edomites* and the *Philistines*, who euermore attended the ruine of *Iudea*, entred vpon them from the South, and tooke *Beisemes*, *Aialon*, *Gaderoth*, *Socho*, *Tinnah*, and *Gemo*, slew many people, & carried away many prisoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* saw himselfe enuironed on all sides, & that his Idols and dead gods gaue him no comfort, he sent to the *Affirian Tighlathpileser*, to desire some aide from him against the *Israelites* and *Aramites*, presenting him with the siluer and gold both of the Temple, and Kings House.

Tighlathpileser wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that rose in *Palestina*. His Father hauing lately made himselfe from a Prouinciall Lieutenant, king of *Babylon* and *Affria*, had a little before led him the way into *Iudea*, inuited by *Menahem*, king of *Israel*. Wherefore now the Son willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the aduantage. As for *Belochus* himselfe, he was content to assigne some other time for going through with this enterprize: because (as I haue said before) he was not firmly settled at home, and the *Syrian* kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But *Tighlath*, hauing now, with the treasures of *Ierusalem*, prepared his Armie, first inuaded the Territorie of *Damascus*, wanne the Citie, & killed *Rezin* the last of the race of the *Adads*, who began with *Dauid*, & ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damascus*, *Achaz* met *Tighlath*, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar, sent it to *Vriah* the Priest, commanding the like to be made at *Ierusalem*, whereon at his returne he burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the *Syrians*. In the meane while *Tighlath* posselt all *Besan*, and

and the rest beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasse*. And then passing the Riuer, he mastered the Cities of *Galilee*, inuaded *Ephraim*, and the kingdom of *Israel*, and made them his Vassals. And notwithstanding that he was inuited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the spoile of *Israel*, he posselt himselfe of the greater part of *Iuda*, and as it seemeth, inforced *Achaz* to pay him Tribute. For in the second of Kings, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he revolted from *Assur*, or rebelled against him, and therefore was inuaded by *Sennacherib*. After *Achaz* had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth yeere of his reigne he died; but was not buried in the Sepulchers of the kings of *Iuda*.

10 With *Ahaz* liued *Medirus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who gouerned 40 yeeres, saith *Eusebius*: *Diodorus* and *Ctesius* find *Anticarmus* in stead of this *Medirus*, to haue bene *Eusebius* in *Chro. Sesarum* his Successor, to whom they giue 50 yeeres.

Tighlath Pileser held the Kingdome of *Affria*, all the reigne of *Achaz*: yet so, that *Salmanassar* his Son may seeme to haue reigned with him some part of the time. For we find that *Achaz* did send vnto the Kings of *Assur* to helpe him. The *Genes* note saies, that these Kings of *Assur*, were *Tighlath Pileser*, and those Kings that were vnder his Domination. But that he or his Father had hitherto made such conquests, as might giue him the Lordship ouer other Kings, I doe neither find any Historie, nor circumstance that proueth. Wherefore I thinke that these Kings of *Assur*, were *Tighlath*, and *Salmanassar* his Son, who reigned with his Father, as hath bene said before: though how long he reigned with his Father, it had bene hard to define.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedemon*; a hundred and thirty yeeres after *Lycurgus* according to *Plutarch*. *Eusebius* makes their beginning far later, namely, in the fifteenth Olympiad. Of these *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the first; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus* being then ioynt Kings. These *Ephori*, chosen euery yeere, were controllers, as well of their Senators as of their kings, nothing being done without their aduice and consent. For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their kings, as the *Roman* Tribunes against the Consuls. In the time of *Achaz* died *Aschylus*, who had ruled in *Athenes* euery since the fiftieth yeere of *Vzzia*. *Alcamenen* the thirteenth of the *Medontide*, or Gouvernours of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) succeeded his Father *Aschylus*, and was the last of their Gouvernors: he ruled onely two yeeres. For the *Athenians* changed first from kings (after *Codrus*) to Gouvernors for life; which ending in this *Alcamenen*, they erected a Magistrate, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kinde of *Burghomaster*, or Governour of their City for ten yeeres.

This alteration *Pausanias* in his fourth Booke begins, in the first yeere of the eighth Olympiad. *Eusebius* and *Halicarnassens* in the first of the seventh Olympiad: at which time indeed, *Carops* the first of these, began his ten yeeres rule.

The kingdome of the *Latines*, gouerned about three hundred yeere by the *Sylus*, of the race of *Aeneas*, tooke end in the same *Achaz* time: the foundation of *Rome*, being laide by *Romulus* & *Remus* in the eighth yeere of the same king. *Codoman* builds it in the eleventh of *Achaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I thinke he should; others somewhat later, and in the reigne of *Ezechias*. *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others, square the time of the foundation to the third yeere of the sixth Olympiad. But *Halicarnassens*, *Solimus Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, to the first yeere of the seventh: who seeme not onely to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to haue kept herein the best accompt.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Antiquities of Italic, and foundation of Rome in
the time of Ahaz.

§. I.

Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italic.



Halicarn. l. 1.

And here to speake of the more ancient times of Italic, and what Nations possesse it before the arrivall of *Aeneas*, the place may seeme to invite vs: the rather because much fabulous matter hath bene mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. Italic before the fall of *Troy*, was knowne to the *Greekes* by diuers names: as first *Hesperia*, then *Ansonia*, the one name arising of the seate, the other of the *Ansones*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: whom *Halicarnassens* thinkes to haue bene the first, that brought a Colonie of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italic* of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speakes thus:

Est locus, Hesperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere gleba:
Oenotrij coluere viri, nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, ductu de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which *Greekes* *Hesperia* name,
Ancient, and strong, of much fertilitie:
Oenotrians held it, but we heare by fame,
That by late ages of Posteritie,
Tis from a Captaines name called *Italic*.

Halicarn. l. 1.

Iust. l. 12.

Strabo. l. 6.

Pto. l. 3. c. 5.

Who this Captaine or king may haue bin, it is very vncertaine. For *Virgil* speakes no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long vpon the whole Countrey, and worn out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the originall of this name, and the first planters of this noble Countrey, *Reineccius* hath made a very painfull search, and not improble coniecture. And first of all he grounds vpon that of *Halicarnassens*, who speakes of a Colonie which the *Eleans* did leade into *Italic*, before the name of *Italic* was giuen to it: Secondly, vpon that of *Iustine*, who saith, that *Brundisium* was a Colonie of the *Aetolians*: Thirdly, vpon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Temesa* or *Tempsa*, a Citie of the *Brutij* in *Italic*: Lastly, vpon the authoritie of *Plinie*, who shewes that the *Italians* did inhabite only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was deriued ouer all. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Aetolians*, who (as he shewes) had one originall, from them he brings the name of *Italic*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Aetolia*, saue that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greeke* words is common; and the letter (o) is changed into (a) which change is found in the name of *Aethalia* an Island neere *Italic*, peopled by the *Aetholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Aeolic* Dialect, of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Aetolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach.

Heereunto appertaines that of *Julian* the Apostata, who called the *Greekes* cousins of the *Latines*. Also the common Originall of the *Greekes* and *Latines* from *Iauan*, and the Fable of *Ianus*, whose Image had two faces, looking East and West, as *Greece* and *Italic* lay, and was stamped on *Coynes*, with a Ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Iauan*, father of the *Greekes* and *Latines*: who sailing ouer the *Ionian* Sea, that lies betwene *Aetolia* and the Westerne parts of *Greece* and *Italic*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinkes, that the names

of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applies that of *Berosus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may seeme strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilst he abode in *Italic* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproued. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kissim*, then was he the son of *Iauan*, and nephew of *Iapheth*, the eldest son of *Noah*: which antiquity far exceeds the name of *Italic*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speakes of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italic*, but calleth *Electra* & her sister *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigines*; which he would not haue done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* bene one person.

As for the authoritie of *Berosus* in this case, we need the lesse to regard it, for that *Reyneccius* himselfe, whose coniectures are more to be valued than the dreames wherewith *Annianus* hath filled *Berosus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italic* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein he would not haue said, — *Nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse ductu de nomine gentem*, had that name bene heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few yeares before the Warre of *Troy*, had left in *Italic* a Colonie of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the *Aetolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Italic* began: & seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldnesse to say, that *Italus* was Commander of these *Eleans*. For though I remember not that I haue read of any such *Greeke* as was named *Italus*; yet the name of *Aetolus* written in *Greece* *Aitolus*, was very famous among the *Aetolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being son of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Aetolian* Kingdome. Neyther is it more hard to deriue the name of *Italus* from *Aetolus*, than *Italia* from *Aetolia*. So may *Virgil*'s authoritie stand well with the collections of *Reyneccius*; the name of *Italic* being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which hee and his people were.

§. II.

Of the *Aborigines*, and other Inhabitants of *Latium*, and of the reason of the names of *Latini* and *Latium*.

In *Italic* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were most famous, the *Hetrurians* hauing held the greatest part of it vnder their subiection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all *Italic*, and in few ages whatsoeuer Nation was knowne in *Europe*: together with all the Westerne parts of *Asia*, and North of *Africke*.

The Region called *Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnassens*, *Varro*, and *Reyneccius* (following them) thinke to haue bin *Arcadians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are strained imports as much as original, or native of the place, which they possessed: which title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to haue alwaies vsurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the Moone, because indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* enforced to forsake their seats so oft as other *Greekes* were, who did dwell without that halfe Island, neyther had the *Arcadians*: so vsure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their Country was lesse fruitfull in land, mountainous, and hard of access, & they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore, hauing occupied a great part of *Latium*, & held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, stile themselves *Aborigines*, in that language, which either their new Seate, or their Neighbours there by had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians*, who dwelt somewhat far from Sea, & are alwaies noted as vnapt men to proue good Mariners, should haue bin Authors of new discoueries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not for that both fruitfulness of children, in which those ages abounded, enforced the superfluous companie to seeke another seat, & that some expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as especially that of *Euander*, into the same parts of *Italic*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelasgi*, an ancient Nation, vvho sometimes gaue name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long since dead, for lacke of good records. Neither was their glorie such in *Italie*, as could long sustaine the name of their own Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicans*, *Aufones*, *Arunci*, *Kntili*, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* vvvas brought to some ciuilitie; and he therefore canonized as a god.

See lib. 1. cap. 6.
S. 1. & seq.

Alis 7. 2. 7.
E/aj 4. 1. 5.

This *Saturne* S. *Augustine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others terme him *Stercutius*, and say, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latinus* tooke his name of *Saturne*, because he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Iupiter*, it is questionlesse a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanitie to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fledde from another; so in the truth of Historie, it is well knowne, that no King reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should be hard to find one Countie or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit. And yet, as most fables and poetical fictions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which eyther by ambiguity of speech, or some allusion, they did mainedly and darkely expresse (for so they fained a passage ouer a Riuer in Hell, because death is a passage to another life; and because this passage is hatefull, lamentable, and painfull, therefore they named the Riuer *Styx* of Hate, *Cocytus* of Lamentation, and *Acheron* of Paine: so also because men are stonie-hearted, and because the *Greek* λαοι people, and λίθες stones, are nere in sound, therefore they fained in the time of *Deucalion* stones conuerted into men, as at other times men into stones: in like manner it may be, that the originall of *Saturne* hiding himselfe, was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was ignotus *Dus*, as it is noted in the *Alis*; whence also *Esay* of the true God saies, *tu Deus abscondis te*. For it cannot be in vaine, that the word *Saturnus* should also haue this very signification, if it be deriued (as some thinke) from the *Hebrew* *Satar*, which is to hide: Howbeit I denie not but that the originall of this word, *Latinus*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

Reyneccius doth coniecture that the *Ceteans*, who descended of *Cethim*, the Son of *Iauan*, vvvere the men who gaue the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are remembered by *Homer* as aiders of the *Troians* in their Warre. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subiects to the Crowne of *Troy*, Heereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia*: viz. in agro *Elaitico*, in the *Elaitian* Territorie, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City which the *Eolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elaea*, or *Elaiia*, *Pausanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidamia*, or (according to the *Greece* writing) *Cidamis*, which name last rehearsed hath a very nere sound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greece* Letter *Dj* hauing (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to *(TH)* differing onely in the strength or weakenesse of vterance, which is found betwene many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans* being descended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the Sonne of *Iauan*, who was Pregonitor of the *Greekes*, might very well take a denomination from the Citie, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elaites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Atolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Eolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountaine *Elaeus*, the Hauen *Elaea*, the people *Elaites*, the Citie *Elaeus*, *Elaia*, and *Elaetia*; of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elatini*, from vv whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Ceteans* and *Arcadians*, had their original from *Cethim*, it is nothing vnlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might neuertheless differ in found and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriuing the *Sabines* from him) giue the name of *Sabus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that founded the Citie *Elaitia*) be named of the *Ceteans* *Latinus*. *Reyneccius* pursuing this likelihood, thinkes, that when *Eurypilus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the Sonne of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat vpon *Ange*, the daughter of *Aleus* king of *Arcadia*) was slaine by *Achilles* in the *Troian* Warre: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Eurypilus*, conduct the *Ceteans*, who (fearing what euill might befall themselves by the *Greekes*, if the affaires of *Troy* should be ill) passed into that part of *Italie*, whereas the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrus*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinkes, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among

among the *Oenotrian* *Arcadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother *Ange*, an *Arcadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*. That this name of *Elatus* may haue bin taken or imposed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Aphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were Sons of *Arcas* king of *Arcadia*, which gaue name to the Countie: and betweene these two Families the succession in that kingdome did passe, almost enterchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the *Troian* warre it fell into the hand of *Hippothens* of the race of *Elatus*, in whose Posteritie it continued vntill the last. Againe, the name of *Latinus*, hauing a deriuatiue sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the coniecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made ouer-boldly, yet others may follow it with the lesse reproofe, considering that it is not easie to find either an apparant truth, or faire probability among these disagreeing Authors, vv which haue vvritten the originals of *Latinus*.

§. III.

Of the ancient Kings of the *Latines* vntill *Aeneas* his comming.

THe kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arriual of *Aeneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Fannus* and *Latinus*. Of *Saturne* there is nothing remembred, saue what is mentioned already, and many fables of the *Greekes*, which whether they be applicable to this man, it is for him to iudge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturne* of the *Greekes*, called by them *κεκρεως*, or some other, stiled *Saturne* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he liued, may very well admint him to haue bin the same: but the names of *Stercor*, and *Stercutius* (for it may be, this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the soyle which they laid on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him seeme some other man.

Of Picus it is said, that he was a good Horse-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well seeme (as it is interpreted) to haue growne from the skill which he had in sooth-saying, or diuination, by the sight and chattering of Fowles. *Fannus*, the Son of *Picus*, reigned after his Father. He gaue to *Euander* the *Arcadian* (who hauing slaine by mischance his Father *Echermus* king of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italie*) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fanna, called *Fatma*, the sister of *Fannus*, who was also his Wife, as all Historians agree; she was held a Prophetesse, & highly commended for her chastitie, which praise in her must needs haue bin much blemished by her marriage, it selfe being meerly incestuous.

It is not mentioned that *Fannus* had by his sister any childe, neither doe we reade of any other Wife which he had, saue onely that *Virgil* giues vnto him *Latinus* as his Son, by a Nymph called *Marica*.

But who this *Marica* was, it is not found, saue onely that her aboad was about the Riuer *Lironeere* *Minturne*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted foure: one, the Son of *Fannus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Vlysses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice onely of the second, of whom he saith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cary* were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference consisting almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus*, the son of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a son of the same name. This *Latinus* hauing obtained the succession in that kingdome after *Fannus*, did promise his onely Daughter and Heire *Launina*, to *Turnus* the son of *Venilia*, who was sister to *Ange* *Latinus* his Wife.

But when *Aeneas* arriued in those parts with fifteene ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarcked according to the rate vv which *Thucydides* allowes to the Vessels then vsed, about one thousand & two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the *Troian*, and moued vvith the great reputation of *Aeneas*, vv which himselfe had heard of in the Warre of *Troy*, gaue his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*, who incensed here-

* *Ezekiel* often calls the Idols of the heathen *deos stercores*: and hence it may be that in the Euangelist we reade of *Helicub*, *Helicub*, which is interpreted *dominus stercoreus*: and it may be that after that *Saturne* became the name of an Idol, it pleased God that in a like sense this name *Stercutius* should stick vnto him. *Ancid. 7.*

Suidas in the word *Latini*.

herewith, fought to auenge himselfe by warre: which vvvas soone ended vvith his own death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certaine, that were she an *Italian*, she could not haue borne a Daughter marriageable at the arriual of *Aeneas*; vnlesse we should vvholly follow *Suidas*, and rather giue the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Son, vvho serued in the last yeare of the *Troian* Warre. But *Reynecius* holds her an *Asiatique*, and thinks withall, that *Lauinia* vvvas borne before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Italicarnassus* call her, vvvas not proper, but rather a surname, it may seeme by *Varro*; vvho calleth her *Palatia*: vvvhich name very vvell might be deriued from the *Greek* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, vvvhich signifieth beloued, or deare, was the name by vvvhich the High Priest called euery Virgin to vvvhom he tooke to serue as a Nunne of *Vesta*, vvherfore it is the more easie to be thought a surname, howsoever *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venilia* her sister.

Lauinia, the daughter of *Latinus*, being giuen in marriage to *Aeneas*, the Kingdome of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Countrey, was established in that race: wherein it continued vntill it vvvas ouer-growne by the might and greatnesse of the *Romans*.

§. IIII.

Of *Aeneas*, and of the Kings and Governours of *Alba*.



Aeneas himselfe being of the royall blood of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardaniens*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Troians*. By his vvife *Cressa*, the daughter of *Triamus*, he had a sonne called *Ascanius*; vvvhose surname vvvas *Iulus*, hauing before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) bin surnamed *Iulus*. But when *Aeneas* vvvas dead, his vvife *Lauinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great vvith child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was deliuered of a son, called thereupon *Sylvius*, & surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of *Lauinia* was so euill taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her returne, entreated her honourably, & vsing her as a Queene, did foster her young son, his halfe-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, vvvhether to auoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place, *Ascanius* leauing to his mother in law the Citie *Lauinium*, vvvhich *Aeneas* had built and called after his new vvives name, founded the Citie *Alba Longa*, & therein reigned. The time of his reigne was, according to some, eight & twentie years: *Virgil* giues him thirtie, others fise and thirtie, & eight and thirtie. After his decess, there arose contention betwene *Sylvius*, the son of *Aeneas*, and *Iulus* the sonne of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the sonne of *Lauinia*, *Iulus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, vvvhich he and his race enioyed, leauing the Kingdome to *Sylvius Posthumus*, vvvhose posteritie were afterwards called *Sylvij*.

The reigne of the *Alba* Kings, vvith the continuance of each mans reigne, I find thus set downe:

1	<i>Sylvius Posthumus</i> .	29
2	<i>Sylvius Aeneas</i> .	31
3	<i>Sylvius Latinus</i> .	50
4	<i>Sylvius Alba</i> .	39
5	<i>Sylvius Aris</i> .	26
6	<i>Sylvius Capys</i> .	28
7	<i>Sylvius Capetus</i> .	13
8	<i>Sylvius Tiberinus</i> .	8
9	<i>Sylvius Agrippa</i> .	41
10	<i>Sylvius Alladius</i> .	19
11	<i>Sylvius Auentinus</i> .	37
12	<i>Sylvius Procas</i> .	23
13	<i>Sylvius Amulius</i> .	44
	<i>Sylvius Numitor</i> .	
	<i>Ilia</i> , called also <i>Rhea</i> and <i>Sylvia</i> .	
	<i>Romulus Remus</i> .	

The

The most of these Kings liued in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Townes in the borders of *Latium*: vvho standing much vpon the honour of their originall, grew thereby to be called *Prisae Latini*. Of *Tiberinus*, some thinke that the Riuer *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* giues it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the coming of *Aeneas* into *Italy*. The Mountaine *Auentinus* had name (as many write) from *Auentinus* king of the *Albanes*: vvho was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Iulius*, the brother of *Auentinus*, is named by *Ensebius* as father of another *Iulius*, and grandfather of *Iulius Proculus*, vvho leauing *Alba*, dwelt vvith *Romulus* in *Rome*. *Numitor*, the elder son of *Procas*, was deprived of his kingdome by his brother *Amulius*; by vvhom also his son *Agesilus*, was slaine, and *Ilia* his daughter made a Nunne of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceiued two sonnes, either by her Vncle *Amulius*, as some thinke, or by *Mars*, as the Poets faine, or herhaps by some man of warre. Both the children, their Vncle commanded to be drowned, & the mother buried quicke, according to the law, vvvhich so ordained, when the Vestall Virgins brake their chastitie. vvvhether it was so, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of *Amulius*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preserued, vvho afterward reuenged the cruelty of their Vncle, vvith the slaughter of him and all his, and restored *Numitor* their grandfather to the kingdome: wherein how long he reigned, I find not; neither is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Estates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were presently eclipsed by the swift increase of *Rome*, vvpon vvvhich the computation of Time following (as farre as concerns the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the kingdome of *Alba* ceased; for *Numitor* left no male issue. *Romulus* chose rather to liue in *Rome*, and of the Line of *Sylvius* none else remained. So the *Albanes* were gouerned by Magistrates; of vvhom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Clauilius* vvho in the dayes of *Tullus Hostilius*, king of the *Romans*, making vvvaire vvpon *Rome*, dyed in the Campe; and *Metius Sufferius*, the successor of *Clauilius*, vvvhich surrendered the Estate of *Alba* vnto the *Romans*, hauing contriuted the hazzard of both Signories to the successe of three men of each side, vvho decided the quarrell by Combat: in vvvhich, the three brethren *Horatij*, the Champions of the *Romans*, preuailed against the *Curatij*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hostilius* vvith the *Alban* forces against the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) vvwithdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leaue the *Romans* to such an ouerthrow, as might make them vvveake enough for the *Albanes* to deale vvith, *Tullus*, vvvhich notwithstanding this falsehood, obtained the victorie, did reward *Metius* vvith a cruell death, causing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and so torne in pieces. Then vvvas *Alba* destroyed and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patritians*; among vvvhich vvvere the *Iulij*: of vvvhom *C. Iulius Caesar* being descended, not onely gloried in his ancient, royall, and forgotten pedigree, in full assembly of the *Romans*, then gouerned by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industrie, valour, and iudgement, obtained the Soueraignie of the *Roman* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himselfe and his posteritie; vvvhich by the name of *Aeneas*, and honour of the *Troian* and *Alban* Race, was forgiued, that seldome, if euer, any one Familie hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

§. V.

Of the beginning of *Rome*, and of *Romulus* birth and death.

OF *Rome*, vvvhich deuoured the *Alban* kingdome, I may here best shew the beginnings, vvvhich (though somewhat vncertaine) depend much vvpon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-childe of *Numitor*, the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations betwene *Euphrates* and the Ocean were broken in pieces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to be described in one place, hauing bene the worke of many Ages; vvvhich I now doe handle onely the first, as incident vnto the discourse preceding. *Quintus Fabius Pictor*, *Varro*

Strabo. l. 1. §. 1. 59. *Strabo* Cato, *Calpurnius Piso*, *Sempronius*, &c others, seeke to deriue the *Romans* from *Janus*: but *Herodotus*, *Marcellus*, and many others of equall credit, giue the *Gracians* for their ancestors: and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth Booke, *Cæcilius rerum Romanarum Scriptor* eo argumentis colligit, *Romanos à Grecis esse conditam, quod Romani Græcorum ritu, antiquo instituto, Herculi rem sacram faciunt, matrem quoque Euandri venerantur Romani*; *Cæcilius* (saith he) a *Romane Historiographus*, doth by this argument gather, that *Rome* was built by the *Greeks*, because the *Romans*, after *Greekish* fashion, by ancient ordinance doe sacrifice to *Hercules*: the *Romans* also worship the mother of *Euander*.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembreth many founders of that Citie: as *Romulus* the son of *Vlysses* and *Circe*; *Romus* the son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* sent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who draue the *Tuscans* out of that Countrey, built it. *Solinus* beflowes the honour of building *Rome* vpon *Euander*, saying, That it was before times called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* giues the denomination to a captiue Lady, brought thither by the *Gracians*: others say, That it was anciently called *Febru*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*; witnesse *Saint Augustine* in his third Booke de *Ciuitate Dei*. But *Linie* will haue it to be the worke of *Romulus*, euen from the foundation: of whom and his comforts, *Iuuenal* to a *Roman* Citizen, vaunting of their originall, answered in these Verſes:

*Attamen ut longe repetas, longeque reuoluas
Maiorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Ans pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

Yet though thou fetch thy pedigree so farre;
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepherd was, or else, that Ile forbear:
meaning, either a Shepherd, or a Theefe.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preseruation, it is said, That he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* supposed to be his father, that he was nurst by a Wolfe, found and taken away by *Faustula*, a Shepherds wife. The same vnnatural nursing had *Cyrus*, the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* saith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came couered with armour, to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to me that he might haue two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and deire of his elder brother, from whom he iniuriously held the kingdom; the other to satiate his appetite, because she was faire and goodly. For she being made a Nunne of the goddess *Vesta*, it was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chastitie. I also find in *Fauchet* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Merouée*, king of the *Franks*, was begotten by a Monster of the Sea: but *Fauchet* sayes, *Let them beleue it that list, il le croira qui vaudra*: Also of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio Africanus*, there are poetically inuentions: but to answer these imaginations in general: It is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were kings, or passions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; then did many women greatly borne, couer such slips as they made, by protesting to be forced by more than humane power: so did *Oenone* confesse to *Paris*, that she had bene rauished by *Apollo*. And *Anchises* boasted that he had knowne *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with childe by some man of of Warre, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battell, according to the sense of the time. *Oenone* was ouercome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Merouée* might fancie a Sea Captaine, to be gotten with young by such a one: as the Daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Aeneas* was a bastard, and was begotten vpon some faire Harlot, called for her beautie *Venus*, and was therefore the child of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurst by a Wolfe, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*; for the Curtesians in those dayes were called Wolfes, *que nunc* (saith *Halicarnassensis*) *honestiori vocabulo amice appellantur; which are now by an honest name called friends*. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken vp into heauen, or rather out of the world by his father *Mars*, in a great storme of thunder, and lightning: so was it said that *Aeneas* vanished away by the Riuier *Numicus*: but

but thereof *Linie* also speaketh modestly; for he rehearseth the other opinion that the storme was the furie of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking vp; and many Authors agree, that there was an vnnatural darkenesse, both at his birth and at his death, and that he might be slaine by thunder or lightning, it is not vnlikely. For the Emperour *Anastasi* was slaine with lightning; so was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* slaine with a thunder-bolt: so *Carius* the Emperour (who succeeded *Probus*) whilst he lodged with his Armie vpon the Riuier *Tygre*, was there slaine with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same kinde might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of war, & by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destinie followed most of the *Roman* Emperors) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*, who was the seuenth king after him: who when he had murdered his Father-in-law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (saith he) *Romulus* himselfe died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnassensis* end this dispute: whose words are these: *They* (saith he) *who drew neereſt to the truth, say that he was slaine by his owne Citizens; and that his cruelties in punishment of offenders, together with his arrogancie, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported, that both when his mother was rauished, whether by some man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sunne was eclipsed, and all the earth couered with darkenesse like vnto night, & that the same did happen at his death.*

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whose life historified by *Plutarch*, doth containe besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles which had soone bin forgotten, if the *Roman* greatnesse built vpon that foundation, had not giuen it memorie in all ages following, euen vnto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of bodie, patient of trauell, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the vse of wine & delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, & neglect to reuenge the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdom, that he himselfe might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned 37. yeers first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death, single, till he was slaine, as is already shewed: after which time, the Souerainty fel into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him vnknown; & more Priest-like than King-like: wherein *Rome* it selfe in her later times hath somewhat resembled this King. For hauing long bin sole Gouvernesse till *Constantinople* shared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greeke* Emperour was crushed by forraigne enemies, and the *Latines* dispoyle of Imperiall power, she fell into the subiection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the Sword, & therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driuen from luxurie to defensiuie armes; and thence hauing bin vnfortunate, at length betakes herselfe againe to the Crosier staffe.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place by occasion of the Storie of the times of king *Ahaz*, during whose reigne in *Iurie*, the foundations of this famous Citie were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezekia, and his Contemporaries.

§. I.

Of the beginning of Ezekias, and of the agreeing of Ptolomies, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, and Mardocempadus, with the historie of the Bible.



The first yeere of *Ahaz* his Reigne was confounded with the last of his father *Iotham*, so was the later end of his sixteen yeares taken vp in the three first of *Ezekias* his son. This appears by the Reigne of *Hosca*, ouer *Israel*, which began in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz* his fourteenth. But the third of *Hosca* was the first of *Ezekia*; so it followes, that *Ezekia* began to reigne in his Fathers fourteenth yeere. Like enough it is, that the third yeere of *Hosca*, the same being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almost spent when *Ezekia* began, and

to the fifteenth yeere of *Ahaz* may haue beene concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezekia*.

By supposing that *Hosea* began his kingdom, when the twelfth yeere of *Ahaz* was almost compleat, some would find the meanes how to dis-ioyne the first of *Ezekia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one yeare later, of which yeare, *Ahaz* may perhaps haue liued not many dayes. But seeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth yeeres of *Ezekia*, may not be remoued out of their places, it is vaine labour to alter the first yeere.

1 Kin. 18. 35.

In the fourteenth yeere of *Ezekia*, *Senacherib*, invading *Iuda* and the Countries adioyning, lost his Armie by a miraculous stroake from Heauen, fled home, and was slaine. The yeare following it was that God added fiftene yeares to the life of *Ezekia*, when he had already reigned foureteen of his nine and twenty: and the same yeere was that miracle seene of the Sunnes going backe; of which wonder (as I heare) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for skill in Astronomie, hath by calculation found the very day which answered vnto the twenty first of *April*, in the *Indian* yeare, being then *Thursday*. I haue not seene any workes of *Scultet*; but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some record of obseruation made at such a time. Howsoever it be, the fifteenth yeere of *Ezekia* agreed vpon, and therefore we may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is vsuall in like cases, that *Ahaz* slept with his Fathers, and *Ezekia* his Sonne reigned in his stead, it doth no more proue that *Ezekia* reigned not with his Father, than the like saying doth inferre the like at the death of *Iehosaphat*, and succession of *Iehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to reigne whilest his Father liued, wee haue already said enough.

2 Chron. 28. 27.

Of this godly king *Ezekias*, we find, that his very beginning testified his deuotion and zeale. For whether it were so, that his vnfortunate and vngacious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gaue way to his Sons proceedings, which perhapp it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the first yeare and first moneth of his reigne, wherein *Ezekias* opened the doores of the Temple, were to be vnderstood as the beginning of his sole gouernment; we plainly find it to haue beene his first worke, that he opened the doores of the house of the Lord, which *Ahaz* had shut vp, cleansed the Citie and kingdom of the Idols, restored the Priests to their offices & estates, commanded the Sacrifices to be offered which had bin for many yeares neglected, & brake down the brazen Serpent of *Moses*, because the people burnt incense before it, & he called it *Nehushtan*, which signifieth a lump of brasse. He did also celebrate the Passe-over with great magnificence, inuiting thereunto the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes: many there were, euen out of those Tribes, that came vp to *Ierusalem*, to this feast. But the generall multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of *Ezekia* to scorne.

2 Chron. 29. 3.

2 Chron. 30.

2 Kin. 18.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memoriall of their deliuerance out of the *Egyptian* seruitude, fell into a new seruitude, out of which they neuer were deliuered. For in the fourth of *Ezekia* his reigne, *Salmanassar* the Son of *Tiglath* the Son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hosea* King of *Israel* had practised with *Soe* King of *Egypt*, against him, invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samaria*, and in the third yeare (after the inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Affria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias*, & his Son of the same name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Nineue*, in whose Seates and Places the *Affrians* sent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, besides *Babylonians*: whose Places and Nations I haue formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

These later *Affrian* Kings, and the *Persians*, which followed them, are the first, of whom we find mention made both in Prophane, & Sacred bookes. These therefore serue most aptly to ioyne the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets haue written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and described in course of History. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we find in the Bible the same names by which other Authors haue recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmanassar*, with other *Affrian*, *Chaldean* Kings, diuersity of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures do speake of *Salmanassar*, King of *Affur*, who reigned in the time of *Ahaz* and *Ezekia*, kings of *Iuda*, and of *Hosea* king of *Israel*, whom he carried into captiuitie: and whereas *Prolemie* makes

mention

mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he liued; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it be shewed of *Nabuchadnezzar*, that he was the same, whom *Prolemie* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Isaheolerus* hath well collected sufficient prooffe from the exact calculations of sundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appeares, that betwene *Nabonassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed seuen hundred forty and sixe yeares: at which distance of time the reigne of *Salmanassar* was. One great prooffe hereof is this, which the same *Isaheolerus* alleadgeth out of *Erasmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Prolemie*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who sent Embassadors to *Hezekia* King of *Iuda*. So that if we reckon backwards, to the difference of time, betwene *Merodach* and *Salmanassar*, we shall finde it the same which is betwene *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonassar*. Likewise *Fuadus* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samaria*, to the destruction of *Ierusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirty and three yeares: the selfe-same distance of time is found in *Prolemie*, betwene *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For, whereas *Prolemie* seemes to differ from this accompt, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and forty yeares, than the destruction of *Ierusalem*, we are to vnderstand that he tooke *Samaris* in the eighth yeare of his reigne; so that the seuen foregoing yoares added to these one hundred thirty and three, make the accompts of the Scriptures fall euen with that of *Prolemie*. *Prolemies* computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twenty and seuen yeares. Now if we adde to these one hundred twenty seuen, the thirteene ensuing of *Nabuchadnezzars* yeare, before the City and Temple were destroyed, we haue the summe of one hundred and forty yeares. In so plaine a case no more prooffes are needefull, though many are brought, of which this may serue for all, that *Prolemie* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar* one hundred twenty and two yeares, after the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in accompt of times I hold more sure than the authority of any History; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall obseruations doe so thoroughly concur.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest vnanswered, whereby he proueth *Baladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to haue beene this *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to lose a word or two in giuing the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next obseruations of the heavenly Bodies, which *Prolemie* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the reigne of *Mardocempadus*; the second yeare of whose reigne, is according to *Prolemie*, concurrent in part with the twenty seuen of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, being in the second yeare of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twenty seuen yeares, seuentene dayes, and cleauen houres: the accompt from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high-noon the first day of the *Egyptian* Moneth *Thot*, then answering to the twenty six of *February*; and this Eclipse being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; so that the difference of time betwene the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Prolemie*, according to the *Egyptian* yeares. But how does this proue, that *Mardocempadus* or *Merodach*, was the Sonne of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it proue, that he was his next Successour, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to satisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himselfe did afterwards beleue *Mardocempadus* to haue beene rather the Nephew than the Sonne of *Baladan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if hee might be either the Nephew, or the Sonne, he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Countre-man *Lidyat* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who followes *Scaliger* therein, and *Sethus Calvisius*, who hath drawne into forme of Cronology, that learned worke, *De Emendatione Temporum*, doe hold vp the same assertion, consoliding *Baladan* with *Nabonassar*: I haue taken the paines to search, as farre as my leifure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might proue the Kindred or Succession of these two. Yet

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cannot I finde in the Almagest (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or aduerse to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this businesse) any sentence more neerely prouing the succession of *Merodach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was father to the other, than (that I may vse a like example) the as neere succession of *William the Conqueror*, declares him, to haue been Son, or Grand-child to *Edward the Confessor*. This considered, we may safely goe on with our account from *Nabonassar*, taking him for *Salmanassar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be driuen from our Booke, when they find something in it, agreeing with *Annius*, forasmuch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in Babylon and Assyria, in those very times which by *Diodorus* and *Holotius* are assigned to *Belosus*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the rest: no good Historic naming any others, that reigned there in those ages; and all Astronomical observations, fitly concurring with the yeares that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

§. II.

Of the danger and deliuerance of Iudea from Sennacherib.

When *Salmanassar* was dead, and his son *Sennacherib* in possession of the Empire in the fourteenth yeare of *Ezekias*, he demanded of him such Tribute as was agreed on, at such time as *Tiglath*, the Grand-father of *Sennacherib*, and Father of *Salmanassar*, inuited by *Ahas*, inuaded *Rezin* King of Damascus, and deliuered him from the dangerous Warre which Israel had vnderaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when *Ezekias* denied, *Sennacherib*, hauing (as it seemes) a purpose to inuade Egypt, sent one part of his Army to lye before Ierusalem. Now though *Ezekias* (fearing this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of siluer, and thirty talents of gold: wherewith he presented *Sennacherib*, now set down before Lachis in Iudæa; yet vnder the colour of better assurance, and to force the King of Iudæa to deliuer hostages, the Assyrian enuironed Ierusalem with a grosse Army, and hauing his sword in his hand, thought it the fittest time to write his owne conditions.

Ezekias directed his three great Counsellors, to parly with *Rabfacer*, ouer the Wall, and to receiue his demands: who vsed three principall arguments to perswade the people to yeele themselves to his Master *Sennacherib*. For though the Chancellor, Steward, and Secretary, sent by *Ezekias*, desired *Rabfacer* to speake vnto them in the Syrian tongue, & not in the Iewish, yet he with a louder voyce directed his speech to the multitude in their own language. And for the first, hee made them know, That if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a short time, be inforced to eate their own dung, and drinke their owne vrine: Secondly, he altogether disabled the King of Egypt, from whom the Iudæans hoped for succour; and compared him to a broken staffe, on which whosoeuer leaneeth, pierceth his own hand: Thirdly, that the gods who should helpe them, *Ezekias* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brasen Serpent, which had bene preferred euer since *Moses* time: and withall hee bade them remember the gods of other Nations, whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and throwne downe; and for God himselfe, in whom they trusted, hee perswaded them by no meanes to relye on him, for hee would deceiue them. But finding the people silent (for so the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had vnderstood that the King of Arabia was marching on with a powerfull Army, hee himselfe left the Assyrian forces in charge to others, and sought *Sennacherib*, at Libna in Iudæa, either to informe him of their resolution in Ierusalem, or to conferre with him concerning the Army of *Tarhaca* the Arabian. Soone vpon this there came letters from *Sennacherib* to *Ezekias*, whom hee partly aduised, and partly threatened to submit himselfe: vsing the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerfull God, as before. But *Ezekias* sending those Counsellors to the Prophet *Esay*, which had lately been sent to *Rabfacer*, receiued from him comfort, and assurance, that this heathen Idolater should not preuaile; against whom the King also besought aide from Almighty God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of *Sennacherib*'s letter, before the

Altar

Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true. That the King of Assyria had destroyed the Nations and their Land, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the workes of mens hands, euen wood and stone, &c.

The reason that moued *Sennacherib* to desire to possess himselfe in haste of Ierusalem, was, that he might therein haue retrained his Armie, which was departed as it seemeth from the siege of Pelusium in Egypt, for feare of *Terhaca*: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprise (which in these bookes of the Kings, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paralipomenon*, speake but of the affairs of the Iewes in effect) yet the ancient *Berosus*, and out of him *Iosephus*, and Saint *Hierome*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Sennacherib* King of Arabia & Assyria: which he might iustly doe, because *Tiglath* his grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekah* King of Israel: as *Gilead* ouer Iordan, and the rest of Arabia Petraea adioyning: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Sethon* King of Egypt, to bee *Paleans* Priest; and reporteth that the reason of *Sennacherib*'s return from Pelusium in Egypt, which he also besieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in sunder the Bow-strings of his Archers; and spoyled the rest of their weapons in that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Tarhaca*, remembered by *Iosephus* and *Berosus*, was the more vrgent. Saint *Hierome* vpon the seauen and thirtieth of *Esay*, out of the same *Berosus*, as also in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Iosephus* citeth somewhat otherwise than his words lye, reports *Sennacherib*'s retrain in these words.

*Pugnasse autem Sennacherib Regem Assyriorum contra Aegyptios, & obsidisse Pelusium, iamque eorum in his aggeribus urbis capiende, venisse Taracham Regem Aethiopum in auxilium, & emanasse iuxta Ierusalem, centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Assyri pestilentia corripisse, narrat Herodotus: & plenissime Berosus Chaldaica scriptor Historiae, quorum fides de proprijs libris petanda est; That Sennacherib King of the Assyrians fought against the Aethiopians, and besieged Pelusium, and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the Citie, Tarhacas King of the Ethiopians came to helpe them, and that in one night, neere Ierusalem, one hundred eighty five thousand of the Assyrian Armie perished by pestilence, of these things (saith Hierome) * Herodotus reports: and more at large Berosus a writer of Chaldaean Storie, whose credit is to be taken from their owne Bookes. Out of *Esay* it is gathered, that this destruction of the Assyrian Army vvas in this manner: Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noyse, a whirlwind and a tempest, and a flame of deuouring fire. But *Iosephus* hath it more largely out of the same *Berosus*, an authority (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted; *Sennacherib* autem ab Aegyptiaco bello reuertens, ostendit ibi exercitum, quem sub Rabfacis imperio reliquerat peste diminutus immixta deletum, primâ nocte posteaquam urbem oppugnare coeperat, absumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum octoginta quinque millibus Militum; quacumque sceritus, & de reliquis copijs sollicitus, maximis timoribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam quae Ninus dicitur. Ibi paulo post per insidias Seniorum è filiis suis, Adramelech, & Seleninari, vitam amisit: occisus in ipso Templo quod dicitur Arascei; quem praecipuo cultu dignabatur, quibus ob patricidii à popularibus pulsus & in Armeniam fugientibus, Asaracoldas minor filius in Regnum successit; Sennacherib (saith Iosephus) returning from the Egyptian Warre, found there his Armie, which hee had left vnder the command of *Rabfacer*, destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that hee had begunne to assault the Towne: one hundred fourescore and five thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with their Chieftaines and Coronels. With which destruction being terrified, and withall affraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, hee made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Citie, which is called *Ninus*, where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sonnes, *Adramelech* and *Selenar* or *Sharezer*, hee lost his life in the Temple dedicated to *Arasces*, or *Nesroth*: whom hee especially worshipped. These his Sonnes being for their parricide chased away by the people: and flying into Armenia, *Asaracoldas* his younger Sonne succeeded in the Kingdome. Who in the beginning of his reigne sent new troupes out of Assyria and Samaria, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his Grand-father *Salmanassar*. What this *Nesroth* was, it is vncertaine: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certaine, that *Venus Frania* vvas worshipped by the Assyrians; and so was *Iupiter Belus*, as *Dion*, *Ensebins*, and *Cyrrillus* witness. Many fancies there are, what cause his sonnes had to murder him; but the*

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most likely it is, that hee had formerly dis-inherited those two, and conferred the Empire on *Assarhaddon*. *Tobit* tells vs, that it was fifty five dayes after *Sennacherib*s return, ere hee was murdered by his sonnes; during which time hee slew great numbers of the Israelites in Nineue, till the most iust God turned the sword against his owne brest.

S. III.

Of Ezekias his sickness and recovery; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated him.

A King 10.

After this marvellous deliery, *Ezekias* sickned, and was told by *Isaiab*, that hee must dye: but after hee had besought God with teares for his deliery, *Isaiab*, as hee was going from him, returned againe, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recovery after three dayes, and a prolongation of life for fiftene yeares. But *Ezekias* somewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth a signe to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiab*, the shadow of the Sunne cast it selfe the contrary way, and went backe tenne degrees, vpon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cause that moued *Ezekias* to lament (saith Saint *Hierome*) was, because he had as yet no sonne, and then in despair that the Messias should come out of the house of *David*, or at least of his Seede. His disease seemeth to be the pestilence, by the medicine giuen him by the Prophet, to wit, a masse of Figges, layed to the Botchor Sore.

Ezek 39.

This wonder when the Wife-men of Chaldaea had told to *Merodach*, King of Babylon, the first of that house, he sent to *Ezekias*, to be informed of the cause: at which time *Ezekias* shewed him all the Treasure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdom: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Isaiab*, vwho told him; *The treasures are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and whatsoever thy Fathers haue layed up in store to this day, shall bee carried into Babel; nothing shall be left, saith the Lord*. It may so seeme strange, how *Ezekias* should haue got any treasure worth the shewing: for *Sennacherib* had robbed him of all, the yeare before. But the spoyle of the same *Senacherib* his Campe repayed all with aduantage, and made *Ezekias* richer vpon the suddaine than euer he had been: which vnexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time *Ezekias* had rest, and spending without noyse that addition which God had made vnto his life; he dyed hauing reigned nine and twenty years. One onely offensive Warre hee made, vvhich was against the Philistims with good successe. Among his other acts (shortly remembred in *Ecclesiasticus*) he deuised to bring water to Ierusalem.

Ecclesi 48.

In two respects they say that he offended God: the one, that he reioyced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemy; the other, that he so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moued *Ezekias* (speaking humanely) to entertaine the Embassadors of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recovery of his health; as also in that *Merodach* had weakened the house of *Senacherib*, his fearefull enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant vnder *Senacherib* in Babylon, vsurped that State himselfe, in the last yeare of that King, and held it by strong hand against his son *Assarhaddon*; who was not only simple, but impaired in strength, by the molestation of his brothers. This aduantage *Merodach* espied, and remembring, that their ancestor *Phul Belochus* had set his own Master *Sardanapalus* besides the cushion, thought it as lawfull for himselfe to take the opportunity which this Kings weakenesse did offer, as it had been for *Belochus* to make vse of the others wickednesse: and so, finding himselfe beloued of the Babylonians, and sufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazzard, and preuailed. The assertion of this history is made by the same arguments that were vsed in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here again rehearse. So of this new race, which cut a-sunder the Line of *Ninus*, there were only five Kings.

Phul

<i>Phul Belochus.</i>	} who reigned	} yeeres.
<i>Tiglath Philassar.</i>		
<i>Salmanassar.</i>		
<i>Senacherib.</i>		
<i>Assarhaddon.</i>		
		48 27 10 7 10

But forasmuch as the last yeere of *Salmanassar* was also the first of *Senacherib* his son, we reckon the time, wherein the house of *Phul* held the Assyrian Kingdom, to haue bin an hundred and one yeeres, of which, the last five and twenty were spent with *Ezechias*, vnder *Salmanassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Assarhaddon*.

S. IIII.

The Kings that were in Media during the reigne of Ezechia: Of the difference found between sundry Authors, in rehearsing the Median Kings. Other contemporaries of Ezechia: of Candaules, Gyges, and the Kings descended from Hercules.

In the time of *Ezechia*, *Medius*, and after him *Cardiceus*, reigned in Media. Whether it were so, that variety of names, by which these Kings were called in severall Histories, hath caused them to seeme more than indeede they were; or whether the sons reigning with the fathers, haue caused not only the names of Kings, but the length of Time, wherein they gouerned Media, to exceede the due proportion: or whether the Copies themselves, of *Ctesius* and *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, haue been faulty, as neither of these two Authors is ouer-highly commended of trustinesse: so it is, that the names, number, and length of reigne, are all very diuersly reported of these Median Kings, that follow *Arbaces*: therefore it neede not seeme strange, that I reckon *Medius* and *Cardiceus* as contemporaries with *Ezechia*. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those Writers that vary from *Eusebius*, is more than I dare vndertake. I will only here set down the roll of Kings that reigned in Media, accordingly as sundry Authors haue deliuered it.

Annius his *Metasthenes* orders them and their reignes thus:

<i>Arbaces.</i>	} who reigned	} yeeres.
<i>Mandanes.</i>		
<i>Sofarmon.</i>		
<i>Articarmin.</i>		
<i>Arbianes.</i>		
<i>Artaus.</i>		
<i>Artines.</i>		
<i>Astybarus</i> , with his sonne <i>Apanda</i>		
<i>Apanda</i> alone.		
<i>Darius</i> with <i>Cyrus</i>		
		28 50 30 50 22 40 22 20 30 36

Diodorus Siculus following *Ctesius* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metasthenes* follow *Diodorus*, with some little variation, that he might not seeme a borrower) placeth them thus.

<i>Arbaces.</i>	} who reigned	} yeeres.
<i>Mandanes.</i>		
<i>Sofarmus.</i>		
<i>Articus.</i>		
<i>Arbianes.</i>		
<i>Arseus.</i>		
<i>Artines.</i>		
<i>Artabanns.</i>		
		28 50 30 50 22 40 22 40

Astybara. } the continuance of these two he doth not mention.
Astyages.

Mercator hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with *Eusebius*. But forasmuch as it seemes to me an impossible matter, to attaine vnto the truth of these forgotten times, by coniectures founded vpon

Cresus and *Metasthenes*, I will lay the burden vpon *Eusebius*, who liued in an age better furnished than ours, with bookes of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I haue reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medius* and *Cardicus*, are found in *Eusebius*: for whether *Cardicus* were *Diodorus* his *Arbians*, I will not stay to search. The Kings of Media, according to *Eusebius*, reigned in this order.

<i>Arbaces.</i>	28	} reigned	} yeeres.
<i>Sofarmus.</i>	30		
<i>Medius.</i>	40		
<i>Cardicus.</i>	15		
<i>Deioces.</i>	54		
<i>Phraortes.</i>	24		
<i>Cyaxares.</i>	32		
<i>Assyages.</i>	38		

These names, and this course of succession I retaine; but adde vnto these, *Cyaxares* the son of *Assyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and sometimes follow *Herodorus*, in setting down the length of a Kings reigne, otherwise than *Eusebius* hath it: of which variations, I will render my reasons in due place.

The twentie nine yeeres of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the foure first that were chosen Governors of Athens for ten yeeres, that is, of *Charops*, *Asimedes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the first of these I heare nothing, saue that Rome was built in his first yeere; of which perhaps himself did not heare. Of the second and third I find only the names. The fourth made himself known by a strange example of iustice, or rather of cruelty, that he shewed vpon his own Daughter. For he finding that she had offended in vnchastity, caused her to be lockt vp with an Horse, giuing to neither of them any foode: so the Horse, constrained by hunger, deuoured the unhappy Woman.

In Rome, the first King, and founder of that Citie *Romulus*, did reigne both before, and somewhat after *Ezekia*.

In Lydia, *Candaules* the last King, ruled in the same age.

This Region was first called *Mæonia*. *Lyds* the son of *Atys* reigning in it, gaue the name of Lydia, if we beleue such authority as we find. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred vpon *Argon*, who came of *Alcæus* the son of *Hercules*, by *Iardana*, a bond-woman. The race of these *Heraclidæ* continued reigning fifty five yeeres (in which two and twenty Generations passed) the son continually succeeding the father. *Candaules* the son of *Myrsus* was the last of his race, who doated so much vpon the beauty of his owne wife, that he could not be content to enioy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges*, the son of *Dascylus*, to behold her naked body, & placed the vnwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the Queen perceiued *Gyges* at his going forth, and vnderstanding the matter, took it in such high disdain, that she forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treason. So *Gyges* being brought againe into the same chamber by the Queen, slew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of Lydia. He reigned thirty eight yeeres, beginning in the last of *Ezekia*, one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his son *Ardis* reigned nine & forty years; then *Sadyattes*, twelue; *Haliattes*, fifty seuen; and finally *Crasus*, the son of *Haliattes*, fourteen years: who lost the Kingdome, and was taken by *Cyrus* of Persia.

And hereby the way we may note, that as the Lydian Kings, whom *Crasus* his Progenitor dispossest, are deduced from *Hercules*, so of the same *Hercules* there sprang many other Kings, which gouerned severall Countries very long; as in Asia, the Myrians; in Greece, the Lacedæmonians, Messenians, Rhodians, Corinthians, & Argiues; and from the Argiues, the Macedonians; as likewise from the Corinthians, the Syracusanes: besides many great and famous, though private, Families.

But of the *Heraclidæ* that reigned in Lydia, I haue not troubled my self to take notice in the time of their severall reignes: for little is found of them, beside the bare names, & the folly of this last king *Candaules*.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, betweene the deliuerance of Israel from thence, and the reigne of Ezekiah in Iuda, when Egypt and Iuda made a league against the Assyrians.

S. I.

That many names of Egyptian Kings, found in Historic, are like to haue belonged onely to Viceroyes. An example prouing this out of William of Tyre his History of the holy Warre.



He emulation & quarrels arising in these times, between the mighty Kingdomes of Egypt and Assyria, do require our paines, in collecting the most memorable things in Egypt, and setting downe briefly the state of that Country, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with Assyria for the Mætrie. Of *Cham* the son of *Noah*, vvhio first planted that Country, and of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings, that reigned there, vntill the Israelites were thence deliuered; more hath been said already than I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to saile in such coniectures. That which I haue deliuered, in speaking mine opinion of the Egyptian Dynasties, must here againe helpe me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are said to haue reigned in Egypt, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, such as *Ioseph* was, and such as were the Soldanes in later ages. Therefore I will not only forbear to seeke after those, whom *Herodorus* and *Diodorus* haue reckoned vp, from the mouthes of Egyptian Priests, deliueing them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will saue the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the yeeres of their reignes, and other circumstances prouing them to haue been Kings in deed, being not recorded.

But that I may not seeme before hand, to lay an imaginary ground, wherupon after I may build what I list; it were not amisse, to giue vnto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparrant reason, and truth of History doth afford. First therefore, we ought not to beleue those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests haue reckoned vp, to magnifie their Antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham*, our Saniour Christ was removed onely forty two descents; which makes it euident, that in farre shorter time namely before the Persian Empire, there could not haue passed away twice as many successions in Egypt: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, haue reigned longer than forty years. It followes that we should square the number of the Egyptian Kings in some euen proportion, to those which did beare rule in other Countries. As for the rest, whose names wee finde scattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to reade the nineteenth booke of the holy War, written by *William* Archbishop of Tyre, may easily perswade himselfe, that it is not hard to finde names enow, of such as might be thought to haue reigned in Egypt, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose for the pleasure and information of such, as will not trouble themselves with turning ouer many Authors.

When *Elahdech* the Caliph ruled in Egypt, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a subtil man, made himselfe Soldan, by force and cunning, chasing away *Samar* an Arabian, who was Soldan before and after him. This *Dargan* ministred matter of quarrel to *Amalick* king of Ierusalem; and sustained, with little losse, an inuasion, which *Amalick* made vpon Egypt. Hereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that *Samar* the former Soldan hoped to make his party good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter Egypt.

Briefly,

Briefly, *Sanar* sueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damasco*, for aide, who sends an Army of his Turkes, vnder the command of *Syrac*, against the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The victorie was *Dargan*'s; but hee enioyed it not: for in few daies after, he was slaine by treason, whereby *Sanar* did recouer his Dignitie: which to establish, he slew all the kindred and Friends of *Dargan*, that he could finde in the great City of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the *Caliph Elhadach* gaue little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them liued, and had the administration of the Kingdome, whilest he might haue the profit of it, and enioy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would thinke) do neerly touch the *Caliph* himselfe. *Syrac* with his Turkes, whom *Sanar* had gotten to come into Egypt, will not now be intreated there to leaue him, and quietly go their way home. They feize vpon the Town of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arriual of more company from *Damasco*, for the conquest of all Egypt. The *Soldan* perceiues their intent, and findes himselfe not strong enough to expell them; much lesse to repell the Turkish Army, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends Messengers to King *Almaricke* of *Ierusalem*, whom with large promises, he gets to bring him aide, and so driues out the Turkes. Of all this trouble, the great *Caliph* heares nothing, or not so much, as should make him looke to the playing of his own game.

A greater mischiefe ariseth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadach* particularly, in his owne Title. *Syrac*, Captaine of the Turkes that had been in Egypt, goes to the *Caliph* of *Baldach* (vvhich was opposite to him of Egypt, each of them claiming as heire to *Mahomet* that false Prophet, the Soueraignty ouer all that were of the Saracen Law) and tels him the weakenesse of the Egyptian, with his own abilitie of doing seruice in those parts, offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all Egypt, vvvith the Western parts, vnder the subiection of the Babylonian. This motion is readily and ioyfully entertained; all the Eastern Prouinces are vp in Armes; and *Syrac*, with a mighty power, descendeth into Egypt. The noyse of this great expedition so affrighteth King *Almaricke*, that vvvith all his forces he hasteth into Egypt: well knowing how neerely it concerned him and his Kingdome of *Ierusalem*, to keepe the Saracens from ioyning all vnder one head. *Sanar* the *Soldan* perceiuing the faithful care of the Christians his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giuing them all manner of content, as it behooued him: for by their admirable valour, he finally draue the enemies out of the Countrey. But this victory was not so soone gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concernes our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, seemes to know nothing. May we not thinke him to haue been King in title only, who meddled so little in the Gouernment? The *Soldan*, finding that the Christians (without whose helpe, all was lost) could not well stay, so long as his necessities required, makes large offers to King *Almaricke*, vpon condition that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great Tribute (*William of Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the Saracens, perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of *Ierusalem* should receiue out of Egypt, for this behouefull assistance. But the Christians vnderstanding that the *Soldan* (how much soeuer he tooke vpon him) was subiect to a higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance, with any other than the *Caliph* himselfe. Hereupon *Hugh Earle* of *Cæsarea*, and a Knight of the *Templars*, are sent vnto *Elhadach* to ratifie the couenants. Now shall we see the greatnesse of the *Caliph* and his estate.

These Embassadors were conueighed by the *Soldan* to *Cairo*, where arriuing at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The first entrance was through dark Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of Ethiopians, vvith which all diligence, did reuerence to the *Soldan* as he passed along. Through these streights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of such beauty and riches, that they could not retaine the grauity of Embassadors, but were informed to admire the things vvich detained their eyes. For there they saw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all vvrought ouer with embossed vvorkes, curious pauements, fish-ponds of marble vvith clear vvaters, and many sorts of strange birds, vvnknown in those parts of the world, as coming perhaps from the East Indies, vvich then was vvn discovered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuches conueyed them into other

other Courts within these; as far excellling the former, as the former did surpassse ordinarie houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse, how, the further they entred, the more highly they found, and cause of maruaile; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrote these things, was neuer held a vaine Author. Finally they were brought into the *Caliph*'s own lodgings, vvich were yet more stately, and better guarded; where entring the Presence, the *Soldan*, hauing twice prostrated himselfe, did the third time cast off his Sword, that he wore about his necke, and throw himselfe on the ground, before the curtain, behinde vvich the *Caliph* sat. Presently the traueser, wrought with Gold and Pearles was opened, and the *Caliph* himselfe discovered, sitting vvith great maiestie on a throne of gold, hauing few of his most inward seruants and Eunuches about him. When the *Soldan* had humbly kissed his Masters feet, he briefly told the cause of his coming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made vnto King *Almaricke*, desiring the *Caliph* himselfe to ratifie them, in presence of the Embassadors. The *Caliph* answered, That he vvould throughly perform all vvich vvvas promised. But this contented not the Embassadors: They would haue him to giue his hand vpon the bargain; vvich the Egyptians, that stood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatnesse descended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the *Soldan*, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of *Cæsarea* saw that the *Caliph* gaue his hand, neither vvillingly nor bare, hee told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth seekes no holes to hide it selfe; Princes, that vvill hold couenant, must deale openly, nakedly, &c. sincerely; Giue vs therefore your bare hand, if you meane that we shall trust you, for we vvill make no bargain vvith your Gloue. Much adoe there was about this: for it seemed against the Maiesty of such a Prince to yeeld so far. But, when it vvould none otherwise be, vvith a smiling cheare (though to the great griefe of his seruants) he vouchsafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the couenants vvord by vvord, as the Earle spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadors, vvith such rewards as testified his Greatnesse.

In this *Caliph* and his Sultan, we may discerne the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we see a Prince of great estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himselfe vvith the great preparations made against him, vvich terrifie his neighbour Countries: we see his Viceroy, in the meane season, vsing all Royall power; making war and peace; entertaining and repelling Armies of strangers; yea making the Land of Egypt tributary to a forraign Prince. What greater authority vvvas giuen to *Ioseph*, vvhen *Pharaoh* said vnto him, *Thou shalt be ouer mine house, and at thy vvord shall all my people be armed, onely in the Kings throne will I be above thee, Behold, I haue set thee ouer all the Land of Egypt*.

I do not commend this forme of Gouernment; neither can I approue the coniecture of mine Author, where he thinks, that the Egyptians, euer since *Ioseph*'s time, haue felt the burden of that seruitude vvich hee brought vpon them, when he bought them and their Lands for *Pharaoh*. Herein I finde his iudgement good; that he affirms this manner of the Egyptian Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customes, practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we finde, that euen the *Ptolomies* (excepting *Ptolomaeus Lagi*, and his son *Philadelphus*, founder and establisher of that race) were giuen, all of them, wholly to please their own appetites, leauing the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Eunuches, and other ministers of their desires. The pleasures vvich that Countrey afforded, were indeed sufficient to inuite the Kings thereof vnto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the Egyptians held their Princes, gaue them security, whereby they might the better trust their Officers, vvith so ample commission. But of this matter, I vvill not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to haue shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroyes gouerning Egypt, is set down by *Moses*, and that a liuely example of the same is found in *William of Tyre*; vvho liued in the same age; vvvas, in few yeares after, Chancellor of the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*; and had full discourse vvith *Hugh Earle* of *Cæsarea*, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remaines, that we be not carried away vvith a vaine opinion, to beleue that all they were Kings, vvhom reports of the fabulous Egyptians haue honoured vvith that stile; but rest contented vvith a Catalogue of such, as we finde by circumstance, likely to haue reigned in that Countrey; after vvhom it folloves that we should make enquiry.

§. II.

Of Acherres; whether he were Vchoreus that was the eighth from Osymandyas. of Osymandyas and his Tombe.

IN this business I hold it vaine to bee too curious. For who can hope to attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius*, from both of them; and late Writers, that haue sought to gather the truth out of these and others, finde no one with whom they can agree. In this case *Annius* would doe good seruice, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to bee beholding to him, when others doe either say nothing, or that which may iustly be suspected. I will therefore hold my self contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, and those antiquities remoued so farre out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of Israel out of Egypt, it shall suffice, that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius*, haue not bene silent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken paines, to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or else found scattering in others.

From the departure of Israel out of Egypt, vnto the reigne of *Thuvoris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the Greekes call *Proteus*) there is little or no disagreement about the Egyptian Kings: Wherefore I set down the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and giue to euery one the same length of reigne.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded vnto *Chencres*, that perished in the Red Sea. This king seemes to *Reineccius* to be the same, whom *Diodorus* calls *Vchoreus*, the founder of Memphis. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great king, named *Osymandyas*, from whom *Vchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reineccius* coniectures) was the great *Osymandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Vchoreus*: for the distance betwene them was more than eight generations. *Mercator* iudgeth *Osymandyas* to haue bin the husband of *Ancheres*, *Orus* the seconds daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Iosephus*) doth omit his name, and insert his wifes, into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wifes right. As for *Vchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to finde him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to signifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that Greeke word else doth) the eighth, but to be an Egyptian name, belonging also to *Vchoreus*, who might haue had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my braines in the vprofitable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Osymandias*, was wrought vpon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I thinke the Egyptians did fabulously expound. For whereas there was poutraied a great Army with the siege of a Town, the captiuitie of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the Egyptians said to denote the conquest of *Bactria* made by that King: which how likely it was, let others iudge. I hold this goodly peece of worke, which *Diodore* so particularly describes, to haue bene erected for a common place of buriall, to the ancient Kings and Queenes of Egypt, and to their Viceroyes; whilst yet they were not so ambitious, as euery one to haue his owne particular monument, struing therein to exceed all others. This appeares by the many statuaes, therein placed, by the Wars, the iudgement seate, the receiuing of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the account of Reuenues, and plenty of all Cattell and Foode; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the feuerall Offices of a Gouverneur. On the Tombe of *Osymandias* was this inscription. *I am Osymandyas King of Kings; If any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceed some of my workes.* Let them that hope to exceede his workes, labour to know what he was. But since by those words, *Or where I lie*, it should seeme that hee lay not there; interred, we may lawfully suspect that it was *Ioseph*, whose body was preferred among the Hebrewes, to be buried in the Land of Canaan, & this empty Monument might king *Orus*, who out-lined him, erect in honor of his high deserts, among the royal sepulchres. To which purpose, the plenty of Cattell, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name of *Osymandias* doth not hinder this coniecture; seeing *Ioseph* had one new name giuen to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dream, and might, vpon further occasions, haue another, to his increase of honor. As for that stile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkish Bassaes* are called, that is, Great about the Great.

Now

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, betwene the times of *Ioseph* & *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whose Viceroy *Ioseph* was) yet will I hereby seeke, neither to fortifie mine owne coniecture, as touching *Ioseph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Vchoreus*. For it might well be, that Memphis was built by some such King as was *Geboar*, Lieutenant vnto the Caliph *Elcain*; who hauing to his Masters vse conquered Egypt, and many other Countries, did build, not far from old Memphis, the great City of *Cairo* (corruptly so pronounced) naming it *El Cahira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mistresse, though he himselfe were a *Dalmatian* stauce.

John I. co. 111. Africa. l. 4. 48.

§. III.

Of Cherres, Armeus, Ramestes, and Amenophis. Of Myris, and the Lake that beares his name.

WHEN *Acherres* had reigned eight years, *Cherres* succeeded, & held the kingdom fiftene years: then reigned *Armeus* five years, & after him *Ramestes*, threescore and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Ramestes* is that Historie vnderstood by *Eusebius*, which is common among the Greekes, vnder the names of *Danaus* and *Egyptus*. For it is said that *Danaus*, being expelled out of Egypt by his brother, fled into Greece, where he obtained the kingdom of Argos: that he had fifty Daughters, whom vpon seeming reconciliation, hee gaue in marriage to his brothers fifty sons, but commanded euery one of them to kill her husband the first night; that onely *Hypermetra*, one of his Daughters, did saue her husband *Lyncus*, and suffered him to escape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloody sisters, when they died, were enioyned this foolish punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking vessell with water.

Thereigne of *Danaus* in Argos was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus*, was *Danaus*; & *Ramestes*, *Egyptus*; is more than *Reineccius* beleeueth: he rather takes *Armeus* to haue bin *Myris*, or *Meris*, who caused the great lake to be made which beares his name. For my own part, as I can easily beleue, that he which fled out of Egypt into Greece, was a man of such qualitie as the Soldan *Sanar*, of whom we spake before: so do I not find how in so short a reigne, as five years, a worke of that labour could be finished, which was required vnto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his own Sepulchre and his wifes being some part, it is manifest that he was not buried in Argos. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whose age is vncertaine, and of whose reignes we haue no assurance, I may truly say, that their great workes are not enough to proue them of the house of *Pharaoh*, seeing that greater deeds or more absolute, than were those of *Ioseph*, who bought all the people of Egypt as bond-men, and all their land for bread; of *Geboar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Country Tributarie; were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set down the length of their reignes, whom wee finde to haue followed one another in order of succession: but in rehearsing the great acts which were performed, I will not stand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris*, is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thousand fixe hundred furlongs in compasse, and fifty fadomes deepe. It serued to receiue the waters of Nilus, when the ouer-flow, being too great, was harmefull to the Countrey: and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the Lake, when the Riuer did not rise high enough. In opening the sluices of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent fifty talents; but the Lake it self defraied that cost; seeing the tribute imposed vpon Fish taken therein, was euery day one talent, which *Myris* gaue to his Wife to buy sweet ointments, and other ornaments for her body. In the midst of it was left an Island, wherein were the Sepulchres of *Myris* and his Wife, and ouer each of them a Pyramid, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fiftie paces high; hauing on the tops their statues, sitting in Thrones. I finde not the description of this Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of Historians: yet is it very great. The yeeres of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* diuided, by inserting one *Armeus* (whom *Eusebius* omits) that should haue reigned one yeare and odde moneths of the time: but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After

After *Ramesses*, his son *Amenophis* held the Kingdome forty yeares. Some giue him only nineteene yeeres; and *Mercator* thinks him to haue been the king that was drowned in the Red Sea: wherof I haue already spoken in the first Booke.

§. IIII.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynastie of the Larties.

Sethosis, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fifty five yeares. To him are ascribed the famous acts of that ancient *Sesostris*. But the state of the world was not such at these times, that so great an expedition as the old *Sesostris* made, could haue been either easily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he passed, had it now been performed; as any man will perceiue, if he looke vpon my Chronologicall Table, and consider who liued with this *Zethus*. With this King began the Dynastie of the Larties, which *Reimescius* coniectures to haue had the same signification, wherein the old Kings of Hetruria, were called Lartes, (the Hetrurians being issued out of Lydia, the Lydians out of Egypt) and to haue signified as much as *Imperat*, or *Emperall*. The Wars in which these Kings were Generals, I take to haue been against the *Aethiopsians*: for sure I am, that they troubled not the Country of Palastina, that lay next vnto them on the one hand, nor is it likely that they trauelled ouer the desert sands, on the other hand; to seek matter of conquest, in the poore Countreies of Africa. But these Generals (if the Larties were such) were not many. Few only had that title; and the last of these took it, perhaps, as hereditary from the first; in such sort as the Roman Emperours were proud for a while, to be called Antonini, till the most vnstable conditions of *Helioabalus*, made his successors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynasties (as appears by this particular) took name from the Kings; that the Kings also did administer the gouernment themselves, & that therefore I am deceiued in ascribing so much vnto the Viceroyes. But it is to be considered, that what is said of these Larties, depends only vpon coniecture, and that the authority of the Regents, or Viceroyes, might be great enough, though some few Kings took the conduct of Armies into their own hands. For so we finde in *Iohn Leo*, that the Soldan of Egypt (after such time as the Soldan Saladin, murdering the Caliph, got the Souerainty to himselfe) had vnder him a Viceroy, stiled *Eddaguardare*, who had authority to place, or displace, any Magistrates, or Officers; and that this mans Family was almost as great, as the Soldans own. Yet was there also the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord Generall of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might as he thought good, spend of the Soldans Treasure. So might the office of the Viceroyes continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generals vpon them, did somewhat abridge the greatnes of that second place. As for the names of the Dynasties, it skills not whence they were drawn; whether from their Country, as those of the Thebans and Diapolitans, or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many think, that the seuenteenth Dynastie was called of the Shepheards, because *Ioseph* gouerned in part therof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned; as this was said to be of the Larties or Generals. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Anniius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any Larties or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, forasmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Sesac*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let vs now return to the businesse which we left.

Ramesses was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethosis*, threescore and six yeares. He is mistaken for that second *Sesostris*, of whom I haue spoken in the first booke. I find nothing worth rehearsal of this *Ramesses*, or of *Ammenophis* and *Annemenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned forty, the later sixe and twenty yeares. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by these as hereditary.

Thumutis, the last of the Larties, reigned only seven yeares; yet is he thought to haue bin that *Protemus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, saying, That he took *Helen* from Paris, and after the sacke of Troy, restored her to *Menelaus*. I need say no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thumutis* his reigne, lasted not so long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her restitution.

This

This *Protemus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by some) together with *Thos*, and others, mentioned by *Greeke* Writers in this businesse, or in other such matters, may seeme to be vnder-Officers: for such only are like to haue had their residencie about *Pharos*, and the Sea-coast, where *Menelaus* arriued.

Of *Protemus*, who detained *Helen*, it is said, That he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himselfe into all shapes: whereby is signified his craftie head, for which he is grown into a Proverbe. The Poets fained him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Neptunes* Seale-fishes, for belike he was some vnder-Officer to the Admirall, hauing charge of the Fishing about the Ile of *Pharos*, as was said before.

Remphes, the Son of *Protemus*, is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as also by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramsinicus*, & tells a long tale, fit to please children, of his couetousnesse, and how his treasure-house was robbed by a cunning Theefe, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may beleue what he list. How long this king reigned I know not, nor thinke that either he, or his Father, did reigne at all.

§. V.

Of the Egyptian Kings whose names are found scattering in sundrie Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of Egypt, according to *Cedrenus*. Of *Vaphres* and *Sesac*.

MAny other names of Egyptian Kings, are found scattered heere and there; as *Tanepherisobis*, of vvhom *Suidas* deliueis only the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobium*, vvhich perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Euenes*, noted by occasion of a great Physician that liued vnder him; *Zauchyphus*, recorded by the same *Suidas*, for his great iustice; and *Thulis*, of vvhom *Suidas* tells great matters; as, that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea, that he gaue name to the Isle of *Thule*, which some take to be *Iseland*; and that he consulted with the Deuill, or which is all one with *Seraphis*, desiring to know; who before him had beene, or after him should be so mighty as himselfe. The answer or confession of the Deuill was remarkable, which I find Englished in the translation of *Plessis* his worke, *Of the transse of Christian religion*. The *Greeke* Verses are somewhat otherwise, & much more impertinent in those Copies that I haue of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one, which is this:

First *God*, and next *The Word*, and then *The Spirit*,
Which three be *One*, and ioyned in *One* all three:
Whose force is endlesse. Get thee hence fraile vviight,
The Man of Life vnknowne excelleth thee.

I should haue thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas*, than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the forme of inuocation which *Thulis* vsed, & that clause of his giuing name to the Iland: though in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be deceiued; as also *Cedrenus* is, or (at least) seems to me, in giuing to this King such profound antiquitie of reigne. Indeed the very name of that booke, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breed suspicion of some imposture: but the frierly stuffe that he alledgeth out of it, is such as would serue to discredit himselfe, were it not otherwise apparant, that he was a man both deuout, & of good iudgement, in matters that fell vwithin his compasse. I will here set down the List of old Egyptian Kings deliuered by him, and leaue the censure to others.

The first king of Egypt that he sets downe, is *Mizraim*, the sonne of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new race, deriuing their pedegree thus: *Nimrod*, the son of *Chus*, was also called *Orion*, & further tooke vpon him the name of the Planet *Saturne*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own Linage, & by her three sonnes; *Picus*, surnamed *Iupiter*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*. *Picus* chasing his father out of *Affryia* into *Italie*, reigned in his stead thirtie yeares, and then gaue vp that Kingdome to *Inno*, his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his son: after which *Belus*, who reigned onely two yeares, *Ninus* had the Kingdome, and married his owne mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italie*, to visit his olde father *Saturne*; *Saturne* forth-with resigned the Kingdome vnto him. *Picus* *Iupiter* reigned in *Italie* threescore and two yeares, had threescore and ten Wiues or Concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lyes buried in the Isle of *Crete*.

Ecc

The

The Principall of *Jupiters* sons, were *Faunus*, *Proserpina*, and *Mercurius*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercurius*. He reigned in *Italy*, after his father, three and thirty yeares: and then finding that all his brethren conspired against him, he went into *Egypt*, with abundance of Treasure; where, after the death of *Misraim*, he got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirty yeares. After *Menturius*, *Kulkan* reigned in *Egypt*, four yeares and a halfe. Then *Sol*, the sonne of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty yeares and a halfe. There followed in order *Solus*, *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Thales*, of whom we spake before: the length of their severall reignes is not set downe. After *Thales* was the greatest of *Isis* king twenty yeares. His successor was *Pharao*, called *Nububus*, that held the Crowne fifty yeares, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharao*, to a very long posteritie.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set downe as I find them: let their credit rest vpon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are said to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certain more, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vaine curiositie, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence, in omitting such as might have bene added.

Naphres, the father in law to *Salomon*, and *Sesac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, lead vs againe into faire way, but not farre. The name of *Naphres* is not found in the Scriptures, but we are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius*, for it. Those giue vs not the length of his reigne, but we know, that he liued in the times of *Dauid* and *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Armie, took *Gegar* from the *Ammonites*, & gaue it to his daughter, *Salomons* wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his son did fauour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept so many Wiues and Concubines, besides this *Egyptian* Princeesse. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath bin written that I find of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his reigne, which most haue bin fixe and twenty yeares, if he were that *Smendus* with whom *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynastie*.

Now forasmuch as it would serue to no great purpose, that we knew the length of *Sesac* his reigne, and of theirs that followed him, vnlesse therewithall we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, vpon which the rest haue dependance, this course I take. From the fourth yeare of *Ichoiakim*, king of *Iuda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was slain, I reckon vponwards the yeares of the same *Neco*, and of his predecessors, vnto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which accompt, the first yeare of *Sesac* is found, concurrent with the twentieth of *Salomons* reigne, and the twenty fixe of *Sesac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*: wherein *Sesac* spoiled the Temple, and died, enioying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer, than *Iosiah* the *Israelite*, & *Crassus* the *Romane* did; who after him, spoiled the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

To fill vp the time between *Sesac* and *Neco*, I haue rather taken those kings that I find in the *Greeke* Historians, than them which are in *Eusebius* his Catalogue. For of these that are deliuered by *Eusebius*, we find no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, saue only of *Bocchoris*, who is remembered by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appeare to haue bin a King. Hereunto I may adde, that the succession is often interrupted in *Eusebius* by *Aethiopian*s, which got the kingdome often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appeares by the Prophet *Esaie*, that the Counsellors of *Pharao* did vaunt of the long & flourishing continuance of that house, in somuch, that they said of *Pharao*, *I am the Sonne of the wise, I am the Sonne of the ancient King*. But that which ouerthrows the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is, the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the kings of *Iuda*. For though it please him well to see how the reignes of *Iosiah* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed marres all, the reigne of *Iosiah* being misplaced. This error growes from his omitting to compare the reignes of the kings of *Iuda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion, *Ioram*, king of *Israel*, is made to reigne three yeares after *Ahaziah* of *Iuda*; *Samaritan* is taken by *Salmanassar* before *Hezekiah* was king: and in a word, all, or most of the kings, haue their beginnings placed in some other yeere, of their collateralls, than the Scriptures haue determined.

§. VI. Of

S. VI.

Of *Chemmis*, *Cheops*, *Cephrenes*, and other Kings recited by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, which reigned betwene the times of *Rehoboam* and *Ezekia*.

Following therefore the *Greeke* Historians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chemmis*, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. He reigned fiftie yeares, and built the greatest of the three *Pyramides*, which was accounted one of this worlds Wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleneth a flame of fire, growing from the bottome vponwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemmis* being foure-square, had a Base of seven akers euerie way, and was aboue fixe akers high. It was of a very hard & dureable stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand yeares, without complaining of any iniurie that it had suffered by weather in so long space. From the reigne of *Chemmis*, vnto the age of *Augustus Caesar*, wherein *Diodore* liued, are indeede a thousand yeares; which doth giue the better likelihood vnto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other *Pyramides*, late Writers doe testifie, that they haue seene them yet standing.

After *Chemmis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his son *Chabreus* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreus*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to haue bene brethren; but the length of their reignes may argue the later to haue bene son to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fiftie yeares; *Cephrenes* fiftie fixe. These were, as *Chemmis* had bene builders of *Pyramides*, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had ouer-laboured themselves in erecting the first. These *Pyramides* were ordained to be Tombs for those that raised them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is said to haue cast out their bodies, & to haue called their Monuments by the name of an Heardsman, that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honor, & entitling a poore fellow to their workes, was held to be the casting out of their bodies: otherwise, it is hard to conceiue, how it might be, that they, who had not power to auoid the like flauerie, laid vpon them by the younger brother or son, should haue power or leisure to take such reuenge vpon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale deuised against *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father, wanting money, did prostitute her, & that she, getting of euery man that accompanied her, one stone, did build with them a fourth *Pyramis*, that stood in the midst of the other three. Belike she was an insolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery, for her sake, longer a while than they thought to haue done, in raising a Monument, with the superfluitie of her Fathers prouisions.

Mycerinus, the son of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his Father fixe yeares. He would haue built as his fore-goers did, but preuented by death, finished not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King, for that he did set open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an Oracle threatned him with a short life of fixe yeares only, because of this his deuotion; For (said the Oracle) *Egypt should haue bene afflicted an hundred and fiftie yeeres, which thy Predecessors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou liue but fixe yeeres*. It is very strange, that the gods should be offended with a King for his pietie; or that they should decree to make a Countie impious, vwhen the people were desirous to serue them; or that they hauing so decreed, it should lie in the power of a King, to alter destinie, and make the ordinance of the gods to faile in taking full effect. But these were *Egyptian* gods. The true God was, doubtlesse, more offended with the institution of such Idolatrie, than with the interruption. And who knowes, whether *Chemmis* did not learne somewhat at *Ierusalem*, in the last yeare of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceiue, and deliuer to those that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* superstition? Most sure it is that his reigne, and the reignes of *Cheops*, and *Cephrenes*, were more long and more happie, than that of *Mycerinus*, vwho, to delude the Oracle, reuelled away both dayes and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into dayes, and so doubled the time appointed: a seruice more pleasing to the Deuil, than the restitution of Idolatrie durst then seeme, when it could speede no better. I find in *Reimccius* fiftie

Ecc 2

yeeres

Clem. Strom. l. 1.
Euseb. de Prep.
Euang. l. 9. c. 4.

1 King. 9. 16.
2 Chron. 11. 18.
19. 56.

Esaie 19. 11.

yeares assigned to this King, which I verily beleue to haue bin some error of the print, though I find it not corrected among other such oversightes: for I know no Aut hor that giues him so many yeares, and *Reineccius* himself takes notice of the Oracle, that threatened *Myserinus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bocchorus is placed next vnto *Myserinus*, by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, & excellling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by diuers Authors, as one that loued iustice, and may be taken for that *Banchyrus*, whom *Suidas* commends in that kind: *Eusebius* reckons 44. yeeres of his reigne.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Ethiopian* followes, in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certaine ages after him. *Herodorus*, quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Afchis*; who made a sharpe law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paid. This *Afchis* made a Pyramis of brick, more costly and faire, in his owne iudgement, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Afchis*, *Herodorus* placeth one *Anysis*, a blinde man, before the *Ethiopian*. The reignes of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted betwene *Bocchorus*, and him that followed them. But all this could make but sixe yeeres, and so long doth *Ennilius*, so long doth *Reineccius* hold, that these two kings, between them both did gouerne. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it vnprobable that the reignes of two kings should haue bin so soone spent, hee may doe it by taking some yeares from *Sethon* or *Psammiticus*, and adding them to either of these. To adde vnto these, without subtracting from some other, would breede a manifest inconuenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his reigne, must haue beene in the fifth of *Rehoboam*, as also the last of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Ichoiakim*, and the first of *Nabuchadnezzar*. For mine owne part I like it better to allow sixe yeares onely to these two kings, than to lose the witness of *Herodorus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speak of *Sennacheribs* warre: at which time *Sethon* was King of *Egypt*. I will not therefore adde yeares vnto these obscure names; for by adding vnto these men three yeares, we shall thrust the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodorus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Egyptian* 30 kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great enuie, to leaue both *Afchis* and *Anysis* out of the roll, which were easily done, by placing *Sesac* lower, & extending his life yet sixe yeares further, or more, (if the like abridgement shall be required of *Psammiticus* his reigne) into the yeares of *Rehoboam*.

Of *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian*, who tooke the kingdome from *Anysis*, it is agreed by the moit, that he reigned fittie yeares. He was a mercifull Prince, not punishing all capitall offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour vpon malefactors; by whose toyle he both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out their seruice to hire, and performed many workes, of more vse than pompe, to the singular benefit of the Countrey. *Zonorus* calls this King *Sua*; the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hosea*, the last King 40 of *Israel*, made a league with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserue the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seemes, that the encroching power of the *Affryan*, grew terrible to *Egypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulassar*, and *Salmanassar*, hauing eaten so farre into *Syria*, in the reigne of this one king *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his dayes (for his reigne began in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himself did make the first entrance into *Palestina*. This caused *So* to animate the halfe subdued people, against their Conquerours; but the helpe which he and his Successor gaue them was so faint, that *Sennacherib* his ambassador compared the *Egyptian* succour to a broken staffe of Reede. Such 50 indeed *Isaiah* found it, and such *Ezekia* might haue found it, had he not beene supported by the strong staffe of him, that ruleth all Nations with a rodde of yron. It appeareth by the words of *Rabsake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, for *Charrers* and *Horse-men*; but this power, whatsoeuer it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it selfe which *So* left vnto *Sethon* his predecessor, hauing now fulfilled the fittie yeares of his reigne. *Herodorus* and *Diodorus* haue both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this king; saying, that he left the Countrey, & willingly retired into *Ethiopia*, because

1. King. 14. 25.
2. Chron. 12. 10.

3. King. 18. 24.

because it was often signified vnto him in his dreames, by the god which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his reigne should be neither long nor prosperous, vnlesse he slew all the Priests in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he resigned his kingdome. Surely, these *Egyptian* gods were of a strange qualitie, that so ill rewarded their seruants, and inuited kings to doe them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewise did) worship Dogs as gods, when their chiefe gods had the propertie of Dogs, which loue their Masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should haue feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be some deuice of the fearefull old man, who seeing his Realme in danger of an inuasion, sought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and with-drawing himselfe into *Ethiopia*, where he had beene bred in his youth. What if one should say, that the *Ethiopia*, into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirbaca* the king (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an Armie against *Sennacherib*, when he meant to inuade *Egypt*, within two or three yeares after? But I will not trouble my self with such enquire. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabacus*, was not indeed an *Ethiopian* (for in his time liued the Prophet *Esay*, who mentioneth the antiquitie of *Pharaohs* house) but onely so surnamed for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the kingdome from *Anysis*, who was his opposit. The quiet and milde forme of his gouernment, his holding the kingdome so long without an Armie; and many other circumstances argue no lesse. But whether finally hee betooke a priuate life, or whether he fore-went his life and kingdome at 50 once, being now very old, it is time that we leaue him, and speake of *Sethon* his next Successor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembered by *Herodorus*, by a sure token of his hauing beene king.

S. VII.

Of *Sethon* who reigned with *Ezekia*, and sided with him against *Sennacherib*.

THE first yeare of *Sethons* reigne falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, vvhich was the fift of *Sennacherib*. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great kingdomes of *Affrya* and *Egypt*, being then engaged in a Warre, the issue 50 whereof was to determine, whether of them should rule or serue. The *Affryan* had the better men of Warre; the *Egyptian* better prouision of necessaries: the *Affryan*, more Subjects; the *Egyptian*, more Friends; and among the new conquered halfe Subjects of *Affyr*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Affryan* in outward shew.

Of this last sort were *Ezekia*, and his people; who, knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them against his owne great Enemy, preferred the friendship of so neare and mighty a Neighbour, before the seruice of a terrible, yet farre removed King. But herein was great difference, between *Ezekia* and his Subjects: For the good King, fixing his especiall confidence in God, held that course of policy, which he thought most likely to turne to the benefit of his Countrey: the multitude of *Judea*, looking 50 into the faire hopes which this *Egyptian* league promised, were puffed vp with vaine conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should need not to feare any more of those iniuries, which they had suffered by the *Affryans*, and so became forgetfull of God, taking counsaile but not of him. The Prophet *Esay* complained much of this presumption; giuing the people of *Juda* to vnderstand, That the *Egyptians* were men, and not God, and their Horses flesh, and not spirit; that God himselfe should defend *Israel* vpon repentance, and that *Affyr* should fall by the sword, but not of man. As for the *Egyptians* (saide the Prophet) they are vanity, and they shall helpe in vaine, their strength is to sit still.

According to the Prophets words it came to passe. For in the treaty of Confederacy that was held at *Zaan*, all maner of contentment and assurance was giuen to the 50 *Jewes*, by *Sethon*, or his Agents, who filled them with such reports, of Horses and Chariots, that they did not looke (as *Esay* saith) vnto the holy one of *Israel*, nor seeke vnto the Lord. But he yet is wisest.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Army, & wakened them out of these dreames, for *Sethon* their good Neighbour, as neare as he was, did seem farre off, being vnready, when his helpe was most needfull. It may seem that he purposed, rather to make *Palestina* than *Egypt* the stage, whereon this great Warre should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Affryans* and *Jewes*, weakening one another, should yeeld vnto him a

See 3

faire

Isay. 31. v. 3.
E. 8.
Isay. 30. 7.
Isay. 30. 4.

Isay. 31. 2. 2.

Eſay 30.

Eſay 31. 9.

faire aduantage ouer both. Yet he fought with monie; for he sent Horſes and Camels laden with treasure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Eſay* calleth *a people that cannot profit*. These *Arabians* did not profit indeede; for (besides that it seemes by the same place of *Eſay*, that the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from *Tirhaca*), all the strong Cities of *Iuda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Ieruſalem* it ſelfe, which were in ſore diſtreſſe, till the ſword of God, and not of Man, defeated the *Aſſyrian*, who did goe, *for ſcare, to his Tower*, that is, he fled to *Ninue*, where he was ſlaine.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodorus* takes this notice of it: That it was purpoſed againſt *Egypt*, where the men of warre, being offended with *Sethon* their King, who had taken away their allowance, reſuſed to beare armes in defence of him & their Country; that *Sethon* being *Vulcan*'s Priſt, bemoaned himſelfe to his god, who by dreame promiſed to ſend him helpers; that hereupon *Sethon*, with ſuch as would follow him, (which were craſts-men, ſhop-keepers, & the like) marched towards *Pelaſium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Campe of *Sennacherib* by night, did ſo gnaw the bowes, quiuers, and ſtraps of his mens armour, that they were ſaine the next day to ſlie away in all haſte, finding themſelues diſarmed. In memorie hereof (ſaith *Herodorus*) the ſtatue of this King is ſet vp in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouſe in his hand, with this inſcription: *Let him, that holds me ſerue God*. Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Priſts, wherein how farre they ſwarued from the truth, being deſirous to magnifie their own King, it may eaſily be perceined. It ſeemes that this Image of *Sethon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus*'s time, or elſe perhaps, the Priſts did forbear to tell it him (which cauſed him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Iewes* was then well knowne to the world, whereof euery childe could haue told, how much falſhood had bene mingled with the truth.

We find this hſtorie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That *Sennacherib* king of the *Aſſyrians* and *Arabians*, (ſo *Herodorus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peraduenture ſome borderers vpon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) liued in this age, made Warre vpon *Egypt*; and was miraculoſly driuen home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleaſure that *Vulcan* did vnto his Priſt; happy it was (if *Sethon* were a Priſt) that he tooke his god now in ſo good a moode. For within three or foure yeares before this, all the Priſts in *Egypt* ſhould haue bin ſlaine, if a mercifull king had not ſpared their liues, as it were halfe againſt the gods will. Therefore this laſt good turne was not enough to ſerue as an exmple, that might ſtir vp the *Egyptians* to piety, ſeeing that their deuotion, which had laſted ſo long before, did bring all the Priſts into danger of ſuch a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did repreſent *Sennacherib* himſelfe, and that the Mouſe in his hand, ſignified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expreſſing things) the ſhamefull iſſue of his terrible expedition, or the deſtruction of his Armie, by meanes which came, no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, ſhewed vpon this vngodly king, was indeed a very good mo- tiue to piety. But the Embleme, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne where this Image was erected) might giue occaſion to ſuch a fable; the Deuill helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be roobed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Deuill, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon* finding himſelfe in danger, did call vpon his gods, that is, vpon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had moſt deuotion. But ſo had other of his predecessors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained ſuccour by the like miracle? Surely the *Iewes* (euery ſuch of them as moſt were giuen to Idolatrie) would haue bin aſhamed of the confidence which they repoſed in the Charets of *Egypt*, *becauſe they were many, and in the Horſemen, becauſe they were very ſtrong*; had it bin told them, that *Sethon*, in ſtead of ſending thoſe Horſe-men and Charets, was beſeeching *Vulcan* to ſend him and them good lucke; or elſe (for theſe alſo were *Egyptian* gods) addreſſing his prayers to ſome Onyon or Cat. Howſoeuer it was, doubtleſſe the prophecie of *Eſay* tooke effect, which ſaid, *They ſhall be all aſhamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor helpe, nor do them good, but ſhall be a ſhame and alſo a reproch*. Such is commonly the iſſue of humane wiſedome, when reſting ſecure vpon prouiſion that it ſelfe hath made; it will no longer ſeeme to ſtand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to haue bin ſet downe by *Eufebius*, vnder the name of *Tarachus*

Tarachus the *Ethiopian*; and therfore the twenty yeares which are giuen to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reigne of *Sethon*. Theſe haue well obſerued, that *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a king of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Countrey, or at leaſt an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the war laſt ſpoken of; the *Ethiopians* (as they are engliſhed) ouer which he reigned, being indeede *Chafites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they ſuppoſe aright, that *Eufebius* hath miſtaken one King for another. But whereas they think, that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaca*, is placed in the roome of *Sethon*, and therefore giue to *Sethon* the twentie yeares of *Tarachus*, I hold them to haue erred on the other hand. For this *Ethiopian* (as he is called) began his Reigne ouer *Egypt*, by *Eufebius* his accompt, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezekia*, in the firſt yeere of *Manaſſes* King of *Iuda*. Therefore he, or his yeeres, haue no reference to *Sethon*.

Herodorus forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned; *Eufebius* peremptorily, citing no author, nor alleadging reaſon for it, ſets him down thirty three yeares; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this caſe, I follow that rule which I propounded vnto my ſelfe at the firſt, for meaſuring the reigns of theſe *Egyptian* Kings. The yeares which paſſed from the ſiſt of *Rehoboam*, vnto the fourth of *Ichoiakim*, I ſo diuide among the *Egyptians*, that giuing to euery one the proportion allowed vnto him by the Author in whom he is found, the reſt is to be conferred vpon him whoſe length of reigne is vncertaine; that is, vpon this *Sethon*. By this accompt I find the thirty three yeares, that are ſet downe by *Eufebius*, to agree very neerely, if not precisely, with the time of *Sethon*'s reigne; therefore I conforme my own reckoning to his, though I could be content to haue it one yeare leſſe. The reaſon of this computation I ſhall render more at large, when I arriue at the time of *Pſammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the courſe of this Hiſtory will ſhortly bring me, the *Egyptian* affaires growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Iuda*, to which it is meete that I returne.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manaſſes and his Contemporaries.

S. I.

The wickedneſſe of Manaſſes. His imprisonment, Repentance, and Death

Manaſſe, the Son of *Ezekia*, forgetting the pietie of his Father and the proſperitie which followed him, ſet vp, repaired, adorned and furniſhed, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Diuell was by the *Heathen* worſhipped. Beſides, he himſelfe eſteemed the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the Hoſte of Heauen, as gods; and worſhipped them: and of all his acts the moſt abominable was, that he burnt his Sons for a Sacrifice to the Diuell *Moloch*, or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhinnon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Diuels.

He alſo gaue himſelfe to all kinde of Witchcraft and Sorcerie, accompanied & maintained thoſe that had familiar Spirits, and all ſorts of Enchanters: beſides, he ſhed ſo much innocent blood, as *Ieruſalem* was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged & reuerent Prophet *Iſay* (who was alſo of the kings race, & as the *Iewes* affirme, the Father-in-law of the King) he cauſed the Prophet neere vnto the Fountaine of *Siloe* to be ſawne in ſunder, with a wooden ſaw, in the eightieth yeere of his life: a cruelty more barbarous & monſtrous than hath bene heard of. The Scriptures indeede are ſilent hereof, yet the ſame is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Iſidore*, *Eufebius*, and others, too many to rehearſe, and too good to be ſuſpected. Therefore the Lord brought vpon them the Captaines of the Hoſt of the Kings of *Aſſur*, which tooke *Manaſſe*, and put him in ſettlers, and bound him in chaines, and carried him to *Babel*: Where after he had lien twenty yeeres as a captiue, and diſpoyled of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continuall

Eſay 31. 1.

Iuſt Martyr.
cedonius c. 91.
Glycaſia. 275
Totulde. Pat.

2 Chron. 33. 11.

tinuall prayer, the God of infinite mercie had respect, and moued the *Assyrians* heart to deliuer him.

It is also likely that *Merodach*, because he loued his father *Ezechias*, was the easilier perswaded to restore *Manasse* to his libertie and estate. After vvhich, and when he was againe established, remembling the miseries vvhich followed his vvvickednesse, & Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, detested his former foolish and deuillish Idolatry, and cast downe the Idols of his owne erecting, prepared the Altar of God, & sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Ierusalem*: and dyed after the long reigne of fiftie fyeue yeares. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manasse* vvas held in a cage of yron by the *Assyrians*: and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may beleue as it shall please their fancies,

S. II.

Of troubles in Egypt following the death of Sethon. The reigne of Psammiticus.

THat the wickednesse of King *Manasses* vvas the cause of the euill, which fell vpon his Kingdome and Person, any Christian must needs beleue: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things, in those parts of the World, such, at that time, as would haue inuited any Prince (and did perhaps inuite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, vpon respect borne to his owne ends) desirous to enlarge his Empire, to make attempt vpon *Juda*. For the Kingdome of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar, whereon the state of *Juda* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with ciuill dissention, & after two yeeres, ill amended by a diuision of the gouernment betweene twelue Princes. After some good agreement betweene these, eleuen of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himselfe absolute King of all. This *Inter-regnum*, or meere *Anarchie*, that was in *Egypt*, with the diuision of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, betweene the raigne of *Sabacus*, and *Psammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth set the *Aristocratie*, or twelue Gouernors, immediatly before *Psammiticus*, vvhich vvas one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occasion of this dissention seemes to haue bin the vncertainty of title to that Kingdome (for that the crown of *Egypt* passed by succession of blood, I haue often shewed) which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelue, though things were not settled, vntill one had obtained the Soueraignty.

These twelue Rulers gouerned fiftene yeares, in good seeming agreement, which to preferue, they made strait couenant & alliances one with another, being iealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drink-offering in *Vulcans* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilest this vntic lasted, they ioyned together in raising a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built neere vnto the Lake of *Meris*, a worke so admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beholding it, affirms) no words could giue it commendation answerable to the stateliness of the worke it self. I will not here set downe that vnperfect description, which *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to say, that he preferres it farre before the Pyramides, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the fairest workes in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to haue bin the worke of *Marus*, or *Menides*, a king which liued fyeue generations before *Protesus*, that is, before the Waire of *Troy*, and from this Labyrinth (saith he) *Dadalus* took the patterne of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to haue bin *Annemenes*, which reigned immediatly before *Thuris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*: for *Dadalus* & *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was King. Belike *Reineccius*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Cheremon*, & others, that are found in *Iosephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children, to the storie of *Amasis*, and *Alisanes* the *Ethiopian*, mentioned by *Diodore*, held it consequent, after he had coniectured *Manethons* *Amenophis*, to be *Diodorus* his *Amasis*; that *Sethon* should be *Alisanes*, and that *Annemenes* should be *Marus*. If in this case I might intrude a coniecture; the times which we now handle are those, about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making search; *Amasis* was *Amasis*, *Alisanes* was *Sabacus*, and *Marus* was one of these twelue Princes, to whom *Herodotus* giues the

tof. cont. Appd.

the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Alisanes* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Amasis*; *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Amasis*; *Alisanes* gouerned well, and was milde in punishing offenders; so likewise vvas *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next king after *Alisanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (sauiug *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as hauiug not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same work, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to heare the truth, as liuing neerer to the Age wherein it was performed. The varietie of names, and difference of times, wherein *Diodore* beleueed the Priests, might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanitie, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelue great Hals, Parlours, and other circumstances remembred by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this building doe helpe to proue, that it was the worke of these twelue Princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a solemne feast in *Vulcans* Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings the Priest, forgetting himselfe, brought forth no more than eleuen Cuppes. Hereupon *Psammiticus*, who standing last, had not a Cup, tooke off his brazen Helmet, and therewith supplied the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him vpon set purpose, or ill intent, they forbore to kill him, but, being iealous of their estate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the euent, is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I beleue to haue bin none other: In the rest *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, saying, that *Psammiticus* hyred Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whose aide he vanquished his Companions, and made himselfe sole King.

The yeeres of his reigne, according to *Herodotus*, were fiftie foure; according to *Eusebius*, fortie foure; *Mercator*, to reconcile these two, giues fortie foure yeares to his single reigne, and ten to his ruling, ioynly with the Princes before spoken of. Indee, he that was admitted, being a man growne (for he cannot in reason be supposed to haue bene then a young fellow) into the number of the twelue Gouernors, must be thought to haue liued vnto extreame age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threescore & nine yeares. I therefore yeeld rather to *Eusebius*, but will not adventure to cut fyeue yeares from the *Aristocratie*: though peradventure *Psammiticus* was not at first one of the twelue but succeeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of some Prince that dyed and was ten yeares companion in that gouernment.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The yeeres of the *Egyptians*, as we find them set downe, are more by one, than serue to fill vp the time, between the fift of *Rehoboam*, & the fourth of *Iehoiakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one yeare from *Sethons* reigne; that was of vncertaine length; or else (which I had rather doe, because *Funilius* may haue followed better authority than I know, or than himselfe alleadgeth, in giuing to *Sethon* a time so neerely agreeing with the truth) we must confound the last yeere of one reigne, with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set downe in Chronological tables, reigned precisely so many yeeres as are prescribed vnto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke, that the surplusage of one mans time, supplied the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the last yeare of those fiftene, wherein the twelue Princes ruled, with the first of *Psammiticus*, who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, & make himselfe Lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Egypt*, vvhich entertained any strait amitie with the *Greekes*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gaue large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whilest his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honorable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Vpon this disgrace it is said, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsooke their naturall Countrey of *Egypt*, and went into *Ethiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be reuoked by kinde Messages, nor by the King himselfe, who ouer-tooke them on the way; but when he told them of their Countrey, their Wiues, and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Countrey, and that nature had enabled them to get other wiues and children.

It is also reported of him, That he caused two Infants to be brought vp in such sort, as they might not heare any word spoken; by which meanes, he hoped to find out, what nation or Language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speake that language, which men spake at the first. The issue here-of was, that the children cried, *Becus, Becus*, which word being found to signifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, serued greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* antiquitie. *Goropius Becanus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*; in which the word *Becker*, signifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turne ouer any part of *Goropius* his workes, may find enough of this kinde, to perswade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarks vsed none other tongue than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confusion of languages at *Babel*; the name it selfe of *Babel*, being also *Dutch*, and giuen by occasion of this confusion; for that there they began to babble, and talke, one knew what.

But I will not insist vpon all that is written of *Psammiticus*. The most regardable of his acts was the siege of *Azotus* in *Palestina*, about which he spent nine and twenty yeeres. Neuer haue we heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any Citie endured so long a siege as this; yet *Psammiticus* carried it at the last. This Towne of *Azotus* had bene won by *Tartan*, a Captaine of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it seemeth, relieued, but in vaine, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out so well.

§. III.

What reference these Egyptian masters might haue to the imprisonment and enlargement of Manasses. In what part of his reigne Manasses was taken prisoner.

Were it certainly knowne, in what yeere of his reigne *Manasses* was taken prisoner, and how long it was before he obtained libertie; I thinke we should finde these Egyptian troubles to haue bene no small occasion, both of his captiuitie and enlargement: God so disposing of humane adions, that euen they, who intended onely their owne businesse, fulfilled onely his high pleasure. For either the ciuill vvarres in *Egypt* that followed vpon the death of *Sethon*; or the renting of the Kingdom, as it were, into twelue peeces; or the vvarre betwene *Psammiticus* and his Colleagues; or the expedition of *Psammiticus* into *Syria*; and the siege of *Azotus*, might minister vnto the *Babylonian*, either such cause of hope, to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or such necessity of sending an Armie into those parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him, to make sure vvorke vvith the King of *Juda*. The same occasions sufficed also, to procure the deliuerie of *Manasses*, after he vvvas taken. For he was taken (as *Iosephus* hath it) by subtiltie, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, vvinne his Countrey, but onely vvasste it. So that the *Jewes*, hauing learned vvith, by the ill successe of their folly, in redeeming *Amazias*, vvvere like to be more circumspect, in making their bargaine vpon such another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the Egyptian matters presented more weighty arguments of hope and feare, than the little kingdom of *Juda* could afford) had no reason, to spend his forces, in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficultie as a greater, vvhereby he should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement; vvhen by quitting his present aduantage ouer the *Jewes*, he might make his way the fairer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the yeere of *Manasses* his reigne, wherein he was taken prisoner, or concerning his captiuitie it selfe, how long it lasted; the Scriptures are silent, & *Iosephus* giues no information. Yet I find cited by *Tornicellus* three opinions, the one of *Bellarmino*, vvho thinkes that *Manasses* was taken in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronologie*, vvho affirms, that it vvvas in his twentieth seventh yeare, the third, of *Rabbi Kimhi* vpon *Ezekiel*, vvho saith, that he vvvas forty yeeres an Idolater, and liued fifteene yeeres after his repentance. The first of these coniectures is vpheld by *Tornicellus*, vvho reiects the second, as more vnprobable, and condemnes the third as most false. Yet the reasons alledged by *Tornicellus* in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather proue him to fauour the *Cardinal*, as farre as he may, (for where neede requires, hee doth freely dissent from him) than to haue vsed his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before

before he gaue his iudgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of *Bellarmino*: the one, that *Ammon* the Sonne of *Manasses*, is said by *Iosephus*, to haue followed the workes of his Fathers youth; the other, that had *Manasses* growne old in his sinnes, it is like that hee should haue continued, as hee did, in his amendment vnto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason, why the sinnes of *Manasses* might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them workes of his youth, which appeared when he was twelue yeeres old, though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimhi* vntill he was fifteen yeeres from death. Touching the second; howsoeuer it be a full thing, to cast off vnto the last those good motions vnto repentance, which we know not whether euer God will offer vnto vs againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the sins which are not forsaken before the age of two & fiftie yeeres, shall be punished with small impenitency. But against these two collections of *Tornicellus*, I wil lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not vnlikely, That *Manasses* continued longer in his wickednesse, than *Bellarmino* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimhi* hath affirmed. In the second Booke of *Kings*, the euill which *Manasses* did, is remembered at large, and his repentance vtterly omitted; so that his amendment may seeme to haue taken vp no great part of his life; the story of him being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter: Concerning the rest of the Acts of *Manasses*, and all that he did, and his sinne that he sinned, are they not written in the booke of the Chronicles of the kings of *Juda*? The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the same Booke, where in rehearsing the calamities with vvwhich that Nation was punished in the time of *Iehiakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manasses*, it is said; surely by the commandment of the Lord came this vpon *Juda*, that he might put them out of his sight, for the sinnes of *Manasses*, according to all that hee did, and for the innocent blood that he shed (for he filled *Ierusalem* with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it. Who so considers vvell these places, may find final cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was no earlier than fifteen yeeres before his death; or most probable, That when he was twenty seven yeere old, he repented, and becomning a new man, liued in the feare of God forty yeeres after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth cannot be discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two yeeres of ciuill dissension in *Egypt*, foureteene or fifteen yeeres following, vvherein that kingdom was vvakened, by partition of the Soueraignty: the vvarre of *Psammiticus* against his Associates: and foure and twenty yeeres, of the nine and twenty, wherein the siege of *Azotus* continued, being all vvithin the time of *Manasses*, did leaue no one part of his reigne (after the first fifteen yeeres) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonian*, whose men of warre had continuall occasions of visiting his Countrey. All vvwhich I will adde hereto, is this; that the fifteenth of *Manasses*, was the last yeare of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his reigne, or (accounting from the death of *Asarhaddon*) the twentieth: The seven and twentieth of *Manasses* was the tenth of the twelue Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twenty third of *Psammiticus*, and the fift of *Nabulassar*, the son of of *Merodach*, in *Babylon*: but vvwhich of these was the yeare of his imprisonment, or vvwhether any other, I forbore to shew mine opinion, lest I should thereby seeme to draw all matters ouer-violently to mine owne computation.

This vvvas the first great mastrie that the *Babylonians* had of the kingdom of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Salmanassar*, yet *Ezechias* neuer payed it. True it is, that he hoped to stay *Sennacheribs* enterprise against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of siluer, and thirty of gold, besides the plate which couered the doores, and pillars of the Temple.

But *Manasses* being pressed with greater necessity, could refuse no tollerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impose vpon him; among vvwhich it seemes, that this was one, (which was indeed a point of seruitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whilest they vvvere enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not onely by his fortifying with men of warre all the strong Cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather against *Psammiticus*, whose party he had forsaken, than against the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controuersie) but likewise by that opposition, which *Iosias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in fauour of *Nabulassar*, which had bene against all reason

reason and policie, if it had not bin his duty by couenant. Of this I will speake more in conuenient place.

§. IV.

Of the first and second Messenian Warres, which were in the reignes of Ezekia, and Manasses, Kings of Iuda.

NOW concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of Manasses, the most remarkable were the Messenian Warres; which happened in this age, and being the greatest action performed in Greece, betwene the Trojan and Persian Wars, deserue not to be passed ouer with silence.

The first Messenian Warre began and ended in the dayes of Ezekia; the second in the reign of Manasses: but to auoide the trouble of interrupting our History, I haue thought it best, to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needlesse, than to say, that the posteritie of Hercules, diuining the issue of Pelops and the Achæans out of their seats, diuided their lands between themselves, and erected the Kingdomes of Lacedæmon, Argos, Messene, & Corinth; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and fought one anothers ruine with bloody Wars; whereof these Messenian were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the Messenian Warre, are scarce worth remembrance, they were so sleight. Ambition was the true cause of it: wherewith the Lacedæmonians were so transported, that any thing serued them as a colour to accomplish their greedy desires. Yet other matter was alleged; namely, that one Polycharès a Messenian had slaine many Lacedæmonians, for which the Magistrates of Sparta desiring to haue him yielded into their hands, could not obtaine it. The Messenians on the other side, excused Polycharès, for that he was grown franticke, through iniuries receiued from Euphrès a Lacedæmonian. This Euphrès had bargained to giue pasture to the Cattell of Polycharès, & was therefore to receiue part of the increase: but not contented with the gaine appointed, he sold the Cattail, and slaues that kept them, to Merchants; which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, saying, that they were stolen. Whilest the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaues that had escaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The Lacedæmonian being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to receiue, he carried the Son of Polycharès home with him; but hauing him at home, he villanously slew him. Wherefore the Lacedæmonians hauing refused, after long suite made by the wretched Father, to do him right against this Theefe & Murderer, ought not to picke matter of quarrel, out of those things, which he did in that madnesse, whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the Messenians, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand vnto the iudgement of the Amphictyones, who were as the generall Counsaile of Greece, or to any other faire course. But the Lacedæmonians, who had a great desire to occupie the faire Countrie of Messene, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough, to haue some shew for their doings; which the better to colour, they reckoned vp many old iniuries, & so without sending any defiance, secretly tooke an oath to hold warre with Messene, till they had mastered it: which done, they seized vpon Amphia, a frontier Towne of that Prouince, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercy, very few escaped.

Hereupon the Messenians tooke Armes, and were met by the Enemie. A furious battaile was fought between them, which ended not vntill darke night, with vncertaine victory. The Messenians did strongly encampe themselves; The Lacedæmonians, vnable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre began in the second yeare of the ninth Olympiad, and ended in the first of the fourteenth Olympiad, hauing lasted twenty yeares. The two enemie Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the Lacedæmonians wasting the inland parts of Messene; and the Messenians, the Sea-coast of Laconia. But it was not long ere friends, on both sides, were called in to helpe. The Arcadians, Argiues, and Sicyonians, tooke part with Messene; the Spartans had, besides many Subjects of their owne, aide from Corinth, and hired Souldiers out of Crete. So a second, third and fourth battaile, were fought, with as great obstinacie as the first; sauing that in the fourth battaile the Lacedæmonians were enforced

ced to turne their backs; in the other fights, the victory was still vncertain, though in one of them the Messenians lost Euphrès their King, in whose stead they chose Aristodemus.

Many yeares were spent ere all this blood was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of money to entertaine Souldiers, caused the Warre to linger. And for the same reasons, did the Messenians forsake all their inland towns, excepting Ithome, which was a mountaine with a towne vpon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to doe. But, as some Authors tell vs, the Lacedæmonians were so obstinate in this War, because of their vow; that hauing absented themselves ten yeares from Sparta, their wiues sent them word, that their City would grow vnipeopled, by reason that no children had been borne them in all that time: Whereupon they sent backe all their ablest young men, promiscuously to accompany the young women, who got so many of them with childe, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called Parthenians. Diodorus refers the begetting of these Parthenians to a former time. But in proesse of this Messenian Warre, when the Deuill in an Oracle had aduised the Messenians to sacrifice a Virgin of the stocke of * Egyptus, that so they might be victorious against the Lacedæmonians; the lot falling vpon the Daughter of one Lyciscus; Epibolus the Priest, willing to saue her, said, she was onely a fostered childe, and not borne of the wife of Lyciscus: which answer giuing delay to the execution of the Maide, Lyciscus secretly fled away with her into Sparta. Then Aristodemus, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his owne Daughter: but a young Nobleman, being in loue with the Maide, when otherwise he could not preuaile, said openly that she was no Virgin, but that he had defouled her, and got her with childe: wherupon the Father in a rage ripped vp his innocent Daughters belly, to disproue the Louers slander: at the grane of which Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other superstitions, into despaire of preuailling against the Lacedæmonians, he slew himselfe, to the great hurt of his Country, which he loued most dearly. For after his death the Messenians lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craued peace; which they obtained in most rigorous conditions. Halfe the yearely fruits of their land they were bound to send vnto Sparta; and they, with their Wiues, to make solemne lamentations, at the death of euery Spartan King; they were also sworne to lue in true subiection to the Lacedæmonians; and part of their Territory was taken from them, which was giuen to the Asinai, and such as had followed the Spartans in this Warre.

This peace being made vpon so vneuen termes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty yeares it continued (the Messenians not finding how to helpe themselves) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre, than the former. The able young men, that were growne vp in the roome of those Messenians whom the former Warre had consumed, began to consider their owne strength and multitude, thinking themselves equall to the Lacedæmonians, and therefore scorned to serue such Masters, as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chiefe of these was Aristomenes, a Noble Gentleman, of the house of Egyptus; who perceiving the vniforme desires of his Countre-men, aduentured to become their Leader. He therefore founding the affections of the Argiues & Arcadians, which he found thoroughly answerable to his purpose, began open warre vpon the State of Lacedæmon. This was in the fourth yeare of the three and twentieth Olympiad; when the Lacedæmonians, hasted to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their owne, without troubling their friends, meaning to deale with their enemies, ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battaile was fought between them, & a doubtfull; saue that the Messenians were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, to thinke them their equals. Particularly, the valour of Aristomenes appeared such in this fight, that his people would haue made him their King; but hee, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one yeare another battaile was fought, wherunto each part came better provided. The Lacedæmonians brought with them the Corinthians, and some other friends to helpe: the Messenians had the Argiues, Arcadians, & Sicyonians. This also was a long and bloody fight; but Aristomenes did so behaue himselfe, that finally he made the Enemies suppe for their liues. Of such importance was this victory, that the Lacedæmonians began to bethinke themselves, of making some good agreement.

Small 1.6.
Cros. 1.1. 1.11.

Diod. 15.

* This Egyptus was the youngest Son of Crispus by Acrop, the daughter of Crispus King of Arcadia; of which Crispus the chiefe Nobility of the Messenians was propagated.

But one *Tyrans* an Athenian Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-enforced their spirits with his Verses. After this, *Arisfomenes* took by surprise a Town in Laconia, and vanquished in fight *Anaxander* king of Sparta, who did set vpon him in hope to haue recovered the booty.

But all these victories of *Arisfomenes* perished, in the losse of one battaile, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or surely the profit, fell vpon the Lacedæmonians, through the treason of *Arisfocrates*, king of Arcadia, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the Messenians exposed to a cruell butchery. The losse was so great, that together with Andania their principall Citie, all the townes of Messene, standing too far from the Sea, were abandoned, for lack of men to defend them, & the Mount Era fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conveyed into a place of safety. Here the Lacedæmonians found a tedious work, that held them cleauen yeares. For besides that Era it selfe was a strong peece, *Arisfomenes* with three hundred stout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindered their attendance on the siege. Hee wasted all the fields of Messene, that were in the enemies power, and brake into Laconia, taking away Corne, Wine, Cattell, and all provisions, necessary for his owne people; the Slaues and household stufte he changed into money, suffering the owners to redeeme them. To remedy this mischief the Lacedæmonians made an Edict, that neither Messene, nor the adioyning parts of their owne Country, should be tillled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almost vndone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrans* appeased this vproare with pleasing Songs. But *Arisfomenes* grew so bold, that he not only ranged ouer all the fields, but aduentured vpon the Towns, surprised, and sackt Amyclæ, & finally caused the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking Era.

In performing these and other seruices, thrice *Arisfomenes* was taken prisoner; yet still he escaped. One escape of his deserues to be remembered, as a thing very strange and maruailous. He had with too much courage aduentured to set vpon both the Kings of Sparta; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken vpon senselesse, and carried away prisoner, with fifty of his Companions. There was a deepe natural Caue into which the Spartans vsed to cast head-long, such as were condemned to dye for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Arisfomenes* and his companions adiudged. All the rest of these poore men dyed with their fals; *Arisfomenes* (howsoeuer it came to passe) tooke no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be imprisoned in a deepe Dungeon, among dead carcasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while he perceived by some smal glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Foxe that was gnawing vpon a dead body. Hereupon he bethought himselfe, that this beast must needs know some way, to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold vpon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, saued himselfe from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coate into the mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, vntill the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Foxe being loose, ran through an hole at which came in a little light; and there did *Arisfomenes* delue so long with his nailes, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some fugitiues of Messene brought word to Sparta, that *Arisfomenes* was returned home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was reuiued. But when the Corinthian forces, that came to helpe the Lacedæmonians in the siege of Era, were cut in pieces, their Captaines slaine, and their Campe taken; then was it easily beleeued, that *Arisfomenes* was aliue indeed.

Thus cleuen yeares passed whilest the enemies houering about Era, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Arisfomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slane, that had fled from Sparta, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdnesse the wife of a Messenian, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainie-winter-night, that the husband came home vnlooked for, whilest the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asked him, by what good fortune he was returned so soone. He told her, that the storme of foule weather was such, as had made all his fellowes leaue their Stations, and that himselfe had done as the

rest

rest did; as for *Arisfomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad; neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would stirre, in such a darker rainie night as this was. The slane that heard these tidings, rose vp secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the Lacedæmonian Campe with the newes. There he found *Emperamus* his Master, commanding in the Kings absence. To him he vttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the Town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarme was presently taken; and the extreame darknesse, together with the noise of winde and raine, hindered all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruell fight; one part being incited, by meere hope of ending a long worke, the other enraged by meere desperation. The great aduantage that the Spartans had in numbers, was recompenced partly by the assistance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of seruitude had taught contempt of death) gaue to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrownesse of the streetes and other passages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the Messenians were in continuall toyle; their Enemies fought in course, refreshing themselves with meate and sleepe, and then returning supplied the place of their weary fellowes with fresh Companions. *Arisfomenes* therefore, perceiuing that his men for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (as hauing bene three dayes, and three nights vexed with all miseries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger and thirst, besides continuall raine and cold) gathered together all the weaker sort, whom he compassed round with armed men, and so attempted to breake out through the midst of the Enemies. *Emperamus* General of the Lacedæmonians was glad of this: and to further their departure, caused his Souldiers to giue an open way, leauing a faire passage to these desperate madmen. So they issued forth, and arriued safe in Arcadia, where they were most louingly entertained.

Vpon the first bruit of the taking of Era, the Arcadians had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Arisfocrates* their false-hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Arisfomenes* had placed his followers in safety, he chose out five hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret haste vnto Sparta, hoping to finde the Towne secure, and ill manned, the people being runne forth to the spoile of Messene. In this enterprize, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the Lacedæmonians would be glad to recouer their owne, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred Arcadians that offered to ioyne with him; but *Arisfocrates* marred all, by sending speedy aduertisement thereof to *Anaxander* King of Sparta. The Epistle which *Anaxander* sent back to *Arisfocrates*, was intercepted by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falshood, which being published in open assembly, the Arcadians stoned him to death, and casting forth his body vnburied, erected a monument of his treachery, with a note: That the Periurer cannot deceiue God.

Of *Arisfomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people to the charge of his Son *Gorgus* & other sufficient Gouvernours, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, he resolved himselfe to make abroad in those parts, hoping to finde the Lacedæmonians work at home. His daughters he bestowed honorably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus*, who reigned in the Ile of Rhodes, tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the daughter of the best man in Greece. Finally, *Arisfomenes* went with his daughter to Rhodes, whence he purposed to haue trauielled vnto *Ardis* the Sonne of *Gyges* King of Lydia, & to *Phraortes* King of Media: but death preuented him at Rhodes, where he was honourably buried.

The Messenians were inuited by *Anaxilus* (whose great Grandfather was a Messenian, and went into Italy after the former warre) being Lord of the Rhegiens in Italy, to take his part against the Zancleans in Sicily, on the other side of the Streights. They did so; and winning the Towne of Zancle, called it Messene, which name it keeps to this day.

This second Messenian warre ended in the first yeare of the twenty eight Olympiad. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home serued the Lacedæmonians, found meanes to rebell; but were soone vanquished, and being driuen to forsake Peloponnesus, they went into Acarnania; whence likewise, after few ages they

were expelled by the Lacedæmonians, and then followed their ancient Country-men into Italy and Sicily; some of them went into Africa, where they chose vnto themselves a seate.

It is very strange, that during two hundred & fourescore years, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customes, language, hatred of Sparta, & loue of their forsaken Country, with a desire to returne vnto it. In the third year of the hundred & second Olympiad, that great *Epaminondas*, hauing tamed the pride of the Lacedæmonians, reuoked the Messenians home, who came flocking out of all quarters where they dwelt abroad, into Peloponnesus. There did *Epaminondas* restore vnto them their old possession, & help them in building a faire City; which, by the name of the Prouince, was called *Messene*, and was held by them euer after, in despight of the Lacedæmonians, of whom they neuer from thenceforth stood in feare.

S. V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia and Media, while Manasses reigned. whether Deioeces the Mede were that Arphaxad which is mentioned in the Booke of Iudith. Of the historie of Iudith.

Ardys King of Lydia, and *Phraortes* of the Medes, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as reigning shortly after the Messenian war. *Ardys* succeeding vnto his father *Gyges*, began his reigne of nine and forty yeares, in the second of the five and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the steps of his father, who encroaching vpon the Ionians in Asia, had taken Colophon by force, and attempted Miletus & Smyrna. In like maner *Ardys* van Priene, & assailed Miletus; but went away without it. In his reigne, the Cimmerians, being expelled out of their own country by the Scythians, ouerran a great part of Asia, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alxaius* this mans Grandchilde, by whom they were driuen out. They had not only broken into Lydia, but wan the City of *Sardes*; though the Castle or Citadell thereof was defended against them, and held still for King *Ardys*; whose long reigne was vnable, by reason of this great storme, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King vntill the third yeare of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which was six yeares after the Messenian war ended; the same being the last yeare of *Manasses* his reigne ouer Iuda.

Deioeces the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of Media, three and fifty of these five & fifty yeares in which *Manasses* reigned. This *Deioeces* was the first that ruled the Medes in a strict forme, commanding more absolutely than his Predecessours had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had giuen to the people so much licence, as caused euery one to desire the wholesome severity of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioeces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he tooke vnto him a Guard, for defence of his person; he seldome gaue presence, which also when he did, it was with such austeritie; that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly vpheld the Maiesty, which his predecessours had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportiments. In execution of his Royall Office, he did vprightly and seuerely administer iustice, keeping secret spies to informe him of all that was done in the Kingdome. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching vpon others; but studied how to gouerne well his owne. The difference found betwene this king, and such as were before him, seemes to haue bred that opinion which *Herodotus* deliueis, that *Deioeces* was the first who reigned in Media.

This was he that built the great City of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he should be that king *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the story of *Iudith*, as also *Ben Merodach*, by the same accompt, should be *Nabuchodonosor* the Assyrian, by whom *Arphaxad* was slaine, and *Holofernes* sent to worke wonders vpon Phud and Lud, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the last yeare of *Deioeces* to haue been the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the reigne of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

In

In fitting this booke of *Iudith* to a certaine time, there hath much labour been spent with ill successe. The reignes of *Cambyses*, *Darius Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, haue beene sought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: & now of late, the times, foregoing the destruction of *Ierusalem*, haue beene thought vpon, and this age that we haue in hand, chosen by *Bellarmino*, as agreeing best with the story; though others herein cannot (I speak of such as faime would) agree with him. Whilest *Cambyses* reigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the story of *Iudith*, is found standing and dedicated. The other two Persian Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes* are acknowledged to haue beene very fauourable to the Iewes; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, & who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conueniences, aply fitting this History; and aboue all, the opinion of a few ancient Writers (without whose iudgement the authority of this Booke were of no value) hauing placed this argument in the Persian Monarchy, inclines the matter to the reigne of his vaine-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the businesse, Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this History, there must be a returne from captiuitie lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt, *Ioachim* High Priest; & a long peace of threescore and ten yeares or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the Iewes. Likewise on the other side, we must finde a King that reigned in Nineue, eightene yeares at the least; that vanquished & slew a King of the Medes; one whom the Iewes refused to assist, one that fought generally to be adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples, of such as were accounted gods, to be destroyed; one whose Vice-roy or Captaine Generall knew not the Iewish Nation, but was faime to learne what they were of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of *Ioachim*, with a returne from Captiuitie, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manasses* before the destruction of *Ierusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the rebuilding of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reigne of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captiuitie of the Iewes, & desolation of the City. Wherefore the briefe decision of this controuersie is, That the Booke of *Iudith* is not Canonically. Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that vnder *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and re-edified the City of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Deioeces*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted, he addes, that from the twelfth yeare to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is five or six yeares, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes* in his Grecian expedition (which he supposeth to haue beene so long) might giue occasion vnto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonosor* hauing vanquished and slaine *Arphaxad*, might then seeke to make himselfe Lord of all, by the Army which he sent forth vnto *Holofernes*. So should the Iewes haue done their duty, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Soueraigne Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also, the other circumstances rehearsed before, be well applied to the argument. For in these times, the affaires of Iury were agreeable to the History of *Iudith*, and such a King as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough be ignorant of the Iewes, & as proud as we shall need to thinke him. But the silence of all Histories, takes away beliefe from this coniecture: and the supposition it selfe is very hard, that a Rebelle, whose King was abroad, with an Army consisting of seuentene hundred thousand men, should presume so farre, vpon the strength of twelue hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand Archers on horsebacke, as to thinke that he might doe what he list, yea that there was none other God than himselfe. It is indeede easie to finde enough that might be said against this deuce of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any necessity of holding the booke of *Iudith*, to be Canonically, I would rather choose to lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some defence vpon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it self. That *Iudith* liued vnder none of the Persian Kings, *Bellarmino* (whose workes I haue not read, but finde him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proued by many arguments. That she liued not in the Reigne of *Manasses*, *Torniellus* hath proued very substantially, shewing how the Cardinall is driuen, as it were to breake through a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonosor*,

chodoros, found out by *Tormellus*, are the children of mere fantasie, it is so plaine that it needes no prooffe at all. Wherefore we may truly say, that they, which haue contended about the time of this History, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stony field) haue chased *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni solisque vias*, in an age that neuer was, and in places that were neuer known.

Judith c. 2. ver. 23. & 25. Surely, to finde out the borders of Iapheth, which were towards the South, and ouer against Arabia; or the Countries of *Phul* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I thinke it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as the former question hath done Chronologers. But I will not busie my selfe herewith; hauing already so farre digressed, in shewing who liued not with *Manasses*, that I thinke it high time, to returne vnto mine owne worke, and rehearse what others I finde, to haue had their part, in the long time of his Reigne.

S. V L

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.

THE first yeare of *Manasses* was the last of *Romulus*; after whose death, one yeare the Romanes wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabine* chosen; a peaceable man and seeming very religious in his kinde. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed onely in warres, to some good ciuility, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiarity with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies, which he deliuered vnto the Romanes as things of great importance. But all these deuices of *Numa* were, in his owne iudgement, no better than mere delusions that serued onely as rudiments to bring the sauage multitude of theeues and out-lawes, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to some forme of milder discipline, than their boyfsterous and wilde natures was otherwise apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Books that were found in his graue, almost fixe hundred yeares after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himselfe was condemned as vaine. His graue was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffines or Chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in Greeke and Latine letters, which said, That *Numa Pompilius* the son of *Pompe*, King of the Romanes lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his body being vtterly consumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped vp in two bundels of waxe; of his owne constitutions seuen, and other seuen of Philosophy. They were not only vncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the City desiring to haue a sight of these Bookes, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliuer them backe to the owner, and offered to take a solemn oath that they were against the Religion then in vse. Hereupon the Senate, without more adoe, commanded them to be openly burnt. It seemes that *Numa* did meane to acquite himselfe vnto wiser ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not bene so foolish as to beleue the Doctrine wherein he instructed his owne barbarous times. But the poyson wherewith he had infected Rome, when hee fate in his Throne, had not left working, when he ministred the Antidote out of his graue. Had these Bookes not come to light, vntill the dayes of *Tully* and *Cesar*, when the miste of ignorance was somewhat better discussed; likely it is that they had not onely escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peraduenture generall) effect. Being as it was, they serued as a confutation, without remedy, of Idolatry that was inueterate.

Numa reigned three and forty yeares in continuall peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third King was chosen, in the fixe and fortieth of *Manasses*, and reigned two and thirty yeares, busied, for the most part in warre. Hee quarrelled with the Albanes, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to feare, that might grow vnto them from the *Thuscans*, caused them to bethinke themselves of a course, whereby without effusion of so much blood, as might make them too weak for a common enemy, it might be decided, who should command, and who obey.

There

There were in each Campe three Brethren, Twins borne at one birth (*Dionysius* saies that they were Cosen Germans) of equall yeares and strength, who were appointed to fight for their seuerall Countries. The end was, that the *Horatij*, Champions for the Romanes got the victory, though two of them first lost their liues. The three *Curatij* that fought for *Alba* (as *Linie* tels it) were all alike, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slaine; but the third *Horatius*, pretending feare, did runne away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts, could not follow him with equall speed, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning vpon them, he slue them, as it had bene in single fight, man after man, ere they could ioyne together and set vpon him all at once. *Dionysius* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling very particularly, what wounds were giuen and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatij* was slaine; then one of the *Curatij*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatij*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly seuer the one from the other, as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old Roman History, both in regard of the action it selfe, wherein Rome was laid, as it were in a wager, against *Alba*, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the Roman State obtained. For the City of *Alba* did immediatly become subiect vnto her owne Colony, and was shortly after, vpon some treacherous dealing of their Gouvernour, vtterly razed, the people being remoued vnto Rome, where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the Latines, whereof *Alba*, as the mother City, had been chiefe, became ere long dependant vpon Rome, though not subiect vnto it, & diuers petty States adiacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the works of sundry ages, & few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) vntill such time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancy, shall grow to be the main subiect of this History.

The seuenth yeare of *Hippomenes* in Athens, was current with the first of *Manasses*. Also the three last Gouvernours for ten yeares, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same Kings time. Of these I finde only names, *Leocrates*, *Absander*, and *Ereizias*. After *Ereizias* 30 yearly Rulers were elected.

These Gouvernours for ten yeares, were also of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*; but their time of rule was shortned, & from terme of life reduced vnto ten years; it being thought likely that they would gouerne the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to liue private men vnder the command of others. I follow *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, in applying their times vnto those yeares of the Olympiads, wherein the Chronologicall Table, following this worke, doth set them. For he not only professeth himselfe to haue taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwaies the years of the Greeks, how they did answer vnto the things of Rome, throughout all the continuance of this History. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of Rome, in the first 40 yeare of the seuenth Olympiad, and affirms, that the same was the first yeare of *Charops* gouernment of Athens; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who sets the beginning of these Athenians somewhat sooner.

In the reigne of *Manasses* it was, that *Midas*, whom the Poets fained to haue had Asses eares, held the kingdome of Phrygia. Many fables were deuised of him; especially that hee obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch, might immediatly be changed into Gold: by which meanes he had like to haue bene starued (his meate and drinke being subiect to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* deliuered him from this miserable faculty, by causing him to wash himselfe in the River *Pagolus*, the streame whereof hath euer since, forsooth, abounded in that precious Metall. Finally, it is said he dyed by drinking Bulls blood; being inuaded by the Scythians.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) observed the Moones Eclipse at the foundation of Rome.

The Milesians, or, (as *Ensebius* hath it) the Athenians hauing obtained some power by Sea, founded *Macieratis* a City on the East of Egypt. *Psammetichus* herein seems to haue assisted them, who vsed all meanes of drawing the Greeks into Egypt, accounting them his surest strength. For neither Miletus nor Athens were now of power sufficient to plant a Colony in Egypt by force.

About

Plut. & Euseb.

* Whence in
Strabo there is
finu. A lacus
a part of Pro-
ponti where
this City flau-
deeth Pausan.
Hall. 1.
Strabo 16.

Infin. 1. 7.
Euseb. 1. 10.

About this time *Archias* with his companion *Miscellus*, and other Corinthians founded *Syracuse* in *Sicily*, a City in after-times exceeding famous.

The City of *Nicomedia* sometime * *Astacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Zipartes* natiue of *Thrace*. *Sybilla* of *Samus*, according to *Pausanias*, liued much about this time.

About these times also was *Croton* founded vpon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuse*. *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient: and so doth *Pausanias*.

About the same time the *Parthenians* being of age, & banished *Lacedæmon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italy*; where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but *Isidore* and *Pausanias* finde it built before, and by them conquered and amplified: and about the same time *Manasse* yet liuing, the city *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the region of the *Vmbri*, now *Vrbini* in *Italy*. About which time also *Chalcedon* in *Asia*, ouer against *Byzantium* (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenses*: who therefore were vbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to haue bin done in the fiftie and fifty yeares of *Manasses*: that which already hath been told is enough: the rest being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reseruing only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the businesse that will shortly require more mention of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of *Manasses* to the destruction of *Ierusalem*.

§. I.

Of *Ammon* and *Iosias*.



Ammon the sonne of *Manasse*, a man no lesse wicked than was his Father before his conuersion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatry: for which God hardened the hearts of his owne seruants against him: who slew him after he had reigned two yeares. *Philo*, *Eusebius*, and *Nicephorus* giue him ten yeares, following the Septuagint.

Iosias succeeded vnto *Ammon*, being but a childe of 8. yeares old, he began to seek after the God of *Dauid* his Father; and in his twelfth yeare he purged *Iuda* and *Ierusalem* from the high places, and the grones, and the carued and molten Images: and they

brake downe in his sight the Altars of *Baalim*: He caused all the Images as well those which were grauen, as molten, to be stamp to powder, and strewed on their graues that had erected them, and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. He also slew those that sacrificed to the Sunne and Moone, and caused the Chariots and Horses of the Sunne to be burnt. Of *Iosias* it was prophesied in the time of *Ieroboam* the first, when he erected the Golden Calfe at *Bethel*, that a child should be born vnto the house of *Dauid*, *Iosias* by name, and vpon thee (said the Prophet speaking to the Altar) shall he sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burne incense vpon thee: a prophecy very remarkable.

In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, he rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Priest found the Booke of *Moses*, called *Deuteronomy*, or, of the Law which he sent to the King: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the seuerer commandments therein written, the prosperity promised to those that obserue them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to aske counsell of the Prophetesse *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Booke, who answered the messengers in these words: Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring euill vpon this place, and vpon the inhabitants thereof, euem all the curses that are written in the Booke, which they haue read before the King of *Iuda*, because they haue forsaken

2 Kings 21.
2 Chron. 33.

2 Kings 22.
2 Chron. 34.

1 Kings 13.

2 Chron. 34. 24.

forsaken mee, and burnt incense to other gods. Only for the king himselfe, because he was a louer of God and his Lawes, it was promised that this euill should not fall on *Iuda* and *Ierusalem* in his daies, but that he himselfe should inherit his graue in peace.

Iosias assembled the Elders, caused the Booke to be read vnto them, made a couenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Ierusalem* and *Beniamin* to doe the like, promising thereby to obserue the Lawes and Commandements in the Booke contained.

The execution done by *Iosias* vpon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the false Prophets at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to haue extended vnto those Countries, that had beene part of the kingdom of the ten Tribes. Yet I doe not thinke, that any victory of *Iosias* in warre got possession of these places, but rather that *Ezekias*, after the flight & death of *Sennacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himselfe against *Asarhaddon*, did vse the aduantage which the faction in the North presented vnto him, and laid hold vpon so much of the kingdom of *Israel*, as he was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himself vnable to deal with *Psammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Azotus*, though the Towne held out nine and twenty yeares) did giue vnto *Manasses*, together with his liberty, as much in *Israel* as himselfe could not easily defend. This was a good way to breake the amity that the kings of *Iuda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by casting a bone between them, & withall by this benefite of enlarging their Territories with adition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the Iewes, which had been lost by iniuries done, in seeking to bereaue them of their owne. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliuerance from imprisonment, put Captaines of warre in all the strong Cities of *Iuda*, it may be that some such businesse is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places deliuered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he took much paines, in making *Ierusalem* it selfe more defensible; yet I should rather beleeue, that he, hauing already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himselfe against the *Egyptians*, whose side he had forsaken, than that he trauelled in making such prouisions, only for his mindes sake. The earnestnesse of *Iosias* in the king of *Babel* his quarrell, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made with that King or his Ancestor, was vpon such friendly termes, as required not only a faithfull obseruation, but a thankfull requitall. For no perswasions could suffice to make *Iosias* sit still, and hold himselfe quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharao Neco* king of *Egypt* passed along by him, to warre vpon the Countries about the Riuer of *Euphrates*.

The last yeare of *Iosias* his reigne it was, when as *Neco* the sonne of *Psammiticus*, came with a powerfull Army towards the border of *Iudæa*, determining to passe that way, being the nearest toward *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that Riuer about *Carchemish*, or *Cereusium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Dioclesian* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to haue done), or perhaps to inuade *Syria* it self. For it seemeth that the trauaile of *Psammiticus* had not beene idly consumed about that one Towne of *Aramus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged vnto the *Adades* Kings of *Damasco*.

Neither was the industry of *Neco* lesse than his Fathers had beene, in pursuing the warre against *Babel*. In which war, two things may greatly haue auailed the *Egyptians*, & aduanced their affaires & hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better Souldiers than *Egypt* of it selfe could afford, and the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the *Medes*, which vnder the command of more absolute Princes, began to feeble it selfe better; and to shew what it could doe. These were great helpes, but of shorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more conuenient shall be noted. At the present it seems, that either some preparation of the *Chaldeans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did inuite the King of *Egypt*, into the Countries bordering vpon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Neco* ascended with a mighty Army.

These two great Monarchs, hauing their swords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Iosias* aduised with himselfe to which of these he might adhere, hauing his Territory set in the mid-way between both, so as the one could not inuade the other; but that they must of necessity tread vpon the very face and body of his Country. Now though it were so that *Neco* himselfe desired by his Embassadors,

2 Kings 22. 15.
2 Chron. 34.

2 Chron. 33. 14.

2 Chron. 35. 20.

^{a Chron. 35.} leaue to passe along by Iudaa, protesting that he directed himselfe against the Assyrians only, without all harmefull purpose against *Iosias*; yet all sufficed not, but the King of Israel would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of Egypt could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Hosea* the last King of Israel, who when he fell from the dependance of the Assyrian, and wholly trusted to *Sabaco*, or *Sous* King of Egypt, was vnterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life & estate, which the Assyrian so rooted vp and tare in pieces, as it could neuer after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fel vpon Iuda in the thirteenth and fourteenth yeares of *Ezekia*, whilst that good king and his people relied vpon *Sethon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient prooffe, to shew the ill assurance, that was in the help of the Egyptians, who (neare neighbors though they were) were alwaies vnready, when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hercof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seeke, to haue the Iewes renew their ancient league with him, but only craued that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime between him and the Assyrians. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Army, as did, soone after this, out-face *Nabulassar* vpon his owne borders, left vnto the Iewes, a lawfull excuse of feare, had they forborne to giue it any checke vpon the way. Wherefore I beleue, that this religious and vertuous Prince *Iosias*, was not stirred vp only by politick respects, to stop the way of *Neco*, but thought himself bound in faith & honour, to do his best in defence of the Babylonian Crowne; wherunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by couenant made at the enlargement of *Manasses*, or by the gift of such part as he held in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of Iuda, they had now a good occasion to shew, both vnto the Babylonians, of what importance their friendship was, and to the Egyptians what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their Enemy.

Some thinke, that this action of *Iosias*, was contrary to the aduice of *Jeremy* the Prophet, which I doe not finde in the Prophecy of *Jeremy*, nor can finde reason to beleue. Others hold opinion, that he forgot to aske the counsell of God: and this is very likely; seeing he might beleue that an enterprize grounded vpon fidelity and thankfulness due to the king of Babel, could not but be displeasing vnto the Lord. But the wickednes of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such roote, as all the care of *Iosias* in reforming the Land, could not plucke vp) was questionlesse farre from harkening how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined that their good King, whose life stood between them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should giue an entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Iosias* leauing all the strength he could make neare vnto Megiddo, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasses*, encountered *Neco*: and there he receiued the stroake of death, which lingring about him till he came to Ierusalem, brought him to the Sepulchres of his Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all the People and Princes of Iuda, especially of *Jeremy* the Prophet: who inserted a sorrowfull remembrance thereof in his Booke of Lamentations.

S. II.

Of Pharaon *Neco* that fought with *Iosias*: Of *Ichoahaz* and *Ichoiakim* Kings of Israel.

Of these warres, and particularly of this victory, *Herodotus* hath mention, among the acts of *Neco*. He tels vs of this King, that he went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might passe, out of Nilus into the Red Sea. It should haue reached about an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the midst of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should haue the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when halfe was done. There were consumed in this toyle some businesse twelue hundred thousand Egyptians; a losse great enough to make the King forsake his enterprize, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howsoeuer it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet,

and

and leauied a great Army, wherewith he marched against the king of Babel. In this expedition he vied the seruice, as well of his Nauy, as of his land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein, are found recorded, saue only this victory against *Iosias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place Magdulus, and the Iewes Syrians; which is a small error, seeing that Iudaa was a Prouince of Syria, and Magdulus or Magdala is taken to haue bin the same place (though diuersly named) in which this battell was fought. After this, *Neco* tooke the City of Cadytis, which was perhaps Charchemish, by Euphrates, and made himselfe Lord, in a manner, of all Syria, as *Iosephus* witnesseth.

Particularly we find, that the Phoenicians, one of the most powerful Nations in Syria, were his Subiects, & that by his command they surrounded all Africa, setting saile from the gulfes of Arabia, & so passing along all the Coast, whereon they both landed, as need required, and sowed corne for their sustenance; in that long voyage which lasted three yeares. This was the first Nauigation about Africa, wherein that great Cape, now called *Of good hope*, was discovered, which after was forgotten, vntil *Vasco de Gama* the Portugall found it out, following a contrary course to that which the Phoenicians held; for they, beginning in the East, ranne the way of the Sun, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars & streights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the streights of Gybraltar, hauing *Africke* still on the right hand; but the Portugals, beginning their voyage not farre from the same streights, leaue *Africke* on the Larboord, and bend their course vnto the East. That report of the Phoenicians, which *Herodotus* durst not beleue, how the Sun in this iourne was on their right hand, that is, on the North side of them, is a matter of necessary truth; & the obseruation then made hercof, makes me the better to beleue, that such a voyage was indeed performed. But leauing these discourses of *Neco* his magnificence, let vs tell what he did, in matters more importing his Estate. The people of Iuda, while the Egyptians were busie at Charchemish, had made *Ichoahaz* their King, in the roome of his father *Iosias*. The Prophet *Jeremy* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short Reigne of *Shallum* King of the ten Tribes: for *Shallum* of Israel reigned but one moneth; *Ichoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldest son of *Iosias*: Wherefore it may seem that he was set vp as the best affected vnto the King of Babel, the rest of his house being more inclined to the Egyptian, as appeares by the sequele. An Idolater he was, and thriued accordingly. For when as *Neco* had dispatched his busines in the North parts of Syria, then did he take order for the affaires of Iudaa. This Country was now so far from making any resistance, that the King himselfe came from Riblah in the land of Hamath, where the matter went so ill on his side, that *Neco* did cast him into bonds, and carry him prisoner into Egypt, giuing away his Kingdome to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The City of Riblah, in after times called Antiochia, was a place vnhappy to the Kings and Princes of Iuda, as may be obserued in diuers examples. Yet here *Ichoiakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdome; an ill gaine, since hee could no better vse it. But how-euer *Ichoiakim* thriued by the bargaine, *Pharaoh* sped well, making that Kingdome Tributary; without any stroke stricken, which three moneths before was too stout to giue him peace, when hee desired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outwards, *Neco* had a greater taske lying vpon his hands, than would permit him to waste his forces vpon Iudaa: but now the reputation of his good successe at Megiddo, and Charchemish, together with the dissention of the Princes *Iosias* his sonnes (of whom the eldest is probably thought to haue stormed at the preferment of his younger brother) gaue him power to doe, euen what should please himselfe. Yet he did forbear to make a conquest of the Land; perhaps vpon the same reason, which had made him so earnest, in seeking to hold peace with it. For the Iewes had suffered much, in the Egyptians quarrell, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, vnto all extremities, were driuen of necessity to forsake that party, and to ioyne with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them; seeing they were such a people as would not vpon euery occasion shift side, but endure more, than *Pharaoh*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay vpon them: so good a Patron did he meane to be vnto them. Neuertheless he laid vpon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of siluer, and one Talent of gold; that so hee might both reape at the present some fruit of his paines taken, and leaue vnto them some document in the future, of greater

greater punishment than verball anger, due to them, if they should rebell. So he departed, carrying along with him into Egypt the vnfortunate king *Ichoabaz*, who died in his Captiuitie.

The reigne of *Ichoabaz* was included in the end of his Fathers last yeare; otherwise it would hardly be found; that *Ichoiakim*, his successour, did reigne ten whole yeares; whereas the Scriptures giue him eleuen, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three moneths of this short reigne, into the first yeare of the brother, than into the fathers last; the same arguments that shall maintaine his opinion, will also proue the matter to be vnworthy of disputation; and so I leaue it.

Ichoiakim in impiety was like his brother, in faction he was altogether Egyptian, as hauing receiued his Crowne at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickednesse of these last kings, being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by generall words, with reference to all the euill that their Fathers had done; makes it apparant, that the poyson wherewith *Ahas* and *Manasses* had infected the Land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodnes of *Iehoi*, but that it still cleaued vnto the chiefe of the people, *Yea vnto the Priests also*; and therefore it was not strange, that the Kings had their parts therein. The Royall authority was much abased by the dangers wherein the Country stood, in this trouble-some age: the Princes did in a manner what they listed; neither would the Kings forbear to professe, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Ichoiakim* had the countenance of the Egyptian to grace it, which made him insolent and cruell; as we finde by that example of his dealing with *Vria* the Prophet: though herein also the Princes doe appeare to haue been instigators. This holy man denounced Gods iudgements against the City and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poore man fled into Egypt: but such regard was had vnto *Ichoiakim*, that *Vria* was deliuered vnto his Embassadour, and sent backe to the death; contrary to the custome vsed, both in those daies, & since among all ciuill Nations, of giuing refuge vnto strangers, that are not held guilty of such inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind should be exempted from all priuiledge.

It concerned *Pharao* to giue all contentment possible to *Ichoiakim*: for the Assyrian Lyon, that had not stirred in many yeares, began about these times, to roare so loud vpon the banks of Euphrates, that his voice was heard vnto Nilus, threatening to make himselfe Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawne the house of *Merodach*, from opposing the Egyptian in his conquest of Syria, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at Charchemish, where shortly after this, the glory of Egypt is to fall.

§. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to passe that the Kings of Babel could not giue attendance on their businesse in Syria; which caused them to lose that Province.

Merodach the sonne of *Baladan*, who taking the aduentage that *Sennacherib*'s misadventure and death, together with the dissention betweene his children presented, made himselfe king of Babylon, was eleuen yeares troubled with a powerfull Enemy *Asarhaddon* the sonne of *Sennacherib*, reigning ouer the Assyrians in Nineue; from whom whilest he could not any other way diuert his cares, he was faine to omit all businesse in Syria, and (as hath beene formerly shewed) to make ouer vnto *Ezekias*, some part of the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asarhaddon* did not only set him free, but gaue vnto him some part of Assyria, if not (as is commonly, but lesse probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How greatly this was to the liking of the Assyrians, I will not here stand to enquire: his long reigne following, & his little intermeddling in matters of Syria, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. *Isephus* giues him the honour of hauing wonne Nineue it selfe, which we may beleue; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soone following, that great City was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the Median. Perhaps it yeelded vpon some capitulation: and

and refused afterwards to continue subiect, when the Kings, being of the Chaldean race, preferred Babylon before it.

Some think that this was the Assyrian King, whose Captaines tooke *Manasses* prisoner; but I rather beleue those that hold the contrary, for which I haue giuen my reasons in due place. To say truth, I finde little cause why *Merodach* should haue looked into those parts, as long as the Iewes were his friends, and the Egyptians, that maligned the Northern Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was vntill the time of *Psummaticus*, about the end of this Kings Reigne, or the beginning of his son.

Ben Merodach the son and successour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good consent of Authors, and that speake little of his doings. The length of his Reigne is gathered by inference to haue beene one and twenty yeares; for so much remaineth of the time that passed betweene the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Reignes (which is a knowne summe) deducting the yeares of his Father, and of his sonne *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasses* Prisoner, and released him. He sped ill in Syria, where *Psummaticus*, by the vertue of his Mercenary Greekes, did much preuaile. This may haue beene some cause that he released *Manasses*, and did put into his hands some part more of the Kingdome of Samaria: which is made probable by circumstances allledged before.

Nabulassar that reigned in Babylon after his father *Ben Merodach*, had greater business in his owne Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad: inasmuch as it may be thought to haue beene a great negligence or oversight of *Psummaticus* and *Neco*, that they did not occupy some good part of his Dominions beyond Euphrates. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the Medes invaded Assyria, and besieged Nineue; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remoue by the coming of the Scythians, who in these ages did ouer-flow those parts of the world, laying hold vpon all that they could master by strong hand. Of these Scythians, and the Lordship that they held in Asia, it is conuenient that I speak in this place, shewing briefly afore-hand, how the Medes, vpon whom they first fell, were buised in the same times with hopes of conquering Assyria.

Phraortes, the sonne of *Deioces*, King of the Medes, hauing by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceiued at length a faire possibility of making himselfe Lord of Nineue.

That City (as *Herodotus* reports it) hauing beene a Soueraigne Lady, was not forsaken of all her dependants; yet remained in such case, that of her selfe she was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howsoeuer *Merodach* had gotten possession of this imperiall seat, and made it subiect as was the rest of the Country; yet it found the means to set it selfe at liberty: as after this againe he did, when it had beene regained by *Nabulassar* his Grand-child.

Sharpe warre, and the very nouelty of suddaine violence, vse to dismay any State or Country, not inured to the like: but custome of danger hardeneth euen those that are vnwarlike. Nineue had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had suffered, and resisted, all the fury, wherewith either Domestickall tumults betweene the sons of *Sennacherib*, or forreigne war of the Babylonians, could afflict it: and therefore it is the lesse wonderfull, that *Phraortes* did speed so ill in his journey against it. He and the most of his Army perished in that expedition: whereof I finde no particular circumstances (perhaps he vnderuallued their forces, and brought a lesse power than was needfull). It is enough, that hereith we may beleue *Herodotus*.

Cyzaxer the sonne of *Phraortes*, a brauer man of war than his Father, wan as much of *Assie* the lesse, as lay Eastward, from the Riuer of Halys; hee sought reuenge vpon the Assyrians for the death of his father, & besieged Nineue it selfe, hauing a purpose to destroy it. I rather beleue *Babelius*, that hee tooke the City, and fulfilled his displeasure vpon it, than *Herodotus*, that the Scythians came vpon him whilest hee lay before it. For where equall authorities are contradictory (as *Essebius*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet haue seen other Authors that are now lost, it is to be valued according to his great reading) we do hold it best, to yeeld vnto the most likelihood.

To thinke that the Scythians came vpon *Cyzaxer*, whilest he lay before Nineue, were to accuse him of greater imprudence, than ought to be suspected in one commended as a good Soldier. But to suppose that he was faine to leaue the Towne; when a Warre

so dangerous tell vpon his owne Country, doth well agree both with the condition of such businesse as that Scythian expedition brought into those parts, and with the State of the Chaldaean and Assyrian affaires ensuing.

The destruction of this great City is both foretold in the Booke of *Tobit*, and there set downe as happening about these times; of which booke whosoever was the Author, he was ancient enough to know the Story of those ages, and hath committed no such error in reckoning of times, as should cause vs to distrust him in this. As for the Prophesie of *Nahum*, though it be not limited vnto any certaine terme, yet it appears to haue taken effect, in the finall destruction of Nineue by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Conquest of Egypt, foregoing to this calamity, whereof we will speake in due place. Some that ascribe more authority than the reformed Churches yeeld, to the booke of *Tobit*, are carefull, as in a matter of necessity, to affirme, that about these times, Nineue was taken; but they attribute (coniecturally) the victory ouer it to *Ben Merodach*: a needlesse coniecture, if the place of *Eusebius* be well considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the son of *Ben Merodach*, did seize vpon it, & place a King or Vice-roy therin, about such time as the Country of Assyria was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the Scythian Warre ouerwhelmed Media. For then was the Conquest wrought out ready to his hand; the swelling spirits of the Nineuites were allayed, & their malice to Babylon so much asswaged, that it might be thought a great fauour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing vnto them a peculiar King, took him and them into protection: though afterwards to their confusion, this vnthankfull People and their King rebelled againe, as shall be shewed in the Reigne of *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. IIII.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Asia eight and twenty yeeres.

†. I.

The time of this expedition.

NOW that I haue shewed what impediment was given by the Assyrians and the Medes, to the Babylonians, who thereby were much disabled to performe any action of worth vpon the Egyptians in Syria; it is time that I speake of that great Scythian expedition, which grievously afflicted not only the Babylonians, but the Medes & Lydians, with the Countries adiacent, in such wise, that part of the trouble redounded euen to the Egyptians themselves. Of the Scythian people in generall, *Herodotus* makes very large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many fables; of this expedition he tels many particulars, but ill agreeing with consent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needlesse to recite them; for they are farre enough distant from the businesse in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may seeme very strange, needeth some answer in this place: lest otherwise I should either seeme to make my selfe too bold with an Authour, in citing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or else to be too forgetfull of my selfe, in bringing to act vpon the Stage, those persons, which I had already buried. Eight and twenty yeeres, he saith, that the Scythians reigned in Asia, before *Cyaxares* deliuered the Country from them. Yet hee reports a warre betweene *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the Lydian, as foregoing the siege of Nineue; the siege of Nineue being ere the Scythians came. And further he tels, how the Scythians, hauing vanquished the Medes, did passe into Syria, and were encountred in Palestina by *Psammiticus* King of Egypt, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. These narrations of *Herodotus* may, euery one of them, be true; though not in such order of time, as he hath marshalled them. For *Psammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to reigne: and *Cyaxares* had spent halfe of his forty yeeres, ere *Halyattes* was King of Lydia; so that hee could not, after those Lydian Warres, reigne eight and twenty yeeres together with the Scythians. It is true, that *Eusebius* doth also call *Psammiticus* the sonne of *Pharao Neco*, by the name of *Psammiticus*; and this King *Psammiticus* may, by some strained coniecture, be thought to haue bene he that met with the Scythians: for he liued with

with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Eusebius* himselfe referres all that businesse of the Scythian irruption into Palestina, to *Psammiticus* the Father of *Necho*, whom he leaues dead before the Reigne of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not relye vpon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwise than to beleue him, that such things were in these ages, though not in such order as he sets them downe.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can, those memorials which I finde of this expedition scattered in diuers places: a worke necessary, for that the greatnesse of this action was such, as ought not to be omitted in a generall History; yet not easie, the consent of those that haue written thereof, being nothing neare to vniformity.

I haue noted before, that in the reigne of *Ardys* King of Lydia, the Cimmerians ouer-ran that Kingdome, and were not expelled, vntill *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardys* got the vpper hand of them. In these times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sadiattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to finde the eight and twenty yeeres, wherein the Scythians reigned ouer Asia. Now forasmuch as *Psammiticus* the Egyptian had some dealings with the Scythians, euen in the height of their prosperity, we must needs allow more than one or two of his last yeeres vnto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Reigne in Lydia, being three and twenty yeeres compleat after the death of *Psammiticus*, leaues the space very scant, either for the great victories of the Scythians, necessarily supposed before they could meete the Egyptian in Syria, or for those many losses, which they must haue receiued ere they could be driuen quite away. To increase this difficulty, the vicious Reigne of *Nabuchodonosor* in Babylon, is of no small moment. For how may we thinke it possible, that he should haue aduentured the strength of his Kingdome against the Egyptians and Iewes, had he stood in daily feare of losing his owne; to a more mighty Nation, that lay vpon his necker? To speake simply as it appears to me; the victories ascribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* ouer these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole body of their Army, but were the defeatures of some troopes, that infested their severall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among these, *Nabulassar* hauing the like successe, when the pleasures of Asia had mollified the courages of these hardy Northern Laddes. Wherefore we may probably annexe the eight and twenty yeeres of the Scythians rule, to as many almost the last of *Nabulassars* Reigne, in compasse whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can say of the time, wherein Asia suffered the violence of their oppressors.

†. II.

What Nations they were that brake into Asia; with the cause of their Iournie.

Touching the expedition it self, *Herodotus* tels vs, that the Cimmerians being driuen out of their Country by the Scythians, inuaded and wasted some part of Asia; and that the Scythians, not contented with hauing won the land of the Cimmerians, did follow them. I know not why, into farre remoued quarters of the world, so (as it were by chance) falling vpon Media and Egypt, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into Lydia. Hereby we may gather that the Cimmerians were an odious and base people; the Scythians, as mischieuous and foolish; or else *Herodotus*, and some other of his Country-men, great slanderers of those, by whom their Nation had bene beaten, and Ionia, more than once, grievously ransackt. The great valour of the Cimmerians or Cimbrians is so well known, and their many Conquests so well testified in Histories of diuers Nations, that the malice of the Greekes is insufficient to staine them with the note of Cowards. These were the posterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our Western World; and whose re-flow did ouerwhelm no small portion of Greece & Asia, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely informe himselfe of their originall and actions, may peruse *Goropius Becanus* his *Ormazonica*; of many things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is said to haue spoken, of all *Goropius* his workes, that it is easie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them: There we finde it proued, by such arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the Cimmerians, Scythians and Sarmatians, were all of one Linage and Nation; howsoeuer distinguished in name, by reason of their diuers Tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the Cimmerians; whose Country whether he placeth in the West, as neare vnto the

Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and covered with eternall darknesse; certain it is that he would haue them near neighbours to Hell: for he had the same quarrell to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would haue made them seeme a kinde of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to insert into his works the names of such as liued in his owne time, making such mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himselfe deserued. And for this reason it is proued by *Eustathius*, that the Cimmerians were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his Country. Perhaps that inuasion of Phrygia by the Amazons, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his discourse with *Helen*, was the very same, which *Ensebius* noteth to haue happened somewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the Cimmerians with the Amazons, together inuaded Asia.

This is certain, that both the Amazons & the Cimmerii (who in after-times were called Cimbri) did often breake into Greece and Asia; which though it be not in expresse termes written, that they did with ioynt-forces, yet seeing they inuaded the selfe-same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One iourney of the Amazons into Greece, mentioned also by *Ensebius*, was by the streights of the Cimmerians, as we finde in *Diodore*, who further telleth vs, that the Scythians therein gaue them assistance. The same Authour, before his entry into those discourses of the Amazons, which himselfe acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to haue bene wiues of the Scythians, and no lesse Warre-like than their Husbands; alledging the example of that Queen who is said to haue slaine the great Persian *Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the Cimbri to carry their wiues along with them to the Warres; and how desperate the courage was of those Women; the terrible descent of them into Italy, when *Marinus* the Roman ouerthrew them, giues prooffe sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the Amazons; another place will giue me better leisure to speake of them: but seeing that they are noted by diuers Historians to haue belonged vnto the Cimmerians, to the Scythians, and to the Sarmatians, we may therefore the better approve *Coropius* his conclusion, That these three Nations were one, at least that they were neare allies.

Now as concerning the expulsion of the Cimmerians by the Scythians, it appears to haue bene none other than the sending a Colony of them forth into Asia, with an Army of Scythians to helpe them, in purchasing a new seate, and establishing the plantation.

The Sarmatians also were companions in this iourney. For the City of Nouograd in Russia (which Country is the same that was called Sarmatia) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was vp in Armes: and therefore it is no maruell though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the same people made fife hundred years and more after this, when they were encountred by the Romans. For they issued from the parts about the Lake Mæotis; they were then likewise assisted (saith *Plutarch* in the most likely report of them) by the Scythians their neighbours; they had in their Armie about three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandered ouer many Countries, beating all downe before them; and finally, thinking to haue settled themselves in Italy, they diuided their Company, for the more easie passage thither, and were consumed in three terrible battailes by the Roman Consuls. Meere necessity enforced these poore Nations to trouble the World, in following such hard aduentures. For their Country being more fruitfull of men, than of sustenance, and shut vp on the North side with intolerable cold, which denied issue that way to their ouer-swelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge vpon the South, and by right or wrong to driue others out of possession, as hauing title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more ciuill, people had. Their sturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardnesse, gaue them great aduantage ouer such as were accustomed vnto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore most commonly they preuailed very farre; their next neighbours giuing them free passage, that they might the sooner be ridde of them; others giuing them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great presents; so as the

the farther they went on, the more pleasant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

†. III.

Of the Cimmerians warre in Lydia.

The first Company of these, consisting for the most part of Cimmerians, held the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had still on the right hand; leauing on the other side, & behind them, the great Mountains of Caucasus. These hauing passed through the Land of Colchis, that is now called Mengrelli, entered the Country of Pontus, and being arriued in Paphlagonia, fortified the Promontory, whereon Sinope, a famous Haue Towne of the Greekes, was after built. Here it seemes that they bestowed the weakest and most vnseruiceable of their traine, together with the heauiest part of their carriages, vnder some good guard: as drawing near to those Regions, in conquest whereof they were to trie the vtmost hazzard. For in like sort afterwards did the Cimbri (of whom I spake euen now) dispose of their impediments, leauing them in a place of strength, where Antwerpe now stands, when they drew neare vnto Gaule, vpon which they determined to aduenture themselves in the purchase. From Sinope, the way vnto Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, was faire and open to the Cimmerians, without any ledge of Mountaines, or any deep Riuers at all to stay their march: for Iris and Halys they had already passed.

What battels were fought between these inuaders and the Lydians, & with what variable successe the one or other part wanne and lost, I finde not written, nor am able to coniecture. This I finde, that in the time of *Ardys*, the Cimmerians got possession of Sardes the capitall City of Lydia; only the Castle holding out against them. Further I obserue, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardys* Kings of Lydia, before this inuasion, and by *Halyattes* and *Crusus* in the times following; all that *Ardys* did against the Cimmerians, & all, saue burning the Milesians Corne fields, that was done in twelue years by *Sadyattes* his Son (who perhaps had his hands so full of this businesse, that he could turne them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may seeme, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in those wars, but were glad enough that they did lose all.

Certainly the miseries of war are neuer so bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forsaking their owne seats, labour to root out the established possessions of another Land, making room for themselves, their wiues and children. They that fight for the mastery, are pacified with tribute, or with some other seruices and acknowledgements; which had they bene yeelded at the first, all had been quiet, and no sword bloudied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants haue, their Lands and Cattell, their houses and their goods, euen to the cradles of the sucking infants. The mercilesse tearmes of this controuerlie arme both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either winne, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or lose their lines without redemption. Most of the Countries in Europe haue felt examples thereof; and the mighty Empire of Rome was ouerthrowne by such inuasions. But our Isle of Britaine can best witness the diuersity of Conquests; hauing by the happy victory of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all Ciuill Arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but slenderly instructed therein before; whereas the issue of the Saxon and Danish Wars, was, as were the causes, quite contrary. For these did not seeke after the Dominion onely, but the entire possession of the Country, which the Saxons obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the British Race, & defacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the Danes (who are also of the Cimmerian blood) found such end of their enterprize, as it may seem that the Cimmerians in Lydia, & Scythians in the higher Asia, did arriue vnto. So that by considering the processe of the one, we shall the better conceiue the fortune of the other. Many battailes the Danes wonne, yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Many the Saxons won vpon the Danes, yet not so great, as could driue them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in course of time, the long continuance euen of vtter enmity, had bred such acquaintance

between them, as bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant vnto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no small number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons in England, where great slaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their owne Country wide enough to receiue them, as hauing disburthened it selfe of many thousands, that were sent to seeke their graues abroad. And such (as I thinke) was the end of the Cimmerian waire in Lydia; whereunto though some victory of *Halyattes* may haue hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to haue done most, in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should feare to adde hereunto my further coniecture; which is, that the matter was so compounded between the Cimmerians & *Halyattes*, that the Riuer of *Halys* should diuide their Territories. For *Halys* was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the Easterne side of the Riuer was the Country of the Amazons, that is indeed, of the Cimmerians and other Scythian people; whose wiues and daughter's these warlike women are supposed to haue been.

Herod. lib. x.]

And hereunto the quarrell ensuing betweene *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the Mede, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is said) fought in defence of certain Scythians, vpon whom the Median sought reuenge. And it stands with reason, that the Lydians and Cimmerians, being much weakened with mutuall slaughters, should haue ioyned in a league of mutuall defence for their common safety: though otherwise it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the Median to extend his Kingdome so farre Westward, whatsoeuer the pretences might be, of taking reuenge vpon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the Warre betweene these two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I finde it of little waight, and lesse probability. He tells of Scythians, that being chased out of their Country by faction, came vnto *Cyaxares*; who committed vnto them certaine Boyes, to bee instructed in the Scythian tongue, and feate of Archery. Now it so fell out (saith he) that these Scythians vsing much to hunt, and commonly bringing home (somewhat with them, did neuertheless other-whiles misse of their game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholericke, bitterly reuiled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boyes that was vnder their charge, whom dressing like Venison, they presented vnto him; which done, they fledde vnto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* deliueurs, as the ground of a Warre that lasted sixe yeares between the Medes and Lydians; the one King demanding these Fugitiues to be deliuered into his hand, the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the Scythians to betake themselves to either of these Kings, vnto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly, they had reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he shewed in the massacring of their Country-men that were in his Kingdome; of whom it is now meet that we should speake.

†. IV.

The warre of the Scythians in the higher Asia.

As the Cimmerians held their course westerly, along the shores of the Euxine sea: so the Scythians and Sarmatians took the other way, and hauing the Caspian Sea on their left hand, passed between it and Caucasus through Albania, Colthene, & other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of Seruan and Georgia; & so they entered into Media. The Medes encountered them in Armes; but were beaten, & thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whilst *Psammiticus* reigned in Egypt. If it were in the sixth yeare of *Nabulassars* Reigne ouer Babylon (supposing him to haue reigned sixe & thirty; otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then doe the eight and twenty yeares of their Dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonosor* was King; so giuing him good leaue to provide securely for the inuasion of Syria, which expedition he began while his Father yet liued, as *Iosephus* out of *Berosus* relates the History.

Now the Medes, desirous to saue themselves as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no lust to a second trial of the sword, refused not to vnder-

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goc the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, that would serue to remoue these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the Scythians finding (till the Countries pleased better, the further that they marched into the South) did suffer themselves to be perswaded, that a little more trauaile would adde a great deale more to their content. For they relied so much vpon their owne valour, that they feared no resistance; & being the brauest men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best Region. That *Phraortes* perswaded them into Egypt, I doe not think: Babylon was neare enough, whither if he could send these Locusts to graze, then should not his vnfriendly Neighbours haue cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift *Nabulassars* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I doe not reade. But it is well known that his Dominions lay in the midst between Media and Egypt; as also, that they made all those parts of Asia Tributary; wherefore we may very well beleue, that they watered their horses in his Riuer, and that he also was content to giue them prouender.

Psammiticus hearing of their progresse (like the iealous Husband of a faine Wife) took care that they might not looke vpon Egypt; lest the sight thereof should more easily detainethem there, than any force or perswasion that he could vse, would send them going. Therefore he met them in Syria, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow vpon them, than on his Army that should keepe them backe. Egypt was rich; and halfe the riches had not been ill spent in sauing all. Yet *Psammiticus* took the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had been so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For he lay close vpon the edge of the Wildernesse in Gaza (as I take it) the Southermost border of Palestina: whence he neuer aduanced to meete with the Scythians; but gaue them leaue to feede as much of the scalding Sunne-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of Syria could beate vpon them. When they were come as farre as Ascalon, the next City to Gaza, then did he aslay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts; which were likely to worke so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the heate of a Climate so farre different from their owne. *Psammiticus* had at his backe a vast wildernesse, ouer the scorching sands whereof, the Scythians more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary distempers, could ill haue endured to pursue him through vnknown waies, had they fought with him and preuailed: especially the Kingdome of Egypt being ready to entertaine him with reliefe, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, & taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visit their acquaintance in the high Countries. The Egyptian King (besides that he preferred his owne Estate from a dangerous aduenture, by hyring this great Army to depart from him) found all his Coast well repayed in the proesse of his was in Syria, where the Nations beyond Euphrates had no power to molest him, being more than euer troubled themselves with the returne of their oppressors. For the Scythians, resolving now to seek no further, began to demand more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with griuenous exactions, they presumed to liue at discretion vpon the Country, taking what they listed from the Owners; and many times (as it were to saue the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long vsed ouer the higher Asia, that is, ouer the Country lying between the Caspian and Red Seas; and betweene India and Asia the lesse. Happy it was for the poore people, that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for these new comers; otherwise the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, vpon those priuate men, to whose wealth any Scythian did beare a fancy, would haue lighted in generall vpon all at once clap, leaving few aliue, and none able to relieue their fellows. Yet it seemes that the heaviest burthen lay vpon Media; for it was a fruitfull Country not farre from their own home, and lay vnder a Climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies; there also it was that they had the fatall blow, by which their insolent Rule was taken from them.

Cyaxares King of the Medes, who in this extremity was no better than a Rent-gatherer for the Scythians, perceiuing that his Land lay vnmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolved to proue what might be done by stratagem;

Herod. lib. x.]

stratagem. The managing of the businesse is thus deliuered in brieue; That he, and his Medes, feasted the better part of the Scythians, made them drunk, and slew them; recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed vpon the Danes in England; but it was reuenged by their Countymen, with greater cruelty than euer they had practised before. That the Scythians which escaped this bloody feast, made any stirre in Media, I do not find; neither do I read that either in reuenge hereof, or vpon other pretence, the Medes were troubled by inuasion from Scythia in time following.

This is the more strange, for that the Army returning home out of Media, was very strong, & encountred with opposition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no lesse than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the deuice of *Cyaxares* to free his Country, tooke good effect, with lesse blood-shed than hath been supposed. For if he surprised all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtlesse in eight and twenty years had so well fetled themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remaine in the Country; many (of whom I shall speake anon) hauing done what they could in the businesse, for which they came forth, were willing to returne home with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might goe ioyned with the Cimmerians in Lydia, or seeke their fortunes in other Prouinces among their owne Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are said to haue bin with *Nabuchadnezzar*, it may be vnderstood, that a great part of the Scythians, vpon hope of gaine, or desire to keepe what they had already gained, were content to become subiect vnto *Nabuchadnezzar*: mens loue of their wealth being most effectually, in taming the more vnquiet loue of inordinate liberty. This is certaine, that *Nabuchadnezzar*, as euer after, so in his first beginning of warre, did beate the Egyptians, who in ages foregoing had been accustomed to deale with the Babylonians after another fashion: & this new successe of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to such addition as this of new forces.

Of the Scythian Army returning out of Media, diuers Authors report a Story, which confirms me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to assist their kinned and friends, in acquiring a new feat, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wiues behinde them; a good argument to proue that they meant to come againe. The Scythian women, to comfort themselves in their husbands absence, became bed-fellows to their slaues. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-Law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were onely the children of slaues, which compounded an Army (as *Herodotus* would haue it, who tels vs, that the Scythians were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it must needs be that they were very Boyes, or else that the Women did very little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather beleue that tale as it is told by the Russes themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Ancestors returning homewards, which I will set down, as I finde it in Master *Doflor Fletcher* his exact discourse of the *Russe Common-wealth*. They vnderstood by the way, that their *Cherlopyes*, or Bond-slaues, whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Townes, Lands, Houses, Wiues, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdainning the Killany of their seruants, they made the more speede home: and so not farre from *Nouograd* met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon aduising what was best to be done, they agreed also to set vpon them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse-whips (which, as their manner is, euery man rider with him) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing all together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the onset: which seemed so terrible in the eares of their Villaines, and strooke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like sheepe before the Drivers. In memory of this victory, the *Nouogradians* euer since haue stamped their Coine (which they call a *Dingoe*) *Nouogradskoy*, currant through all *Russia*) with the figure of a Horseman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. It may seeme, that all the women of that Country haue fared the worse euer since, in regard of their vniuersall fault: for such a Pudkey or whip, as terrified those slaues, curiously wrought by her selfe, is the first present that the *Moscouian* Wife, even in time of wooing, sends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subiection; being well

Herod. lib. 4.

ter. 25. §.

Rus. Commonw.
Cap. 4.

well assured to feele it often on her own loines. But this was a Document vnto the Scythians, or rather Sarmatians (for *Nouograd* stands in the Country that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of absenting themselves any more so long from their wiues, which after this, I finde not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set down of the Scythian expedition, not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to many Countries; but for that it appears to haue been a great cause of the Egyptians preuailing hitherto in Syria, and about Iudæa, which continues yet a while the centre of our discourse.

§. V.

Of Princes lining in diuers Countries, in these ages.

HAuing thus far digressed from the matters of Iuda, to auoide all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings and men of mark; as were betwene the death of *Manasses*, and the ruine of Ierusalem. Of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Medes, and Lydians, I haue spoken as much as I thought needfull. In Rome, *Tullus Hostilius* held the Kingdome, vntill the one and twentieth yeare of *Iulius*; at which time *Anco Martius* succeeding, reigned foure and twenty yeares. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new-come stranger, but very rich, preuailed so farre by his graciousnesse among the people, that he got the kingdome to himselfe, disappointing the sonnes of *Anco*, ouer whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth yeare of *Zethia*, and reigned eight and thirty yeares. In this time it was, namely, in the second yeare of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the Lacedæmonians bethinking them how to beaueged of the Arcadians, who gaue succour to the Messenians against them in the former war, entred their Territory, took the City of Phigalia or Phialia, from whence their Garrisons were soone after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the race of the *Bacidae*, made himselfe Lord of Corinth about these times, & gouerned it in peace thirty yeares, leaving for successeur his sonne *Periander*, one of the seauen Sages, but a cruell Tyrant, who among other vile acts, slew his owne wife, & afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the Corinthian women stark naked, burning their apparell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceiue, that the wisdom of the Greekes was not excellent in those dayes; when such a one as this could be admired as excellling all the Country.

In these times also were *Zaleucus* & *Draco*, famous Lawgiuers, the one among the Locrians in Italy, the other in the City of Athens. The Lawes of *Draco* were so rigorous; that he was said to haue written them with blood: for he rewarded euery small offence with death. Wherefore his Constitutions were soon abrogated, & power giuen to *Solon* by the Athenians, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of *Zaleucus* were very mild. He forbade any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *unless it were when she was drunke*; or to goe forth of the Towne by night; unless it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dresse her selfe vp in immodest brauery; unless it were to inuigle a louer. By which pleasant Ordinances, he effected his desire for none would seeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of iustice, that when his own son had committed adultery, and was therefore to lose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gaue one eye of his owne to saue the young man (who also lost one) from utter blindness.

I shall not henceforth neede so farre to wander, as hitherto I often haue done, in pursuing of actions collateral to the History, for inserting them in their order of time. The Chaldeans will soon fall vnder the Persians; ere long, encounter with the Greeks; the Greeks, with the Romans; the Romans with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successfully present themselves, in their flourishing Estate, it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minority. But in the long space of more than threene hundred yeares, which passed between the calling of *Abraham*, and the destruction of Ierusalem, wee finde little matter, wherein the History of Israel had any dealing with other Nations, than the very nearest borderers. Yet read we of many Kingdomes, that in these many ages were created, and

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and throwne downe; as likewise, many memorable acts were performed in Greece and elsewhere, though not following one another at any neare distance; all which must haue bene quite omitted, or else referred vnto a very vnreasonable rehearsal, had they not bene disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conueniency, may pardon the necessity.

§. VI.

The oppression of Iudæa, and destruction of Ierusalem by the Chaldeans.

NOW, to returne to the Iewish Story, from whence we haue so farre digressed. In the third year of *Iehoiakim*, *Nabuchodonosor* the second, his Father yet liuing, entered Iudæa with a great Army, who besieging and forcing Ierusalem, made *Iehoiakim* his Vassall in despite of *Necho*, that had established him King, and tooke with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a childe, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. Altho he tooke a part of the Church treasures; but stayed not to search them thoroughly; for *Necho* hastened to the succour of *Iehoiakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonosor* in Iudæa: where in this great Babylonian had no disposition to hazard himselfe and his Army, it being a Country of an euill affection towards him, as also far off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of Scythian horse-men in his Army; it was the more wisely done of him, to fall backe, out of the rough, mountainous, and ouer-hot Country, into places that were more euen and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father happening at the same time, gaue him iust occasion to returne home, and take possession of his owne Kingdome; before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more vnto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the Egyptian was not ready to follow him so farre and to bid him battaile, vntill the new year came in; which was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Necho*. In this year the Babylonian lying vpon the Bank Euphrates (his owne Territory bounding it on the North-side) attended the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a resolute contention for victory, *Necho* was slaine, and his Army remaining forced to saue it selfe, which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This victory *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recouered all Syria, and whatsoever the Egyptians held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The Egyptians being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Iehoiakim* held himselfe quiet, as being friend in heart vnto the Egyptian, yet hauing made his peace with the Chaldean the year before; who contented with such profit as he could then readily make, had forborne to lay any Tribute vpon Iuda. But this coole referuence of *Iehoiakim*, was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The Egyptian King *Psammetichus*, who succeeded vnto *Necho*, began to thinke vpon restoring *Iehoaiaz*, taken Prisoner by his Father, and setting him vp as a Domestickall Enemy, against his vngratefull brother. Against all such accidents, the Iudæan had prepared the vsuall remedy, practised by his fore-fathers: for he had made his owne sonne *Iechonias* King with him long before, in the second year of his owne Reigne, when the Boy was but eight yeares old. As for this rumour of *Iehoaiaz* his returne, the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it should proue idle, saying: *He shall not returne thither, but he shall dye in the place whither they haue led him captiue, and shall see this Land no more.* The Egyptians indeede, hauing spent all their Mercenary forces, and receiued that heauy blow at Carchemish, had not remaining such proportion of sharpe Steele, as of faire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Psammetichus*, who reigning after *Psammetichus*, did once aduenture to shew his face in Syria; but after a bigge look, he was glad to retire, without aduenturing the hazard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought onely with braue words, telling such friuolous tales, as men that meane to doe nothing, vse, of their glorious acts fore-past, against *Iosias* & *Iehoaiaz*. In this case it was easie for *Iehoiakim* to giue them satisfaction, by letting them vnderstand the sincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to worke more roundly. He sent a peremptory message to *Iehoiakim*, willing him not to stand vpon any nice points, but acknowledge himselfe a Subiect, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto such fearefull threats, as made the poore Iudæan lay aside all thought of *Pharaoh*, and yeeld to doe, as the more mighty would haue him. So he continued in

Chron. 36.9.

Ier. 23.11 & 22.

2e Ep. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 7.

the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* for three yeares. At this time *Jeremy* the Prophet cried out against the Iewes, putting them in minde that he had now three and twenty yeares exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stopt their eares against him, and the rest of the Prophets, he now pronounced their captiuitie at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seauenty yeares. The same calamity he threatened to all the neighbouring Nations, to the Egyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumæans, & the rest; foretelling that they should all drink out of the Babylonian Pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forsaken, and after the seauenty yeares expired, that the Babylonians themselves should taste of the same Cup, and be vnterly subuerted by the Medes, and the Iudæans permitted to returne againe into their owne Fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* seemes to haue been in the fourth year of this *Iehoiakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to reade them vnto the People, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings fury, they had first set *Jeremie* at liberty, and aduised him and *Baruch* to hide themselves.

Iehoiakim, after he heard a part of it and perceiued the ill newes therein deliuered, made no more adoe, but did cut the Booke in pieces and cast it into the fire. All which *Jeremie* caused to be new written with this addition; that the dead body of *Iehoiakim*, should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, & in the night to the frost, and there should be none of his seed to sit on the Throne of *Dauid*.

Time thus running on, while *Iehoiakim* rested secure of all danger, as Tributary to the Babylonian, yet well thought of by the Egyptian; the mighty City of Tyre opposed it selfe against the Chaldean forces, & vpon iust confidence of her own strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now forasmuch as the terme of seauenty yeares was prescribed vnto the desolation, as well of Tyre, as of Ierusalem, & other towns and countries; it is apparant, that they which referred the expugnation of this City vnto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, haue sure authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it followes of necessity, that the siege thereof began in the seauenth of his Reigne, as hauing lasted thirteen yeares.

Here I will take leaue to intrude a brieue note concerning the seuerall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third year of *Iehoiakim*, was the last of *Nabulassar*, who being deliuered from other cares, tooke notice of such as had reuolted from him vnto *Pharaoh Necho*, and sent this Noble Prince his sonne, with an Army into Syria, to reclaime them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, was the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which *Jeremias* smeth in expresse words; and from this we reckon all his time & actions that follow. In his three and twentieth yeare he conquered Egypt, and then began to reigne as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this year it was, wherein he saw that vision, of the Image consisting of sundry Metals; which did prefigure the succession of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I finde, of long disputations: but returne vnto the siege of Tyre, which began in the seauenth of his Reigne.

The City of Tyre couered all the ground of an Island, that was diuided from the maine, by a deep and broad channell of the Sea. The Chaldeans had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the Tyrians, in multitude of goodly Ships, & skill to vse them, excelled all other Nations; and euery winde, from one part or other, brought needfull provisions into the City. Wherefore neither sore, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof neuertheless the iudgements of God denounced against it by *Ezra*, *Jeremie*, *Ezekiel*, & *Isaiah*; had threatened the destruction; and the obstinate resolution of *Nabuchodonosor*, had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of resistance, vndertook a vast piece of worke, euen to fill vp the Sea, that parted the Island from the Continent. The City of old Tyrus, that stood opposite to the new, vpon the firme Land, and the mountain of Libanus near adioyning that was loaden with Cedars, and abundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteene yeares were spent in this labourious, and almost hopelesse businesse. Which needeth not seeme strange: for *Alexander* working vpon that foundation which was remainyng of *Nabuchodonosors* Peete, and being

Dan. 1.1.
Ier. 29.1.

Ier. 25.
Ezek. 16.

being withall assisted by a strong Fleet, was yet seauen moneths ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that where- with *Alexander* laboured to couer a shelue, with much more violence could it ouerturn, and as it were consume, the worke of *Nabuchodonosor*, who laid his foundations in the bottom of the deep, struing as it were, to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant, whereas the Macedonian did only stop the throat of it. Every man knowes, God could haue furthered the accomplishment of his owne threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to vse, either miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are Earth-quakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calme, & adding the fauourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to vse the hand of man; euen the hand of man struing, as may seeme, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive labour of the Chaldeans, Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare. Yet *Nabuchodonosor* would not giue ouer till he was master of the Towne.

Ezech. 9.

Ioseph. Ant. Ind. lib. 6. 7.

When he was entred vpon this desperate seruice, whether it were so, that some losses recieued, some mutiny in his Army, or (which is most likely, and so *Iosephus* reports it) some glorious rumours of the Egyptians, gaue courage to his euill willers; *Iehoiakim* renounced his subiection, & began to hope for the contrary, of that which quickly felow. For *Nabuchodonosor* gaue him no leisure to doe much hurt; but with part of his Army marched directly into Iudaea; where the amazed king made so little resistance, the Egyptians hauing left him, as it were in a dream, that he entred Ierusalem, & layed hands on *Iehoiakim*: whom he first bound & determined to send to Babylon, but changing counsell, he caused him to be slaine in the place, and gaue him the Sepulchre of an Asse, to be dispoised by beasts and rauenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his place, *Iehoiakim* or *Iechonias* his sonne; whom, after three moneths and ten daies, *Nabuchodonosor* remoued, and sent prisoner to Babylon, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardocheus*, and *Iehochan*, the high Priest. The mother of *Iechonias*, together with his seruantes, Eunuchs, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carried away Captiues. This *Iechonias*, following the counsell of *Jeremy* the Prophet, made no resistance, but submitted himselfe to the Kings will: wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was best for himselfe; so though at the present it might seeme otherwise, to such as considered the euill that befell him, rather than the greater euill that he thereby avoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it seems that he was partaker, at least of his Fathers faults, if not an instigator; which was the cause, that his submitting himselfe to Gods pleasure did not preferne his Estate: for so we read in general words, that he did euill in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his Reade *Nabuchodonosor* established *Mathania* his Vncle in the kingdom of Iuda, & called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to say, as the Iustice of God. For like as *Neco* king of Egypt, had formerly displaced *Iehoiakim*, after his Father *Iosias* was slaine, and set vp *Iehoiakim* the son of another mother, so *Nabuchodonosor* slew *Iehoiakim*, who depended on the Egyptians, and carrying his son *Iechonias* Prisoner to Babel, gaue the kingdom to this *Zedechias*; that was whole Brother to that *Iehoiakim*, whom *Neco* tooke with him into Egypt. From *Zedechias* he requir'd an oath for his faithfull obedience, which *Zedechias* gaue him, and called the liuing God to witness in the same; that he would remain assured to the kings of Chaldees.

In the first yeare of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grape, as the one signifying those Iudaeans that were carried away captiue, the other those that stayed, and were destroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a booke all the euill that should fall vpon Babylon, which booke he deliuer'd to *Serabs*, when he went with the king *Zedechias* to Babylon, to visit *Nabuchodonosor*, willing him first to read it to the Captiue Iewes, and then to burl it to a stone, and cast it into Euphrates, pronouncing these words: Thus shall Babylon be destroyed, and shall not rise from her ruins: shall I will bring vpon her. This mourning of *Zedechias* to Babylon is probably thought to haue bene, in way of visitation, carrying some Prisoner. But I further thinke, that he had some desire there to take, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For his return all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him to sit in his seat, to doe quiet courses, from which *Jeremy* exhorted both him and about. The Prophet, by Gods appoint-

appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent vnto the five Kings, of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, by those Messengers which came to visit *Zedechias*: making them know, that if they & the Kings of Iuda abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they should then possesse and enioy their own Countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

He also fore-told them, that those Vessels, which as yet remained in Ierusalem, should also traile after the rest, and at length they should be restored againe.

The same yeare *Ananias*, the false Prophet, tooke off the wooden Chaine, which *Jeremy* wore, in signe of the Captiuitie of the Iewes, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two yeares, God would breake the strength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he layed on all Nations; restore *Iechonias*, and all the Iewes, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and giue an end to all these troubles. But *Jeremy* in stead of his wooden Yoke wore a Coller of yron: and in signe that *Ananias* had giuen a deceitfull and false hope to the people, he fore-told the death of this cold Prophet, which seized vpon him in the second Moneth. After this, when *Zedechias* had wauered long enough between Faith and Passion, in the eighth year of his Reigne he practised more seriously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his Neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrans*, and others that were promised great aides of the Egyptians in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonosor* had knowledge, he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, toward Ierusalem, and besieged it. *Jeremy* perswaded *Zedechias* to render the City and himselfe; but being confident of the helpe from Egypt, and being perswaded by his Counsellors, and false Prophets, that it was vnpossible that the Kingdome of Iuda should be extirpate, vntill the coming of *Silo* (according to the prophecy of *Iacob*) he despised the words of *Jeremy*, and imprisoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the King that the City should be taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but be taken Prisoner, and brought to the presence of *Nabuchodonosor*; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carried to Babel, die his naturall death.

Ierusalem, being the following yeare, surrounded by *Nabuchodonosors* Army; the King of Egypt, *Pharao Hophra*, according to *Jeremy* (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entred the border of Iuda, with his Army, to succour *Zedechias*, of whose revolt he had bene the principall Author. But *Jeremy* gaue the Iewes faithfull counsell, willing them not to haue any trust in the succours of Egypt: for he assured them, that they should turne againe, and in no sort relieue them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the Chaldees remoued from Ierusalem to encounter the Egyptians, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprize, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, returned into Egypt as if they had already done enough; leauing the poore people of Ierusalem to their destined miseries.

In the meane while the Iewes, who, in their first extremity, had manumised their Hebrew Bond-men (as Gods Law required at the yeare of Iubile) and made them free thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now vpon the breaking vp of the Chaldees Army, repent them of their Charity; and thinking all had bene at an end, held them perforce to their former slavery. But the Chaldees being returned to the siege, the Prophet *Jeremy*, when the State of Ierusalem began now to grow to extremity, counselled *Zedechias* to render himselfe vnto them; assuring him of his owne life, and the safety of the City, if he would so doe. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and periury, had provided for him.

Three and twenty Moneths (as some doe reckon it) or according to *Iosephus* eighteen, the *Babylonian* Army lay before Ierusalem, and held it exceeding straightly besieged. For they built Forts against it round about, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) extruxerunt contra eam turrim ligneam per circuitum: They surrounded the City with wooden Towers, so as the besieged could neither sally out, nor receiue into the City any supply of men or victuals. *Iosephus* reports, that they ouer-topped the Walls, with high Towres raised vpon Mounts; from which they did beat vpon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counter-buildings, like vnto these, yet the great King of Babel, who commanded all the Regions thereabouts, and had the Woods and Riuers

to obey him, found means to over-throw all the Citizens endeavours, and to beat down as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his owne works being guarded, by the Walls of *Ierusalem* interposed; and theirs within, layed open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both Famine and Pestilence (which commonly accompany men tightly besieged) grew on fast upon them, whereby, whilst the number, strength, and courage of the *Iewes* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did seat themselves, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this vncomfortable sight, and finding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and shifted himselfe, together with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principall Seruants, out of the City, by a way vnder ground; leaving his amazed and guidelesse people, to the merces of the swords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Ieremy* the Prophet perswaded him to render himselfe, despised both the counsell of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*, vsed now that remedy; which *Wolphins* truly tearmeth: *Triste, turpe, & infelix: Wofull, shamefull, and vnfortunate.*

Ioseph. Antiq.
1. 10. c. 11.

By this secret subterranean vault, *Zedechias* making his stealth, recovered (by the helpe of the dark night) the Plains or Desarts of *Iericho*: but by reason of the train, that followed him, and his, euery one leading with him those whom they held most deare vnto them, he was easily traced and pursued. How great soeuer the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Iosephus* reports it, they, on whose fidelity he most reposed himself, no sooner beheld the *Chaldeans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselves into the Desarts as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the Ministers of his vengeance, by whom *Zedechias* being made Prisoner, with his Children, and Princes, he was conueighed to *Rebla* or *Reblath* a City (as some thinke) of *Nephthalim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent betwene *Ierusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at one he had to doe.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had layed before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferred vpon him, together with the notable falshood and periury, wherewith he had requited them, he commanded his Children, Princes, and Friends, to be slain before his face. This being done, so the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last, that euer the world beheld in the World, he caused his eyes to be torne out of his head, and so carried him a doulful manner to *Babel*, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein this most marauilous Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was performed: *Adhuc cum in Babyloniam, & ipsam non videbis. I will bring him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.*

Ezek. 12.

Thus in the eleauenth and last yeare of *Zedechias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldeans* entred the City by force, where sparing no sexe nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

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In the yeare next following, *Nabuzaradan*, Generall of the Army, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Ierusalem*; and after this fire had lasted from the seuenth to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood foure hundred thirty and one yeares.

2 Kings 25.

After this, vpon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet satiated with bloud) commanded seventy and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chiefe and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of Warre, five of his House-hold seruants, and others to that number, carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Iudea*; and leaving the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the party of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: ouer whom he left Gouvernour, *Godolia* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Iosias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his iustice and equity, by *Iosephus* highly commended. This man, a *Iew* by Nurion, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the Warre; and by *Ieremies* desire to liue with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same aduice, which the Prophet gaue vnto *Zedechias*; which was, to submit himselfe altogether to the *Babylonian*; who being ordained by God to exercise his iustice, was therefore resistlesse. The Prophet *Ieremy* being left to his owne choice, either to liue in *Chaldea*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godolia*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Ieremy*, but gaue comfort to all the other *Iewes*, that were left vnder his charge, promising them fauour & liberty,

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so long as they remained obedient Subiects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom he was established Prouinciall Gouvernour of his owne Nation.

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Ierusalem*, had kept himselfe out of the storme, with *Beals* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godolia* feasted them in *Masspha* or *Mitpha*, the City of his residence, trayterously slew him, together with diuers *Chaldeans* & *Iewes* that accompanied him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons, repairing towards *Godolia* with presents, he slew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discouer vnto him some Treasures, hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godolia* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had been formerly discovered vnto *Godolia* by *Iohanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Iewes*; but *Godolia* was incredulous.

Iudea being now left without a Gouvernour (for *Ismael* durst not take it vpon him, but retired himselfe, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Iewes*, fearing the reuenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to flye away into *Egypt*, and besought *Ieremy* to aske counsell of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they remained in *Iudea*, God would prouide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to saue themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then vndoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this aduice, the *Iewes* held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and constraining *Ieremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they traualled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharao*, neare vnto *Taphnes*: where when *Ieremy* often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians* also, he was by these his owne hard-hearted and vngratefull Country-men, stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reuenced him, buried neare the Sepulchre of their owne Kings.

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Finis Libri secundi.

Hhh 2





THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the Times from the destruction of Ierusalem,
to the time of PHILIP of
MACEDON.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

*Of the time passing betweene the destruction of Ierusalem, and the fall
of the Assyrian Empire.*

S. I.

Of the connexion of sacred and prophane Historie.



THE course of Time; which in profane Histories might rather be discerned through the greatest part of his way, hitherto passed in some out-worne foot-steps, than in any beaten path, hauing once in Greece by the Olympiads, & in the Easterne Countries by the accompt from Nabuchadrezzar, left surer marks, & more applicable to actions concurrent, than were the war of Troy, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruine of Ierusalem to discover the connexion of antiquity fore-spent, with the story of succeeding ages. Manifest it is, that the originall and progresse of things could ill be sought in those that were ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the

attaires of Kingdomes and Empire afterwards growne vp, are not to be found among those that haue now no state nor policy remaining of their owne. Hauing therefore pursued the story of the World vnto that age, from whence the memory of succeeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse deriued vnto vs, I hold it now conuenient briefly to shew, by what means & circumstances the History of the Hebrews, which of all other is the most ancient, may be conioyned with the following times, wherein that Image of sundry mettals, discovered by God vnto Nebuchadrezzar, did reigne ouer the earth, when Israel was either none, or an vnregarded Nation.

Herein I doe not hold it needfull, to insist vpon those authorities, which giue as it were by heare-say, a certaine year of some old Assyrian King vnto some action or euent, wherof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of Ninus his

line in Sardanapalus, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of Belochus & his issue that occupied the kingdom afterwards, depending vpon the vncertaine relations of such, as were neither constant in assigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relye vpon. Let it therefore suffice that the consent and harmony, which some haue found in the years of those ouer-worne Monarchs, doth preserve their names which otherwise might haue bene forgotten. Now concerning the latter Kings of that Nation, howsoever it be true that we finde the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could we onely learne in what age each of them liued, but not in what yeare his reign began or ended, were it not that the reigne of Nabuchadrezzar is more precisely applied to the times of Ichoiakim and Zedekia. Hence haue we the first light whereby to discover the meanes of connecting the sacred and prophane Histories. For vnder Nabuchadrezzar was the beginning of the captiuitie of Iuda, which ended when 70. yeares were expired; and these 70. yeares tooke end at the first of Cyrus, whose time being well knowne, affords vs meanes of looking back into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first yeare of Cyrus his reigne in Persia, by generall consent, is ioyned with the first yeare of the 55. Olympiad, where, that he reigned three and twenty yeares before his Monarchy, and seuen yeares afterwards, it is apparant, and almost out of controuersie. Giuing therefore foure hundred and eight yeares vnto the distance betweene the fall of Troy, and the instauration of the Olympiads by Iphitus, we may easily arriue vnto those antiquities of Greece, which were not merely fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilest in sundry parts of the world, S. Augustine and others may be trusted in setting downe their times, which they had by Tradition from authors of well-aproued faith and industry.

From Cyrus forwards, how the times are reckoned vnto Alexander, and from him to the battaile of Actium, it were (peraduenture) in this place impertinent to set downe. But seeing that the beginning and end of the Babylonian captiuitie are markes wherby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first vnto the latest yeares of the world, through any story, with least interruption; it is very expedient that we take some paines to informe our selues truely of the 70. yeares, during which it continued, euen from Nebuchadrezzar vnto Cyrus.

S. II.

A brieue rehearsall of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captiuitie: with an answer to the canils of Porphyrie, inueighing against S. Matthew, and Daniel, vpon whom the later of these opinions is founded.

Many Commentators, and other Historians, and Chronologers finde that the captiuitie then began, when Iechonias was carried prisoner into Babylon, 11. yeares before the finall destruction of Ierusalem vnder Zedekias. This they proue out of diuers places in Ezekiel, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plain distinction between the beginning of the Captiuitie, and vter destruction of Ierusalem by Nabuzaradan, in these words: *In the fine and twentieth yeere of our being in Captiuitie, in the beginning of the yeere, in the tenth day of the month, in the foureteenth yeere after that the City was smitten.* In which words he beginneth the captiuitie in plaine termes, eleuen yeares before the City was destroyed. Beroaldus is of opinion that it began in the first of Nabuchodonosor, and the fourth of Ioskim, which he endeauours to proue out of the second of Chronicles, but more especially out of Saint Matthew, and Daniel, whose words afford matter of disputation, but serue not to make good so much as Beroaldus would enforce. That place of S. Matthew, and the whole booke of Daniel, haue ministred occasion of scoffing & railing at the Christian Religion to that wretched man Porphyrie, who, not vnderstanding how the sons of King Iosias were called by diuers names, as Epiphanius hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what in reckoning the sonnes, or, according to some translations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captiuitie. Vpon Daniel also the same Porphyrie doth spend the twelfth of his malicious bookes written against the Christians, affirming that these prophecies and visions remercibred by Daniel, were written long after his death, and at, or neare the time

of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond supposition of his, *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, haue sufficiently answered. For the seuentie Interpreters, who conuerted the old Testament about an hundred yeares before *Epiphanes*, did also turne this booke of *Daniel* out of Hebrew into Greeke, as a part of Scripture received. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who liued diuers yeares before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Iaddus* the high Priest shewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards *Ierusalem* to haue destroyed it, this booke of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his owne glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded vnto him; which not onely stayed his hand from the harme of that City and people, but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future perill and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Eastern Empire in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phenicia*.

It is true indeed that the *Iewes* themselves giue lesse authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moses*, and the *Prophets*, accompting his booke among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they say *Esdra*s and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from *Babylon*. But first, that the booke of *Daniel* (I meane so much as is found in the Hebrew) is Canonically: secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himselfe, and not by *Esdra*s and the Seniors; we may assure our selues by testimony of Counsellors, and Fathers. For in the Counsell of *Laodicea* held about the year of our Lord 368. after the death of *Iovinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Councell three and forty yeares, this booke of *Daniel* was received, verified and confirmed among the other Canonically Scriptures, as in the *Epitomy* of the same Councell it may be seene; and so doth *Meliton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witnesse *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiasticall history, the fourth booke, and five and twentieth chapter: so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonically books vpon *Origen*: so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface vpon the Psalmes, and *Epiphanius* in his book of Weights and Measures, &c. To these I may adde Saint *Hierome*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, and others. For the *Hagiographa* bookes or holy Writings, the *Iewes* and *Rabbines* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalmes*, *Proverbs*, *Iob*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Heester*, *Efra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdra*s, that wrote this booke, Gods commandment vnto him by his Angell, to seale vp the same to the time appointed, is an vnanswerable testimony. Yea that which exceedeth all strength of other prooffe, our Saviour Christ who citeth no Apocryphall Scripture, in *Matthew* and *Mark* alleageth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his ninth chapter. Further, in the fifth of *John*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth, verse the second. Saint *Paul* describeth *Antichrist* out of *Daniel*, and the Reuelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniel*s visions.

§. III.

That the 70. yeeres of captivity are to be numbered from the destruction of *Ierusalem*; not from the migration of *Iechonia*.

HAuing thus farre digressed, in maintaining that authority, which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now conuenient, that we returne vnto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of these 70. yeares. Neither will I stand to trouble my selfe and others with laying open the grounds or weaknesse of that which *Eusebius* and some few namelesse Authors, haue sometimes held in this point, which is lately reuiued by *Beroaldus*; but will forth-with enter into consideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers haue so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of *Iuda* were carried away captiues to *Babylon*: First, *Manasses*; then *Iehoiakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: thirdly, *Iechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*; lastly, *Zedekias*, at which time the City and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these captiuities the beginning of the 70. yeares is referred by none that I haue read; to the second, by few and with weak prooffe; to the third, by very many and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered

gathered out of *Ieremy*, which may seeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with *Iechonias*, vseth these words: Thus saith the Lord, After 70. yeeres be accomplished at *Babel*, I will visit you, and performe my good promise towards you, and cause you to returne to this place.

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seek the interpretation of a prophecy out of circumstances, when the prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound it selfe. *Ieremy* had already, in the fourth yeare of *Iehoiakim*, denounced the iudgement of God against the Land, for the sinnes and impenitency of that obstinate people, in these words: Behold, I will send and take to me all the families of the North, saith the Lord, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, the King of *Babel*, my seruant; and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continuall desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladnesse, the voice of the Bridegroom, and the voice of the Bride, the noise of the mill-stones, and the light of the candle; and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serue the king of *Babel* 70. yeeres. And when 70. yeeres are expired, I will visit the king of *Babel*. Here we see prescribed vnto the captiuitie the terme of 70. yeeres, which were to commence, neither when the prophecy was vttered; nor when *Iehoiakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Iechonias*; but with the vtter desolation of the City, whereof *Ieremy* did againe giue notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliuerance before rehearsed. And so did the people vnderstand this prophecy, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70. yeeres at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the History of *Iuda*, where it is said thus: They burnt the house of God, and brake downe the wall of *Ierusalem*, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: And they that were left by the sword, carried he away to *Babel*, and they were seruants to him and to his sonnes, vntill the kingdome of the Persians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of *Ieremy*, vntill the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the dayes that she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70. yeeres. But in the first yeere of *Cyrus* king of Persia (when the word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of *Ieremy*, was fulfilled) the Lord stirred up the spirit of *Cyrus*. We seldome finde one piece of Scripture so precisely and plainly expounded by another, as in this prophecy, to haue afterwards been the subiect of alteration. For one can hardly deuise, how either the desolation could haue been expressed more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the euent of the prophecy haue been more exactly set downe, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more proof in so euident a case, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yeelds testimony sufficient, vnto this expedition of *Ieremy* his prophecy, that *Ierusalem* was to lie waste 70. yeeres. For in the first yeare of *Darius* the Mede, which was the last of the 70. *Daniel* obtained of God the deliuerance that had been promised by prayer, which he made vpon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in these words: In the first yeere of his reigne, I *Daniel* vnderstood by books the number of the yeeres, whereof the Lord hath spoken vnto *Ieremy* the Prophet, that he would accomplish 70. yeeres in the desolation of *Ierusalem*. So that howsoeuer the time of *Daniel* his owne captiuitie be reckoned from the taking of *Iehoiakim*, and that the people carried away with *Iechonia*, did accompt, as well they might, the yeeres of their owne captiuitie; yet with the generall desolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the *Israelites* left remaining to inhabite, began in the nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonosor* the great captiuitie, which by Gods appointment continued vnto the end of seuentie yeeres.

This I will not further seeke to proue, by the authority of *Iosephus* and others affirming the same; for as much as that which already hath been produced, is enough to satisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

§. IV.

Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the 70. yeeres.

WHat Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these seuentie yeares of the Captiuitie, and how long each of them did weare the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they liued, nor the length of their reigns, any way helpfull to the concordance of times, fore-going or succeeding. The conquests recounted by *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia*, (or rather some part of it) *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seeme fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himselfe to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdome, and for the honour of his Maiesty, where it may seeme that hee and his Heires kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behauiour of the *Assyrian* Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no lesse. For whereas vnder *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finished, that hardy piece of worke, of winning the strong City of *Tyre*, by ioyning vnto it the continent, filling vp the deepe and broad channell of the Sea, diuiding it from the maine with a mole, or peece of earth, and other matter; the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexanders* workes: in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the enemy than their bowes would carry, but were ready to turne their backs, as soone as any, though inferiour in numbers, aduenturing within the distance offered to charge them.

Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzars* warres, till the ruine of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reigne of their seuerall Kings, vnworthy of the great labour that hath in vaine beene taken in that businesse. For when it is granted, that the captiuitie of *Juda*, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. yeeres, wee may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three slothfull Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children liuing in the *Egyptian* seruitude; resting satisfied in both with the generall assured summe.

Yet for as much as many haue trauelled in this businesse, vpon desire (as I take it) to approue the beginning and end of the 70. years, not only by the reignes of other Princes, ruling else-where, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves: I will not refuse to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I thinke may best be held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting downe the years of their seuerall reignes. The first (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who meere follow the authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. These name onely three Kings, *Nabuchadnezzar*, *Euilmérodach*, and *Balthasar*. Neither haue they onely the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other to bee their warrant, but the prophecy of *Jeremy* precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very same. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all according to his owne will, and making it known that he had put some Countries here named, into the hands of the king of *Babel*, saith thus: *And all Nations shall serue him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonne, until the very time of his Land come also; then many Nations and great Kings shall serue themselves of him.* These words expressing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeed I finde no other necessitie of qualification to be vsed herein, than such as may grow out of mens desire to reconcile the Scriptures vnto profane authors. And this desire were not vniust, if the consent of all histories were on the one side, and the letter of the holy Text were single on the other side.

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, & the proofes of their different reports are so slender & vninsufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not bin thus deliuered in Scriptures, but only set down by

Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1. & 2.

Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1. & 2.

Jerem. 27. 7.

some Author of equall credit with the rest, might very well haue found and deserued as good belife; as any of those things which they haue deliuered in this point. For some there are, who following *Iosephus*, deriue that Empire, as by descent from father to son, through siue generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the great, and giuing to him 43. yeeres; to *Euilmérodach* 18. to *Niglifar* the sonne of *Euilmérodach* 40. to *Labofardach* the sonne of *Niglifar* 9. Moneths, and lastly to *Balthasar* (whom *Iosephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his father) 17. yeeres. And this opinion (saue that he forbears to reckon the yeeres, and plainly calls *Balthasar* the sonne of *Labofardach*) Saint *Hierome* doth follow, alledging *Berosus* and *Iosephus* as a sectator of *Berosus*, for his Authors; though *Berosus*, as he is cited by *Iosephus*, report the matter far otherwise. For he tells vs that *Euilmérodach* the sonne of *Nabuchodonosor* did reigne but two years, being for his wickednesse and lust, slaine by his sisters husband *Nizigissoroor*, who occupied the kingdome after him foure yeeres, and left it to his owne sonne *Labofardach*; who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of nine moneths slaine by such as were about him, and the kingdome giuen to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it vnto *Cyrus* after 17. yeeres. This relation ill agrees with that of *Iosephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number eyther of yeeres, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, haue procured vnto them some authority, so that the names which they haue inserted, are taken as it were vpon trust. There is a third opinion which makes the three last kings brethren, and sonnes of *Euilmérodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather beleue *Xenophon*, who saith that the last King of *Babylon* was immediate successeur to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholasticall History, who is founder of this opinion, placeth betwene him that tooke *Ierusalem*, and *Euilmérodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plaine enough it is that he hath, out of any History sacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we haue reason to follow him. *Ensebius*, *Sulpicius Severus*, and *Theodores*, vpon better ground haue supposed, that *Euilmérodach* and *Balthasar* were brethren and sonnes of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Euilmérodach* there is none that euer doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his sonne. And so common grew this explication, that *S. Hierome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremy* before cited, proues that *Balthasar* was not the sonne indeed, but the grand childe of that great Conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those *Easterne* languages, he was called the son.

Annius his *Metasthenes* hits very rightly the seuentie years of captiuitie, giuing to *Nabuchodonosor* 45. yeeres, to *Euilmérodach* 30. yeeres, and to the three sonnes of *Euilmérodach*, Nephews of *Nabuchodonosor* fourteene years; that is, to *Reg-Assar* the eldest son three yeeres, to *Lab-Assar Dach* the second sonne sixe yeeres, and to *Balthasar* the third son siue.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole summe of yeeres, and in the number of generations, I haue sometime subscribed, as not daring to reiect an appearance of truth, vpon no greater reason than because the Author was of *Annius* his edition. Yet could I not satisfie my selfe herein, both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the moderne Writers as deserue to be regarded, haue consented with this *Metasthenes*; and for that in making *Balthasar* succeed vnto his brother in the kingdome, and not vnto his father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose History of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* warre I cannot slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the king was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might giue any light in this obscurity, I found manifest proofe, that the time allotted vnto *Balthasar*, by *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, was farre short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70. yeeres he pleased amongst the rest. For in the third yeare of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a vision, after which he was sicke certaine dayes, but when he rose vp, he did the Kings businesse: from which businesse, that he did afterwards withdraw himselfe, and liue retired, so long that he was forgotten in the Court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old *Queene* vsed to set out his sufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were

Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 12.

Ioseph. Contr. Apian. lib. 1.

Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1. & 2.

Dan. 5. 2. ver. 1. & 27.

67. 6. 5. 2. 11.
12. 6. 13.
DEN. 2. 47.

were *Daniel*. Now to thinke that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two yeares haue been worne out of remembrance, were in my iudgement a very strange conceit, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented, to thinke the whole storie (thus related) a part of *Annius* his impostures.

Out of these reports of *Iosephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by coniectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captiuitie being 70. yeares, and these yeares extending vnto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his son and grand-child, must haue reigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the yeares of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reignes might fill vp the whole continuance of the captiuitie; with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Eulmerodach* and *Balthasar*, ioyned vnto the yeares following the nineteen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Ierusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing euē.

Therefore *Mercator*, and others following him, fashion the yeares of *Eulmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18. yeares giuen to him by *Iosephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbred 28. yeares, and the two yeares that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Eulmerodach* should be written 23. in the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2.) and in the later there should haue bin added the figure of (3) to that of (2.) this granted (to wit) that *Eulmerodach* reigned 28. yeares, whereof five together with his father, and 23. after his death, and the same number of 23. added to the 25. which *Nabuchodonosor* liued after the destruction of *Ierusalem*, make 48; then 4. 10 yeares of *Niglifar* according to *Berosus*, 9. months of *Labassardach* his son, and 17. yeares of *Nabonidus* or *Balthasar*, make vp the number of 70. yeares to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by errour in figures, or in words, the numbers be vtterly mistaken in all copies extant; vpon how weak a foundation do they build, who hauing nothing to helpe them, saue onely the bare names of two vnknown Kings, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to haue that place of *Ieremy* called into dispute, in regard of their authoritie:

§. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reignes of the Babylonian Kings.

Other suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, I purposely forbear to rehearse, as falling vnder the same answer. That of *Ioseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deseruing to be considered apart from the rest. Hee giues to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44. yeares, to *Eulmerodach* two, to *Belsazer* five: and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in which *Ierusalem* was destroyed, vnto the time of *Cyrus*, he accounteth only 59. yeares; beginning (as many do) the captiuitie 11. yeares sooner, from the transportation of *Iechonia*. But hereof enough hath been said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running between the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the Chaldean Empire: wherein if he haue erred, then is all further inquisition fruitles.

Concerning the length of *Nabuchadnezzars* reigne, I shall hereafter vpon better occasion deliuer my opinion. The time which he giues to *Eulmerodach*, is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the Scriptures. For we finde in *Ieremy*, that this *Eulmerodach* in the first of his reigne, shewing all fauour to *Iechonia*, did, among other things, take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion giuen him of the king of *Babel*, euery day a certaine, all the dayes of his life vntill he died. The very sound of these words (which is more to be esteemed, than the authority of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) import: a farre longer time than two yeares, wherein *Iechonia*, vnder this gentle Prince, enioyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandement he had obeyed in yeelding himselfe to *Nabuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Iechonia* did liue, it cannot be proued; but plaine it is hereby, that all his remaining dayes he did eate bread before this King. Now, that he liued not so short a while after this as 2. yeares, it is more than likely; for he was but 55. yeares old when he was set at liberty, hauing bin 37. yeares in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18. yeares; after which time it seemes plaine that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zorobabel*, who is said to haue bene but

Ierem. 52. we. 1.
33. 6. 34.

but a young man; and one of *Darius* his Pages threescore yeares after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it selfe.

Of *Belsazer*, to whom *Scaliger* giues the next five yeares, naming him also *Laborsardach*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nebuchadnezzars* daughters sonne; were it not that herein I find him very carefull to helpe out *Berosus*, by shifting in his *Niriglossoor*, as husband to *Nebuchadnezzars* daughter, and Protector of his son foure of these yeares; by which means there remains about one yeare to *Belsazer* alone, agreeing nearely with the nine moneths assigned by *Berosus* to the sonne of *Niglifar*. But *Ieremy* hath told vs that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his sons son (not to his daughters sonne) that the Empire was promised: which difficulty, if *Scaliger* could not helpe, it was well done of him to passe it ouer with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the Scriptures) haue iudged to be all one with *Balthasar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firme *Berosian*: for *Berosus* makes him of the same stocke or race a *Babylonian*. I speake not this to disgrace the traile of that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and iudgement, that he was not so wedded to any author, as affected with the loue of truth) but to shew, that hee himselfe hauing in some points disliked those Writers, whom in generall he approneth, might with greater reason haue wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Berosus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: first, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies vnto vs, that *Darius* took the kingdome, not saying that he wanne it by force of armes: Secondly, a fragment of *Megasthenes* found in *Eusebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Originall, or of the Greek translation, which expressing no force of armes, doth only signify, that *Darius* tooke or received the kingdome; I see no reason why we should thereupon inferre, that the next King entred by Election: seeing *Daniel* relateth not the means and circumstances of *Balthasars* death, but onely the swift accomplishment of his owne prophecy. Neither could it indeed haue properly bene said (if *Daniel* had cared to vse the most expresse termes) that *Darius* of the *Medes* breaking into the City, did winne the kingdome; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his vse. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his workes printed at *Basile*, in the yeare 1559. I finde only thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alpheus*; That *Nabuchodonosor* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Asia* as farre as to the *Armenians*; and that, as the *Chaldeans* report, being returned into his kingdome, and rapt with a diuine fury, he cried with a loud voyce: O Babylonians, I foretell ye of a great calamity that shall come vpon you, which neither *Bel*, nor any of the gods shall auert: There will come a Persian, halfe an *Ass*, that shall bring slavery vpon yee: and that, this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I beleue little or nothing, sauing that *Nabuchodonosor* knew before-hand, that his Empire should be translated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the silver breast. But that he wanne all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I doe hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaligers* copy of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells vs that *Nabuchodonosor* wanne both *Africke* and *Spaine*, I beleue the fragment so much the lesse: and am as little moued with the authority of it, where it calls a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Affrians*; as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar* his owne vanishing away. Indeede that same title of halfe an *Ass*, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, because his parentage was more noble on the mothers side, than on the fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Asses* vpon *Mares*. And thus much in answer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within it selfe, I easily allow it. But this proues nothing; for mere fictions haue not wanted these commendations: neither can any man beleue that one so iudicious, industrious and deeply learned as *Ioseph Scaliger*, would ouer-shoot himselfe in setting downe repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeale. And herein it seems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own sufficiency, hath

Dan. 2. 10.

hath beene little carefull to satisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdome of *Babylonia* was diuided, and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*, either we must thinke that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else we must bethinke our selues what *Persian* it might be that shared the kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine, that *Balthasar* lost his life and kingdome, than that his Kingdome was diuided and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to haue beene *Darius*, they should be thought to haue done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords ouer all the subiect Prouinces, inso much that the Greek Historians did commonly call those warres which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made vpon *Greece*, The warres of the *Medes*. Yea to cleare this point, euen *Daniel* himselfe resembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, vnto a Kamme with two hornes, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to haue beene condemned by *Ioseph Scaliger*, for maintaining vpon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes*, was partner with *Cyrus* in his victories, and not a *Chaldean King* by him subdued. Neither was *Iosephus* to be the lesse regarded, for affirming that *Balthasar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Nephew *Cyrus*, though herein he varied from *Berosus*, and others, whose authority elswhere he gladly citeth. For *Iosephus* had no reason to belecue any mans faith or knowledge of those times, half so wel as *Daniels*, whom I belecue that he vnderstood as farre as was needfull in this case. Lawfull it was for him to allege all Authors that had any mention, though vnperfect, of the same things that were contained in the writings of the *Jewes*, to whose Histories thereby he procured reputation in the *Romane* world, where they were strangers, and might seeme fabulous. Euen so doe *Ensebins*, and other Writers, willingly embrace the testimonies of Heathen bookes making for the truth in some particulars, yet will they not therefore betried in generall by the selfe same *Ethnicke* Philosophers, but leaue them where they are against the truth; as *Iosephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meet to say of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding neuerthelesse in due regard his learning and iudgement, which if in somethings it had not failed, the miracle had then beene, very great.

S. V. I.

what may be held as probable of the Persons and Times of Nabuchodonosor his successors.

IT now remains that I freely acknowledge mine owne weakness, who cannot finde how the 70. years of captiuitie are to be diuided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I finde that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with *Petrus*, that we ought liberally to pardon those whose feet haue failed them in the slippery waies of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are subiect to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedlesse reckoning. Yet will I aduenture to deliuer my opinion, wherein the iudgement of *Lyra* and others (holding those only to haue reigned ouer the *Chaldeans*, whose names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Coniectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take vpon me to defend *Lyra* his Coniectures, when he supposeth by *Niglifar* and *Labofardach* to be meant the same persons which are called in Scriptures *Emilmerodach* and *Balthasar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained,) but only to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to haue occupied the whole time of seuentie years. First therefore let vs consider the reigne of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whose eighteenth yeare *Ierusalem* was taken and sackt, but in his nineteenth laid vtterly desolate.

Most of Writers haue giuen to him 43. yeares of reigne, following therein *Berosus*. There are who haue added one yeare more; and some haue made it vp 45. To dispute about the certainty were needlesse: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certaine truth.

Manifest

Manifest is, that the 19. yeare of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is ioyned with the 11. of *Zedekia*; as also that his eight yeare; was the first yeare of *techemia* his captiuitie; the reign of *Zedekia* occupied all the meane space, being of 11. years. This is generally agreed vpon, so that it needes no further proofes: As for the beginning of his successor *Emilmerodach*, it was in the seuen and thirtieth yeare of *techemia* his captiuitie; so that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his 8. yeare (which was the first of *techemia* his bondage) reigned 35. vvhole years, and petadventure a good part of the sixe and thirtieth, forasmuch as *techemia* was enlarged with so great fauour, not vntill the end of the year. Substrating therefore out of these foure and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzar* reigne did well neere occupie, those eighteene yeares of his which passed away before the captiuitie of *Iuda*, and ruine of the city, we haue remaining sixe and twenty yeares of the seuentie, that were almost wholly spent when his son began to reigne.

It is now to be considered how the remainder of the seuentie yeares were diuided between the Kings ruling in *Babylon* vntill the first of *Cyrus*. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needfull: the whole summe being certaine, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were slothfull Princes. Neither can any man the more iustly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70. years, for that the distribution of some part of them is only coniectural; seeing that none who gives any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both vnlikely and desperate coniectures in diuiding them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others haue done; knowing well before-hand, that whosoeuer shall discouer my error, must do me the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more materiall) of making me to vnderstand the truth.

Of the foure and forty yeares remaining in accompt of *Nebuchadnezzars* death, we are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius* the Mede, and then hauing authority good enough to warrant vs from blame of presumption, in giuing vs seuentee yeares to *Balthasar*, we finde left in our hands to bestow vpon *Emilmerodach* sixe & twentie yeares. Of the yeare belonging vnto *Darius* the Mede, I haue already spoken what I thought sufficient, in deliuering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this captiuitie. That *Balthasar* did reigne seuentee yeares, we haue the authority of *Iosephus*, before cited in expresse words; We haue also the generall consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting *Berosus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned so long; and *Balthasar* to haue beene one. But nothing moueth me so much to beleue this Tradition, as first those euident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third yeare of *Balthasar* hee followed the Kings businesse, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reigne, (a prooffe sufficient of no few yeares, passing vnder this man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniels* employments tooke end either that yeare or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his warres against the Assyrians, which beginning with the death of this mans father, & being alwaies prosperous, could hardly haue occupied any longer time, though we make large allowance to his deeds in the lower Asia, which fell out in the midde-way: I haue already shewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reigne of *Emilmerodach* was not short, and that men of great iudgement haue found it most probable, that he was a King three and twenty years. More, I thinke, they would haue allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus*, caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that bookes of such antiquitie, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke passages of Antiquitie. I will yet confesse, that were his workes neuer so excellent, and in all things else vnquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend vnto him in some one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemy: How much lesse ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing onely seuen or eight lines, and part euen of the title corrupted, as they beleue that follow him in the rest? The Scriptures haue told vs that God gaue the Empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his sonne, and to his sonnes sonne: How long each of them held it, we finde not expressed; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach vs; provided alwaies, that helping vs in a particularitie, he destroyed not thereby the generall truth. More words are needlesse. It is enough to say with others, that *Berosus* or *Iosephus* who cited him, hath beene wronged by the carelesse of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to erre in writing two

Ier. 27.

for fixe and twenty, as for three and twenty, or perhaps more occid. For, the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character γ signifying 6. hath a nearer resemblance of β that stands for 2. than hath γ which is used for 3. So that the numerall notes $\beta \gamma$ expressing 26. were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copie, and might be altered, as ill written, if some drooked hand, or other mischance not vnuall, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seeme not two different figures; but the phea correction of the other; which how it could bee supposed in standing for γ . I doe not well perceiue. As for the Arithmetical figures now in vyle, they were long after the time of *Iosephus* brought in by the Arabians; and therefore doe not appertaine vnto this businesse; vnlesse wee should ghesse that his workes were corrupted in that vnlearned age, which following the Saracen conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanitie, but in a sort wholly giuen ouer to the doctrine of *Auustole*. In this will serue to make *Herofus* our friend, so let it bee; if not, I will not purchase the fauour of his authority, by forsaking *Ieremie* and *Daniel*, when they seeme to be his opposites.

S. VII.

Of the victories which Nabuchodonosor obtained betweene the destruction of Ierusalem and conquest of Egypt.

With what actions this time of 70. years was entertained by the Babylonian kings, few haue written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure haue been some cause that the time it selfe was, and is yet thought to be abridged, as not hauing left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well deny to many people even their being. For every Nation (I know not whom I should except) betweene the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slothfull age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no maruell, if the posteritie of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could haue desired, betooke themselves to their ease and pleasures; thinking perhaps, like the prodigall sons of greedy fathers, their own wisdom greater, which knew how to enioy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their daies in the restless trauell of purchasing: Though indeed the reigne of *Nabuchodonosor* was so diuident, that his youthfull and stronger years haue been exercised in victorious armes, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthie labours past. The nineteenth year of his reigne it was, when destroying vtterly the great and mighty Citie of Ierusalem, hee enriched himselfe with abundance of spoyle, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, hee, vntill his three and twentieth yeare, laboured in the conquest of those adioyning Regions, which God had exposed vnto his sword, and commanded to wear his yoke; namely, the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, Sidonians, and Egyptians, though some of these were already become his followers, and serued vnder him, when Ierusalem was beaten downe and burnt. But the Tyrians, whose Citie was founded on an Island, safe enough from any danger of a Land-armie, and whose fleet was so strong, that they needed not to feare any enemy at sea, were neither danted with the fall of their neighbour Cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mighty Prince, employing all his power to their subuersion.

That the Citie of Tyre was rather well pleased, than any way discouraged with the fall of Ierusalem (which had held the same course that Tyre did, and endured all that might bee in the same quarrell against the common enemy) it appears by the wordes which *Ezekiel* condemneth as the common voyed of Tyre; *Aha, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned vnto me; for seeing she is desolate, I shall be replenished.* Yet at length, euen in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, that great worke of his, whereof we haue already spoken, began to appeare aboue the waters, and threaten them with inuincible mischief.

But those prophecies of *Ieremie* and of *Esay*, which appoint vnto this desolation of Tyre the same terme of 70. years, that was prescribed vnto the reigne of the Chaldeans, doe plainly

plainly shew, that she followed Ierusalem, the same nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doublelesse were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner vtterly lost. Thus much we finde, That the Citizens perceiuing the Town vnable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fledde into the Isle of Cyprus. Neuerthelesse it seemes that this euasion serued only the principall men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer sort vnto the enemies furie. For, not onely such people of Tyre as dwelt on the Continent, (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which, with excessive labour, the Assyrian made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonosor* caused his Armie to serue a great seruice against Tyre, wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare, yet had hee no wages, nor his Armie; but was faine to rest contented with the Honour of hauing destroyed that Citie, which in all mens iudgements had bene held inuincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerfull Cities, hauing made the name of the Chaldeans dreadfull in the eares of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonosor* vied the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with lesse paine. The Kingdome of Egypt was the marke at which he aimed; a Country so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well haue tempted any Prince, finding himselfe strong enough to seek occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemy to the Crown of Babylon, that had it bin poorer, yet either it must haue bene subdued, or the conquest of Syria could ill haue bene established. Neuerthelesse it was needfull, that before hee entred into this businesse, the Countries adiacent should be reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his deuotion, or at least be vnable to worke him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For, the people of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Hazar, and other adioyning Regions, whom God for their sinnes had condemned to fall vnder the Babylonian swords, were such, as regarding only their owne gaine, had some of them, like *Rauens*, followed the Chaldean Armie, to feed vpon the carcases that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking aduantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the Countries, which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonosor*: all of them thinking, that when the Assyrian had satisfied his fury, he should be faine to forsake the desolate parts, and leaue the possession to those that could lay hand vpon it. Particularly the Edomites and Philistims had shewed much malice to the Iewes when their City was taken. What good seruice they had done to the Chaldeans, I finde not; if they did any, it is likely to haue been with reference to their owne purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The Ammonites were not contented to reioyce at the fall of Ierusalem, but presently they entred vpon the Country of Gad, and tooke possession, as if not the Assyrians, but they, had subdued Israel. Neither can I perceiue what other ground that practice had of *Baalus* king of the Ammonites, when he sent *Ismael*, a Prince of the bloud of Iuda, to murder *Gedalia*, whom the King of Babel had left Gouvernour ouer those that remained in Israel, and to carry captiue into the Ammonites Country the people that abode in Mizpah, than a desire of embroiling *Nabuchodonosor* with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his owne Countrey, and abandon those wasted Lands to himselfe and others, for whom they lay conueniently. Such or the like policy the Moabites did exercise; whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, & their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

All these Nations had the art of rauening, which is familiar to such as liue or border vpon deserts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the vttermost cunning of their treacherous wits. But *Nabuchadnezzar* did cut asunder all their deuices by sharpe and suddaine warre, ouerwhelmng them with vnexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of *Esay*, *Ieremie*, and *Ezekiel*, who foretold, with little difference of words, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the miserie that should come vpon them. With which of them he first began, I finde not; it seemes that Moab was the last which felt his hand: for so doe many good Authors interpret the prophecie of *Esay*, threatning Moab with destruction after three yeares, as hauing reference to the third year following the ruine of Ierusalem; the next year after it being spent in the Egyptian expedition.

expedition. This is manifest, that all the principal Townes in these Regions were burnt, and the people slaine, or made slaues, few excepted, who being preferred by flight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations ouer-hastily, much lesse to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*, but liued as miserable out-lawes, or at least oppressed wretches, vntill the end of the seuentie yeares, which God had prescribed vnto the defolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of Iuda.

§. V III.

That Egypt was conquered, and the King therein reigning slaine by Nabuchodonosor, contrary to the opinion of most Authors: who, following Herodotus and Diodorus, relate it otherwise.

When by a long course of victory *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subjection all the Nations of Syria, & the bordering Arabians, in such wise, that no enemy to himselfe, nor friend of the Egyptian, was left at his backe, that might giue impediment vnto his proceeding, or take aduantage of any misfortune; then did he forth-with take in hand the conquest of Egypt himselfe, vpon which those other Nations had formerly bin depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Esay*, *Ieremie*, and *Ezekiel*, haue written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needlesse to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofe halfe of that which may be alleged out of these. Neuerthelesse, wee finde many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to straine these Prophecies with vnreasonable diligence vnto such a sence, as giues to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the honour of hauing done some spoyle in Egypt, omitting the conquest of that Land by the Babylonian, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affaires. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the meanes and second helps conducing to their purpose, that oftentimes they doe preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to vphold a sentence, giuing testimony to one clause, doe carefully overthrow the historie it selfe, which thereby they sought to haue maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of Egypt, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former booke: but that which they haue spoken of *Apries*, was purposely referred vnto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirme that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (vnlesse we should vnderstand that he was victorious in the Warre, which he is said to haue made vpon Ty-
rus and Sidon) that he reigned fiftie and twenty yeares, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne Subiects; who did set vp *Amasis*, as King, which pretailed against him. The rebellion of the Egyptians he imputeth to a great losse which they received in an expedition against the Cyrenians, by whom almost their whole Army was destroyed. This calamitie the people of Egypt thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on their dangerous expedition, with a purpose to haue them consumed, that so he might with greater securitie reigne ouer such as staid at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slaine, rebelled against *Apries*, vvhose sent *Amasis* to appease the tumult; but *Amasis* became Captain of the rebels, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented vnto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driuen to trust vnto his forraine Mercenaries, the Ionians and Carians, of whom he kept continually in readinesse thirty thousand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquished by the great number of the Egyptian forces, amounting vnto two hundred and fiftie thousand, which were all by birth and education men of Warre. *Apries* himselfe being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by *Amasis* for a while, vntill the Egyptians, exclaiming vpon him, as an extreame enemy to the Land, got him deliuered into their hands, and strangled him, yet they gaue him honourable buriall. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* doth neerey agree, telling vs that *Apries* did vanquish the Cyprians and Phoenicians in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demolished Sidon, wanne the other townes of Phoenicia, and the Ile of Cyprus, and finally, perished as is before rehearsed, when he

had reigned two and twenty yeares. This authority were enough to rebuke more than enough to informe vs of *Apries* his history, if greater authority were not contradicted. But the destruction of Egypt by the Babylonian, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our belief, than haue the traditions of Egyptian Priests (which the Greeke Historians followed) and greater probabilities to persuade those that looke closely into humane traditions. For the Prophecies long before of the shamefull captivity of the Egyptians, wherein the King of Assur should carry away naked young & old, in such wise, that the lawes, who fled vnto them for deliuerance from the Assyrian, should be ashamed of their owne vaine confidence in men so vnable to defend themselves. oblose on dion bl. 11. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 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of Egypt, whom *Amasis* took prisoner, is said to have kept for his defence: doth it not argue that he was a forrainger, and one that armed himselfe against the Egyptians, with them few and weak; rather than one of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as assuredly their owne, as the strength of their owne bodies. It were more tedious than any way needfull to set all Arguments that might be alledged in this case. The very death of this supposed *Apries*, which the Egyptians of the people obtained of *Amasis*, who sought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that hee was some forraigne Gouverneur, not a Prince; otherwise the people would have desired to save his life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not have yeelded, though it had stood vpon great apparance of truth, considering that the voice of Truth it selfe cries out against it, but leave the circumstances, proving the Conquest of Egypt by *Nebuchadnezzar*, to be observed, where due occasion in course of the story following shall present them.

S. IX.

How Egypt was subdued and held by *Nabuchadnezzar*.

IT is a great losse, that the generall History of the World hath suffered, by the spoile and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments, that should have preserved the memory of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mighty Prince *Nabuchadnezzar*, wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now yncertaine. That his Victories following the Conquest of Syria, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were such as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Warres had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth vpon his thirtieth Chapter (besides the whole Countrey of Egypt) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations that may seeme to have reached out into Mauritania, as people subdued by this great Babylonian. The circumstances of these Warres are in a manner utterly lost; but that the victory was easie and swift, any man shall finde, who will take the paines to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular obseruation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Booke) thought himselfe most safe in Egypt by the well defended situation of his Countrey, did very vnwisely in suffering his enemies to sweepe the way cleane vnto his owne doores; by consuming all his friends and adherents in Syria. For as the labour of this businesse did more harden than weary the Chaldean Army, so the confidence and vaine security of the Egyptians, relying vpon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make thorow the Arabian deserts, and the much advantage which the great riuer of Nilus would afford vnto themselves, did little auail them in prouision for the war, and much astonish them (as may lustly be thought) in the time of execution: it being visually scene, that the hearts of men faile, when those helpes faile, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the Kingdome of Egypt had flourished vnder the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand five hundred and fourescore years, but from this time forward it remained forty yeares without a King, vnder the subiection of the Babylonians; & then at length it began to recouer by little and little the former greatnesse, yet so, that it was neuer dreadfull vnto others, God hauing said of that people, *I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule the Nations*. For whereas it hath beene said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the Father of the wife, I am the Sonne of the ancient Kings*; and whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I haue made it*; the Princes of Egypt now became fooles, the River failed them, the King himselfe was taken & slaine, and that ancient lineage quite extinguished. This came to passe in the first yeare after the destruction of Ierusalem, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, at which time (saith *Iosephus*) *Hee slew the King then reigning, placed another in his roome, and carried captiues thence to Babylon; the Iewes whom hee found in that Countrey*. Now concerning the time which *Iosephus* giues vnto this businesse, and the businesse it selfe, I haue already shewed, that it is warranted by all the prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of Ierusalem, and carrying away those vnto Babel, who inhabited the miserable ruines of that great city, which was in the same three & twentieth yeare of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is not vnprobably thought by good

Ezek. 29. 13. 14.
Ch. 15.
Ezek. 19. 11.
Ezek. 29. 9.

Ioseph. Ant. Iud.
lib. 10. cap. 11.

Jerem. 51. 30.

good authors to haue beene at the returne from this Egyptian Expedition. But whereas *Iosephus* saies, that there was another King put in the roome of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, we must vnderstand, that he was onely a Viceroy, and not (as some haue mistaken it) thinks that this was *Amasis*. For to place the beginning of *Amasis* his reigne in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant vnto the prophecies before alledged, as to all Chronology and History. Some there are, which to help this inconueniency, imagine that there were two successiue bearing the name of *Amasis*; others, that there were two *Apries*, the one slaine by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amasis*; a question of small importance, because the difference is onely about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life & kingdom by the Assyrians. Yet for any thing that I can perceiue, that *Apries*, of whom the Greek Historians wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, seeing that hee was the Grand-child of *Pharaoh Necho*, & made war (as they report) vpon the Phoenicians, who were before the Egyptians, become subiect vnto the Crowne of Babylon. It might adde, perhaps, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzar* left as Gouverneur of Egypt, was more likely to haue had some Chaldean or Assyrian, than Egyptian name; vntlesse wee should thinke that he had beene a traitor to his naturall Prince; and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Countrey: about which it were but friuolous to dispute. Thus much in brieue we ought to beleene, that *Nabuchadnezzar* made an absolute Conquest of Egypt; that he was not so foolish as to glue it away, any man may guess; that he appointed oneto rule the Countrey; it is consequent vnto the former, and hath authority of *Iosephus*; that his Gouverneur (or some Successour of his) was afterwards taken and slaine by *Amasis*, I see probability enough to perswade my selfe, and yet can well be content, that others vse their liberty, and beleene what they list. As for the army which this Egyptian King *Apries* is supposed to haue kept of Ionians & Carians, I hold them to be none other than the garisons of mercenary souldiers which were left by the Assyrian for the guard of his Viceroy, and custody of the new subdued Provinces; as likewise the company returning from Cyrene & Bactre, who together with the friends of such as were slaine in that expedition, remembered before out of the Greek Historians, deposed & slew *Apries*, I take them to haue been the Egyptian fugitiues, which they recovered their owne Country. Sure it is that this Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified, *At the end of forty yeares will I gather the Egyptians from the people where they were scattered, and I will bring againe the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to returne into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation, and they shall be there a small kingdome*. If the Egyptian Priests alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amasis* his obtaining the Kingdome, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deuised matter that had no shadow of truth, only to keepe the Greeks from knowledge of their Counties disgrace; then are they little to be regarded, since we know the truth with them.

S. X.

Of the sundry accounts drawne from sundry acts of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and of the destruction of Ninene, by him; the time of which action is vncertaine.

THESE victories brought the greatnesse of the Assyrian Empire to the full, & from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzars* reigne in sundry places of Scripture. To speake any more of the questions arising about the supputation of *Nebuchadnezzar* his times, might seeme to be the bitter-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note; that whereas *Daniel* was carried captiue in the third yeare of *Jehoiakims* reigne (which ran along with some part of *Nebuchadnezzars* first yeare) & was kept in diet three yeares more, before he was brought into the Kings presence; it could not be the second of *Nebuchadnezzars* Kingdome; wherein hee interpreted the forgotten dream of the great Image, foreshewing the successe of Monarchies; but the second of his Empire. The same or the like may be said of diuers places which referre sundry matters vnto their set yeares, as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he fore-tells, that Egypt should be giuen in reward for the seruice done before Tyrrus, dating his prophecy in the Yeue and twentieth yeare; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth yeare; for these yeares held no dependance vpon either the beginning of *Nebuchad-*

DAN. 1. 6. 21.

Nebuchadnezzars kingdome, or of his Empire; nor yet vpon any of the captiuities, but had reference to some memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easie to be found, nor worth the labour of vncertaine search.

Nabum 3. 8.

Of any warre made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, after such time as he returned from the Conquest of Egypt, I doe not reade: excepting that against Nineue, the destruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet *Naum*. Nineue had long before been taken by *Sennacherib* (as in due place hath beene shewed) and together with the rest of Assyria made subject to Babylon. Yet was it left vnder a peculiar king, who rebelling against the Chaldean, as *Iehoiakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary kings of Iuda, had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of Nineue followed the Conquest of Egypt, it appeareth by the comparison which *Naum*, the Prophet made betwene this City, that was to fall, and the City of No in Egypt, that was fallen already. But how long after this came to pass, it is (me thinks) vnpossible to finde out. For whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the first of *Nebuchadnezzars* reign; the place of *Nabum* last cited is enough to disprove it. Whereas it is referred by some vnto the first of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the Egyptian warres; the whole Prophecy of *Naum* which went betwene the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space, of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very yeare of this destruction, or other circumstances of the Warre, whether managed by *Nabuchodonosor* in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like vnto the vaine curiosities of *Tyberius Caesar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*; or to the like idle pastimes which he should rake, who would seek to learne what woman that *Huxiab* Queen of Nineue was, whose wofull captiuitie the same Prophet *Naum* likewise did fore-tell.

S. XI.

Of the later time of Nebuchadnezzar; his buildings, madnesse, and death.

Dan. 4. 27.

OF the time which this great Monarch spent in quiet, I thinke there are no Monuments extant; save those which we finde among the prophesies of *Daniel*. Among these we may reckon his great workes at Babylon, wherewith he pleased himselfe so well, that he brake out into these glorious words: *Is not this great Babel that I haue built for the house of the Kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Maiesty?* Surely if those things be true that are by *Iosephus* rehearsed of him out of *Nerosus* and *Megasthenes*, hee might well delight himselfe with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, That he fortified Babylon with a triple wall; that besides other stately workes, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne vp the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the ayre, and equalling the tops of Mountaines; which most sumptuous frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the Assyrian, and all the Persian Empire, is said to haue beene reared, and finished in fiftene dayes.

But of all this, & other his magnificence, we find little else recorded, than that (which indeede is most profitable for vs to consider) his ouer-valuing of his owne greatnesse abused him vnto a condition, inferiour to the poorest of men. And not vndeferuently fell these iudgements of God vpon him: For whereas God had honoured him, not onely with many victories, & much happinesse in his owne life, but with a discouery of things to come after him, yea and had approued the certainty of his dream, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet: hee neuertheless became so forgetfull of God, whose wonderfull power he had scene and acknowledged, that he caused a golden Image to be set vp and worshipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward vnto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was viterly repugnant to the law of him that is the King of kings. Hercof *S. Hierome* hath well noted; *Velox ab initio veritatis, ut quid dūm seruum Dei quasi Deum adorauerat, nunc statum sibi feruere beat, ut ipse quasi Deus in statu adoraretur: A basile forgetfulness of the truth, that he who so lately had worshipped (Daniel) the servant of God, as if hee had beene God himselfe, should now command a statue to be erected vnto himselfe, wherein himselfe might be worshipped as God.* From this impiety it pleased God to reclaim him, by the strange and wonderfull deliuey of those blessed Saints out of the fiery fornace; who being throwne into it bound, for refusing to commit Idolatry, were

assisted

assisted by an Angell; preserved from all harme of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and restored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this deuotion of *Nebuchadnezzar* was not rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his hasty zeale. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dream of the terrible iudgement hanging ouer his head which *Daniel* expounding, aduised him to *breake off his sinne by righteousness, and his iniquitie by mercy towards the poore, that there might be an healing of his error.* Hereby it seemes that iniustice and cruelty were the faults, for which hee was threatened, but this threatening sufficed not vnto his information. For that so great a Monarch should be driuen from among men, (according to the tenor of the dream & interpretation) yea, compelled to dwell with the beasts of the field, and made to eate grasse as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in mans iudgement, that easily it might be thought an idle dream, and much more easily be forgotten at the yeares end. One whole yeares leasure to repent was giuen to this haughty Prince: which respite of the execution may seem to haue bred in him a forgetfulness of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelue monethes, walking in the royall Palace of Babel, he was so ouer-joyed and transported with a vaine contemplation of his owne seeming happinesse, that without all feare of Gods heauie iudgement pronounced against him, he vttered those loftie words before rehearsed, in vaunting of the Maiesticall workes which he had reared, as well befeeming his maiesticall person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voyce from heauen, telling him that his kingdome was departed from him, rehearsed ouer vnto him the sentence againe, was fulfilled vpon him the very same houre.

That *Salomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, haue taken delight in their own buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that euer I haue read of any, that were punished for reioicing in workes of this kinde (though it is hard in ioy, or any passion of the minde, to keepe a iust measure) excepting onely this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may be said of *Dauid*: for other (and some very godly) Kings haue mustred all their forces to the very last man; but few or none haue beene knowne to haue beene punished as *Dauid* was. Surely I not only hold it lawfull to reioyce in those good things wherewith God hath blessed vs; but a note of much vnthankfulness to entertain them with a sullen and vnfeeling disposition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure clouds, hindring the influence of that blessed light, which clarifies the soule of man, and predisposeth it vnto the brightnesse of eternall felicitie; so that insolent ioy, which man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceiueth of his own worth, doth about all other passions blast our mindes, as it were with lightning, & make vs to reflect our thoughts vpon our seeming inherent greatness, forgetting the whilest him, to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore these *malamentis gaudia*; The euill ioyes of the minde, were not vnaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, bestowed in the entrance of Hell, and placed further inward than sorrowes, cares, and feares: not far from the yron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance neere at hand, when these vnreasonable flushes of proud and vaine ioy, doe rage in a minde, that should haue been humbled with a iust repentance, and acknowledgement of ill deseruing.

This was verified vpon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whose punishment was singular and vnexampled. For he ran among beasts in the fields and woods, where for seuen yeares hee liued, not only as a salvage man, but as a salvage beast, for a beast he thought himselfe, *secundum suam imaginationem*, as *Thornius* noteth, and therefore fed himselfe in the same manner, and with the same foode that beasts doe; Not that hee was changed in figure externally, according to *Mediana*, in so much as hee appeared a beast to other mens eyes, as *S. Hierome* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knowes) speakes of a woman that appeared to all other mens sight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* onely a woman; neither was hee changed as *Iphigenia* the Daughter of *Agamemnon* was said to be, into a Hinde, nor made a Monster, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to *S. Ieromes* exposition of these words: *At the same time was my understanding restored vnto me, &c. Quando dei sensum sibi redditum, ostendit non formam se amisisse, sed mentem;* when he saith that his sense was restored vnto him, hee shewed that hee had not lost his humane shape; but

L. 2. de Reg. p. 1.

Med. l. 2. de re-
sta in Deum f.
de cap. 7.Dor. in Synops.
Ep. in vlt. l. 1. 1. 1.

Euseb. 4. 32. 34.

but his understanding. Seuen yeares expired, it pleased God to restore *Nabuchodonosor*, both to his vnderstanding, and his estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power, and euerslasting being; that he was the Lord of heauen and earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his workes were all truth, and his waies righteous. Which gaue argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his saluation; namely, *S. Augustine*, *Theodores*, *Lyræ*, *Carthusianus*, and others. And for that place of *Esay* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforementioned Authors apply the same to *Balthasar*, because *Esay*, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapter, speaketh of the king, and the destruction of Babylon ioyntly.

§. XII.

Of Euilmerodach.

HAuing already spoken what I could of the succession and yeares of *Nebuchadnezzars* posterity; the most that may be said of him, is said of *Euilmerodach*, which I will not here againe rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his father had gotten; and left his kingdome burning in a warre that consumed it to ashes. Hee lost Egypt by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yeare of his reign, which was fortie yeares after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the accompt of *Herodotus*, who allowes to *Amasis* foure and forty yeares of reigne; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who giues him fife and fifty, saying, that he died in the third yeare of the threescore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyses* did conquer Egypt. There were indeed but seuen and thirty yeares, which passed between the second yeare of the foure and fiftieth Olympiad, (which was the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the fift of *Cambyses* his reigne, wherein he was Egypt; of which seuen and thirty yeares it is credibly held, that *Psammetichus*, the son of *Amasis*, reigned three: so that *Amasis* could bee no longer king than foure and thirtie yeares. But seeing that these two Greek Historians haue bin abused by Egyptian Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no maruell though they were also deceived in the length of his reigne. This is the plaine answer to this obiection. For to say either that the numbers were mis-written, & foure & forty set down in stead of foure and thirtie, or that *Amasis* did temporize a while with the Assyrians, and not beare himselfe as absolute king of Egypt, vntill the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath beene proued out of *Ezekiel*, that Egypt became againe a kingdome) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these Egyptian troubles did animate the king of the Medes to deale with *Euilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) some foyle received by the Assyrian inuading Media, emboldned the Egyptians to rebel against him: I will neither vnderstand, nor seek to define. *Xenophon* tels, that the first seruice of yong *Cyrus* in warre, was vnder *Astages* king of the Medes, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the Assyrian Prince, who did set vpon him; at which time *Cyrus* was fiftene or sixtene yeares old. If therefore *Cyrus* liued threescore and three yeares (as he is said to haue died well stricken in yeares) which is held to be the ordinary term of no short life, then was this encounter in the third yeare of *Euilmerodach* his reigne. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the warre began more early between these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gaue courage vnto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand vpon prouder termes with the Assyrians, than in his flourishing estate they durst haue vsed. Howsoeuer the quarrell beganne, we find that it ended not before the last ruine of the Assyrian Monarchie. For the Babylonian, being too proud to digest the losses which he received by the Medes and their Allies the Persians, drew vnto his partie the Lydians, and all the people of the lesser Asia, with gifts and strong perswasions, hoping so to ouerwhelme his enemies with a strong inuasion, vvhom in vaine hee had fought to wearie out with a lingring Warre.

This

This happened after the death of *Nabuchodonosor*, who left the world in the nineteenth yeare of *Euilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* took possession of Egypt. So that the Assyrian hauing his hands already full of business, which more earnestly did affect him, seemed thereby to haue giuen the better means vnto the Egyptians, of new erecting their kingdome, which by long distance of place did sundry times find occasion to rebell in after ages, and set up a King within it selfe, against the far more mighty Persian.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Euilmerodach*, against the Medes, was such as opened the way vnto the fulfilling of those prophecies, which were many yeares before vnderaged against Babel, by *Esay* and *Jeremie*. For the Assyrians and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to haue binde the Medes and Persians vnder their thicke showres of arrowes & darts; were encountered with an army of stout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battell, where *Euilmerodach* was slaine. So that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonosor* had raised and vp-held, being shaken and grievously cracked vnder his vnforgotten Son, was left to bee sustained by his vnnorthy Nephew, a man more likely to haue ouerthrowne it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repaire it, when it was in way of falling.

§. XIII.

A private coniecture of the Author; serving to make good those things, which are cited out of *Berosus*, concerning the Successors of *Euilmerodach*, without wrong to the Truth. The quality, and death of *Balthasar*.

ITHOUGH I haue already (as it seemes to me) sufficiently proued that *Balthasar* was the Son, and immediate Successour to *Euilmerodach*, yet considering earnestly the coniectures of those Writers, which following *Berosus*, insert *Niglissar*, or *Niglissar*, and his son *Labassardach* betweene them: as also that which I finde in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queene of Babylon, who greatly adorned and fortified that City: I haue thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by vvhich means it was possible that some error might haue crept into the Historie of those times, and thereby haue brought vs to a needlesse trouble of searching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the vncertaine fragments of lost Authors, which we might haue found by day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First therefore I obserue, that the time which *Berosus* diuides betwixt *Euilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees vvith the yeares in vvhich *Nebuchadnezzar* liued vvilde among brute beasts in the open field: Secondly, that the suddennesse of this accident, vvhich came in one houre, could not but vvork much perturbation in that State, vvherin doubtlesse the honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamitie pitied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clause which promised his recouerie, as being verified in that which hath bin more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason iudge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for setting the government, whilst the King was thus distracted, wee shall finde it most likely, that his Son and Heire did occupie the royall Throne, with condition to restore it vnto his Father, when God should enable him to repossesse it. In this his rule *Euilmerodach* beeing to supply the vtter want of vnderstanding in his Father, as Protectors do the vnripenes of it in yong, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the insolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small abilitie of government, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his owne right. That his sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his sister) was a woman of an high spirit, it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying that shee was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and vsfull workes about the Riuer of Euphrates, and her fortification of Babylon against the Medes, who had gotten many Townes from the Assyrians, and amongst them Nineue. Wherefore it were not vnreasonable to thinke, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers misgovernment, vsed practices to get the rule into her owne hands, and afterwards, as a mother, to leaue it vnto her vngracious son. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could haue reigned, wee doe not finde; but we finde in *Berosus* (as *Iosephus* hath cited him) that *Niglissar*, who got the Kingdome from *Euilmerodach*, was his sisters husband;

husband; which argues this to haue been the same woman. As for *Labassardach* the son of *Niglissar*, at the end of nine moneths reigne he were for his lewd conditions slaine by the Nobilitie, as the same *Berosus* reporteth, it seemes that God prepared hereby the way for *Nebuchadnezzars* restitution (whose terme of punishment was then expired) by raising such trouble, as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here vse many words to confute that which *Berosus* hath further set down of *Enilmerodach*, telling vs that he was slaine by his sisters husband: for the plain words of the Scripture, named the yeare wherein he gaue liberty to *Iecania*, doe plainly testifie that he out-liued the three or foure and fortieth yeare of his Fathers reign, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to haue succeeded *Enilmerodach* in the Kingdome, might indeed haue so done, though not when hee held it in his owne right. Of *Balthasar*, who was his Son and Heire, we finde, that he had such conditions, as God permitted to be in a King for the ruine of the people. Hee was from his young yeares of a mischieuous nature; hauing in his Fathers time slaine a Noble yong man that should haue married his sister, only for spight and enuy to see him kill two wilde beasts in hunting, at which himselfe hauing thrown his laurel had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beauty, said it were a happy woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loued his Father (as a good and gracious, though vnforgotten Prince) to reuolt from him vnto the enemies as soone as hee was King. Neither doe I finde that hee performed any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a foole hee lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to giue battell to them that daily tooke somewhat from him. Yet carelessly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on euery side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom hee had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a foole taken in vnexcusable security, yet had not that happinesse, such as it is, of a death free from apprehension of feare, but was terrified with a dreadfull vision; which had shewed his ruine not in many houres before, euen whilest he was drinking in that vine, which the swords of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable reigne of seuentene yeares, he perished like a beast, and was slaine as hee deserued. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath been spoken heretofore, in matter of his affaires, shall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whose story that of *Balthasar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the originall and first greatnesse of the Persians.

§. I.

That the Medes were chiefe actors in the subuersion of the Babylonian Empire.



HE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguished in *Balthasar*, the Empire of Babylon, and of Assyria, was ioyned first to that of Media, which then was gouerned by *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of Assyria and of Media it selfe.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were tenne Kings besides himselfe, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metasthenes*. These two Prouinciall Gouernours hauing cut downe the last branch of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, diuided betwene them the Easterne Empire. *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two yeeres after that the line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthasar*; the Dominions aswell of the Conquerour, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to *Cyrus* of the house of *Achamenes*, the Princes of which blood reigning in Persia, had formerly

formerly been dependants on the Medes, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the World.

Of the Family of the *Achamenes*, and Line of the Persian Kings, we shall hereafter find occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the Medes descended from *Madai* the third sonne of *Iaphet*; that they had Kings soone after the Flood, *Lallantius* and *Diodorus* haue found record; For *Lallantius* remembreth an ancient King of the Medes called *Hydaspes*, and *Diodore* speaketh of *Pharyas* with his seauen sonnes, slaine by the Assyrian in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the Assyrians, I take the list and number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus*; of whom I haue spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these.

<i>Arbaces.</i>	28. yeares.
<i>Sofarmus.</i>	30. yeares.
<i>Meddus.</i>	40. yeares.
<i>Cardiceas.</i>	13. yeares.
<i>Dibcles.</i>	53. yeares.
<i>Phaortes.</i>	24. yeares.
<i>Cyaxares.</i>	32. yeares.
<i>Asyages.</i>	38. yeares.
<i>Darius Medus.</i>	

who reigned

And though the Greeks ascribe the conquest of Babylon to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach vs, that *Darius* was not only king of Media, & had the Persians his followers, but that the Army victorious ouer *Balthazar* was his, as the Assyrian & Babylonian Empire also was during his owne life. For we finde in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the Medes took the Kingdome being threescore & two yeares old: And further, what Officers pleased him to set ouer the Kingdome. And so was it prophesied by *Isay* long before: Behold, I will stirre up the Medes against them, &c. And by *Ieremy*: The Lord hath raised up the Spirit of the King of the Medes: for his purpose is against *Babel*, to destroy it; and in the eight & twentieth Verse, Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion. These Scriptures *Iulius Africanus* doth well open, who taking authority from *Diodore*, *Cassor*, *Thallus*, & others, deliuereth that Babylon was taken before *Cyrus* began to reign, which also agreeth with *Strabo*, where he saith, That as the Medes were subuigated by the Persians, so before that, both the Babylonians & Assyrians were mastered by the Medes. And therefore the reports of *Iustine* and *Herodotus* are not to be receiued, who attribute the taking of Babylon to *Cyrus* alone.

§. II.

By what meanes the Empire was translated from the Medes to the Persians.

How the Kingdome of the Medes fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians, but rather their different relations of his beginnings haue bred the former opinion of those who giue the conquest of *Babel* to the Persian only. For some there are who deny that *Asyages* had any other Successour than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Ctesias* on the contrary side affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way descended from *Asyages* (whom he calleth *Asigau* or *Apamia*), but only that hauing vanquished him in battaile, & confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Amysis*. But I finde the relations of *Ctesias* often cited, and seldome followed, and himselfe sometimes very iustly reproued of wilfull vntruth.

Whereas a diligent & learned Historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that *Asyages* had no such sonne as *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*; and to confirme his opinion the more, he citeth *Diodore*, *Iustine*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Isaerates*, and before them *Cassor*, *Thallus*, and *Polegon*, who doe not finde any such Successour. Neither doe *Tatianus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Iulius Africanus*, *Clement Alexandrinus*, *Iustine Martyr*, *Lallantius*, *Eusebius*, *S. Hierome*, or *S. Augustine*, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read, that hath giuen other Son or Successour to *Asyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet seeing that this manner of argument *ab autoritate negatiue*, doth neuer enforce consent, we may be the bolder (all this great list of noble Writers by him alleaged notwithstanding) to affirme, that either *Astyages* himselfe must haue bene *Darius* of the Medes, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; Or else to giue him some other Successour, according to *Iosephus* and *Xenophon*, the same whom *Daniel* calleth *Balthasar*. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the King of the Medes commanded in chiefe, and was absolute Lord of that Conquest, *Cyrus* during his life; being no other than the Lieutenant of his Army, and subiect to his authority; The strength of both Nations, to wit, the Medes and Persians, with other the Vassals of *Darius*, being ioyned together to compound it.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victory ouer Babylon was wholly giuen to *Cyrus*, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himselfe for this action, but for the deliuey of his Church, a greater worke not only in the eyes of God, than the subuersion of any State or Monarchy, how powerfull fouer.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers imployed in that seruice did rather ascribe the glory to him that was the best man of Warre, than to the Median, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling vpon *Cyrus* by succession, and continuing in his posterity, did much augment the fame of his vertue; which among profane Historians ouergrew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both because he was old, & did nothing in person; as also because he soon after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was possessor of what fouer belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any such King or Conqueror was carried farre off.

And for the Greek Historians, they took all things from the relation of the Persians, who gaue to *Cyrus* all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the first, fift, and sixt Chapters of his propheticke, makes it plaine, that himselfe not onely liued a great Officer vnder King *Darius*, but that he continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*, which being the year of *Daniels* death, could not haue bin distinguished from the reigne of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned ioyntly; Neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdome by *Cyrus* permission, considering that *Cyrus* began after him.

§. III.

Xenophons relation of the warre with the Medes and Persians, made with ioynt forces vpon the Assyrians, and others.

THESE Testimonies of the Scriptures, which neede no other confirmation, yet made more open to our vnderstanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these wars: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the Assyrian had enlarged his Empire with victories, & was become Lord of all Syria, & many other Countries, he began to hope that if the Medes could be brought vnder his subiection, there should not then be left any Nation adioyning able to make head against him. For the King of the Medes was able to bring into the field threecore thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, to which the forces of Persia being ioyned, made an exceeding strong Army.

The Assyrian considering the strength of such a Neighbour, invited *Crasus* King of Lydia, a Prince very mighty both in men and treasure, and with him other Lords of Asia the lesse, to his assistance, alleaging, that those Easterne Nations were very powerfull, and so firmly conioyned by league and many alliances, that it would not be possible, no not possible for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements, and strengthened with great presents, he drew to himselfe so many adherents, as he compounded an Army of two hundred thousand foot, and threecore thousand horse; of which, tenne thousand horse, and forty thousand foot were ledde by *Crasus*, who had great cause of enmity with the Medes, in regard of the Warre made by them against his Father *Alyattes*; But this great Army was by *Cyaxares* King of the Medes, and by *Cyrus* General of the Persian forces, vtterly broken; Vpon which defeat the Assyrian King being also slaine; so many of the Assyrians reuolted, as Babylon itselfe could no longer be assured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great summes of money out of Asia the lesse, Egypt, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces

were

were also scattered by *Cyrus*, who following his aduantage, possesse himselfe of a great part of the lesser Asia; at which time it was, as I take it, that *Crasus* himselfe was also made prisoner.

The attempt of Babylon following soon after, the Army lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his sisters son, preuailed against *Balthasar*, as in due time shall be set downe.

Those Persians which followed *Cyrus*, and by him leuied, are numbred thirty thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the common sort were Archers, or such as vsed the Dart or Sling. So far *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the pattern of a most Heroicall Prince, with much Poeticall addition: so it cannot be denied, but that the bulke and grosse of his Narration was founded vpon meere Historiall truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like Writers, that in euery speech & circumstance he hath precisely tyed himselfe to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his own inuention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politick discourse, and examining but the History of things done, it will easily appear, that *Xenophon* hath handled his vnder-taken subiect in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any sort corrupted the body.

§. I V.

The estate of the Medes and Persians in times fore-going this great warre.

FOR it is commonly agreed vpon, that *Achemenes* the sonne of *Perfes* being Governour of Persia, did associate himselfe with *Arbaces*, who commanded in Media in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victory obtained, held for himselfe the Dominion of those Countries, which he had formerly ruled for the Assyrians; as also that they conueyed ouer the same honour & power to their posterity, which in Media was not absolutely Regall, but with some restraint limited, vntill such time as *Deioces* tooke vpon him the full authority and maiesty of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reigne of *Deioces*, are vsually accounted about an hundred and forty yeares, in the last sixty wherof there reigned in Assyria mighty Princes, namely, *Salmanassar* and his Successours, whose great atchieuements in Syria and elsewhere, witnesseth, that the Medes and Persians found it not for their aduantage to undertake any offensive warre against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet between these the successours of *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the first of *Astyages*, there past aboute nine tie yeares, in which if *Herodotus* haue written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered Persia, and how he and other Kings of Media by many victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of Asia, it had bene but an vnadvised enterprise of the Assyrians & Babylonians, to haue wasted themselves against the Syrians and Egyptians, leauing so able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the Medes had done nothing vpon the South parts of Persia; and that the Persians themselves were not masters of Susiana in *Nabuchodonosors* time, it is manifest in *Daniel*, who was then Governour for the Babylonian in Susa or Susan, the chiefe City thereof. It is true indeede, that the Medians, either vnder *Cyaxares* or *Astyages*, or both, had quarrell with *Halyattes* the father of *Crasus*, which after some fixe yeares dispute was compounded.

How the affaires of Persia stood in so many ages, I do not finde any memory. It seemeth that the roughnesse of the mountainous Countrey which they then possesse, with the confederacy which they continued with the Medes, gaue them more security than fame: For if their Kings, being the posterity of *Achemenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatnesse which they afterward obtained would not haue suffered any forgetfulness thereof. But as we finde all *Xenophons* reports, both of these Warres and the state of those Countries to be very consonant & agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, so it appeares, that the race of *Achemenes* held the Principality of Persia from Father to Sonne for many descents. And therefore we may better giue credit

to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyſes* the father of *Cyrus* was King of *Perſia*; than to thoſe that make him a meane man, and ſay, that *Aſtyages* gaue him his daughter *Man-dane* in marriage, to the end that her ſon (whoſe nativity hee feared) might be diſabled from any great vndertaking by his fathers ignobility.

For what cauſe of griefe could it be to *Aſtyages*, that the ſonne of his daughter ſhould become Lord of the beſt part of *Aſia*? No, it was more likely, that vpon ſuch a Prophe-cie his loue to his grand-child ſhould haue encreaſed, and his care been the greater to haue married her to ſome Prince of ſtrength and eminent vertue.

Yea, the ſame *Herodotus*, who is the firſt Authour, and as I thinke the deuifer of the miſchiefe intended againſt *Cyrus* by his Grandfather, doth confeſſe, That the line of the *Achemenides* was ſo renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his proſperity did thence deriue himſelfe, and vaunt of it: which hee would neuer haue done, had they beene ignoble, or had they beene the vaſſals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this ſort *Xerxes* in the ſeuenth of *Herodotus* deriueth himſelfe.

{ *Achemenes.*
 Cambyſes.
 Cyrus.

{ *Teiſpens.*
 Ariaramnes.
 Ariſamnes.

{ *Hyſtaſpes.*
 Darius.
 Xerxes.

Of the *Achemenides* there were two races: of the firſt was *Cyrus* the great, whoſe iſſue male failed in his two ſonnes, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*. This royall family is thus ſet down by the learned *Reineccius*.

Achemenes, the ſonne of *Perſes*, firſt King of *Perſia*.

Darius.

Cyrus the firſt of that name, had *Cambyſes* and *Atoſſa*; who married to

Pharnaces, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artyſtoma* and other daughters.

Cambyſes had

Cyrus the Great: *Cyrus* had

Cambyſes, who ſucceeded him, and *Smerdis* ſlaine by his brother *Cambyſes*.

Of the ſecond were thoſe ſeuē great Princes of *Perſia*, who hauing ouerthrowne the vſurped royalty of the *Magi*, choſe from among themſelues *Darius*, the ſonne of *Hyſtaſpes*, King.

This Kingdome of *Perſia* was firſt known by the name of *Elam*, ſo called after *Elam* the ſonne of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamites*; by *Elianus*, *Elyma*; by *Iſo-phus*, *Elymi*.

Euf. l. 6. c. 8. de
Prep. Euſang.

Snidas deriues this Nation ſometimes from *Aſſur*, ſometime from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Maguſei*; which *Maguſei*, according to *Eusebius*, are not to bee taken for the Nation in generall, but for thoſe who were afterward called the *Magi* or Wiſemen. So do the Greeks, among many other their ſayings of them, affirme, That the *Perſians* were anciently written *Artai*, & that they called themſelues *Cepheneſes*. But that they were *Elamites*, *Mofes* and the Prophets, *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezechiel*, *Daniel* and *Eſdras* in many places confirme: Which alſo *S. Hierome* vpon *Jeremy* the ſiue and twentieth, vpon *Daniel* the eight, and alſo in his Hebrew queſtions, approueth, ſaying: *Elam à quo Elamites Principes Perſidis*; *Elam, of whom were the Elamites Princes of Perſia*.

Gen. 10.
Eſay 11. 21. 22.
Ier. 25. c. 29.
Ezech. 32.
Dan. 8.
Eſd. 4.

2. Mac. 9.
3. Mac. 6.

And that City which the Author of the ſecond booke of the *Maccabees* calleth *Perſepolis*, is by the Author of the firſt called *Elimaſis*, but is now called *Siras*, being the ſame which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vaine, and to his great diſhonour. And yet this City, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Perſepolis*; for *Alexander* at the requeſt of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The firſt King of *Perſia* to vs known, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the fourteenth chapter of *Genefis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who liued with *Amraphel* or *Nimrod*, and ioyned with him in the war againſt thoſe *Arabians*, who was afterward extinguiſhed by the forces of *Abraham*.

CHAP. III.

Of Cyrus.

§. I.

Of Cyrus his name, and firſt actions.



Touching the name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* ſaith, That the ſame was taken from a riuer which watereth *Perſia*; this great Prince hauing *Agradatus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the firſt of that name. *Herodotus* otherwiſe; and that *Cyrus* ſignifieth a father in the *Perſian* Tongue, and therefore ſo intituled by the people.

It is true that for his Juſtice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any ſuch ſignification, I thinke it be miſtaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to ſay as the Sunne, in the ſame Language. Howſoeuer it be, yet the Prophet *Eſay*, almoſt two hundred years before *Cyrus* was borne, giues him that name, Thus ſaith the Lord vnto *Cyrus* his Anointed, &c.

Before the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the Conqueſt of *Lydia*, & other Prouinces thereto ſubieſt, together with the taking of *Craſus* himſelfe, are not recounted by *Eusebius*, *Oroſius*, and others, but placed among his latter atchiuements: whoſe opinion for this difference of time is founded vpon two reaſons; namely, That of the Median there is no mention in that laſt warre againſt *Craſus*: and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight & ſiftieth Olympiad, and the glorious victory which *Cyrus* had ouer *Babylon*, to the ſiue and ſiftieth Olympiad.

The former of which might haue bin vſed (and was by the Greekes) to exclude the Medes from the honor of hauing won *Babylon* it ſelf, which in due place I haue answered. The latter ſeems to haue reference to the ſecond War which *Cyrus* made vpon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time he ſo eſtabliſhed his former Conqueſt, as after that time theſe Nations neuer offered to reuolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to beleeue with *Herodotus*, whom the moſt of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterpriſe of *Sardis* to precede that of *Babylon*.

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§. II.

Of Croeſus the King of Lydia, who made warre vpon Cyrus.

I haue in the laſt Booke ſpoken ſomewhat of *Craſus*, of his race and predecessors, alſo of thoſe Kings which gouerned *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the firſt (to prophane Authors knowne) was *Lydm* the ſonne of *Atyſ*: Which Family extinguiſhed, the Kingdome was by an Oracle conferred vpon *Argon*, deſcended from *Hermes*, whereof there were two and twenty generations, *Candaules* being the laſt, who by ſhewing his faire Wife naked to *Gyges* his Favourite, he was by the ſame *Gyges* (thereto vrged vpon perill of his owne life by the Queene) the next day ſlaine. Which done, *Gyges* enioyed both the Queen and the Kingdome of *Lydia*, and left the ſame to *Atyſ* his ſon, who was father to *Sadyattes*, the father of *Halyattes* (who thruſt the *Cimmerians* out of *Aſia*) & *Halyattes* begat *Craſus*: Which ſiue Kings, of a third race, enioyed that Kingdome hundred and ſcauenty years. *Halyattes* the father of *Craſus* was an vnder-taking Prince, and after he had continued a warre againſt *Cyaxares* the Median, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it ſix years: a peace was concluded vpon equall conditions between them.

Aſtyages, the ſon of *Cyaxares*, and grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himſelfe greatly honoured by obtaining *Argenes*, *Craſus* ſiſter, whom he married.

But *Croesus* so farre enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King of Monarchy of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equall strength; to wit, the Median, the Babylonian, the Egyptian and the Lydian: only *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had ioyned Phœnicia, Palestina, and Egypt to his Empire, had thence-forward no Competitor during his owne life.

But *Croesus*, notwithstanding the men & treasure spent in the quarrell of the Babylonians, he yet mastered *Æolis*, *Doris*, & *Ionis*, Provinces posselt by the Greekes in Asia the lesse, adioyning to *Lydia*; gaue law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Myfians*, *Paphlagonians*, & other Nations. And that he also inforced the Ephesians to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their city with *Diana's* girdle, *Herodotus* witnesseth. Moreover, *Athenaus* out of *Herodotus* (which also *Strabo* confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victory which *Croesus* obtained against the *Sacians*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memory whereof the Babylonians his allies did yearly celebrate a Feast, which they called *Sacaea*: All which he performed in fourteen years.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and enuious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting also, that his prosperous vndertakings might in the end grow troublesome to himselfe, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom he had entreated with inuicellous rich gifts, what successe he might hope for against *Cyrus*. The vnderstanding from whom he receiued this riddle; *Croesus* passing ouer the *Riuer Halys*, shall disclose great Dominion. For the diuell being doubtfull of the successe, payed him with murther: the diuize of both sides like, and might be inuerted either way to the ruine of *Persia*, or of his owne *Lydia*.

S. III.

Croesus his Expedition against Cyrus.

Hereupon *Croesus* being resolved to stop the course of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, despised all the arguments vsed by *Sapphanes* to the contrary, who desired him to fore-thinke, That he vrged a Nation inhabiting a barren & mountainous Region, a people not couered with the soft silke of wormes, but with the hard skins of beasts, not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; ouer whom if he became victorious, hee could thereby enrich himselfe in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, & subiected, so great would his losse appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily betold, nor readily conceiued.

Notwithstanding this solid counsaile, *Croesus* hauing prepared a powerfull army, he led the same towards *Media*, but in his passage he was arrested at *Pterium*, a city of great strength in *Cappadocia*; which while he fought by all means to surprize or to force, *Cyrus* came on, & found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I do not find: for out of doubt, *Croesus*, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and ability, so was he not vnder any in territory and fame that then liued.

But as *Cratippus* of *Mitylene* answered *Pompey* when he complained against the gods, because they fauoured a disturber and vsurper of the Common-weale against him who fought for the Romane liberty, That Kingdoomes & Commonweales had their encrease and period from diuine Ordinance: so at this time was the Winter of *Croesus* prosperity at hand, the leaues of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis* Herdman, *Apollo*, had giuen a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of diuers skirmishes, the *Persians* & *Lydians* began to ioyne in grosse troupes: supplies from both Kings thrust on vpon the falling off, and aduancement of either Nations: & as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the day, so when the darke vaile of night had hidden each Army from the others view, *Croesus* doubting what successe the rising Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speede possible retired, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first City and Regall Seat, without any pursuit made by *Cyrus* so retard him. Where being arriued, and nothing suspecting

suspecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other warre for that Winter, he dismissed the Souldiers, and sent the troupes of his sundry Nations to their owne Prouinces, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of sixe moneths, acquainting his Commanders With his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

S. IV.

The Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus.

Cyrus in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his Army in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heeles, as to be discovered. But hauing good intelligence of *Croesus* his proceeding, he so measured his marches, as he presented not himself before *Sardis*, till such time as *Croesus* had disposed his Army to their Wintering garisons: which being altogether vnlooked for, & vnfeared, hee surrounded *Sardis* with his Army: Wherein *Croesus* hauing no other Companies than his Citizens & ordinary Guards, after fourteen dayes siege the same was entred by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Croesus* hauing now neither armes to fight, nor wings to flye, *Sardis* being on all parts strongly encompassed, thrust himselfe into the heape and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had vndergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a sonne of his, who had beene dumbe all his life (by extremity of passion and feare enabled) cried out to the souldiers to spare *Croesus*. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, depouled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heape of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembering the discourse which hee had with the Athenian Law-giuer, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon*: and being demanded what he meant by that inuocation, he first vsed silence: but vrged againe, hotold them, That he had now found it true which *Solon* had long since told him, That many men in the race and courses of their liues might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discern himselfe for happy indeed, till his end.

Of which answer *Cyrus* being speedily informed, remembering the changes of fortune and his owne mortality, he commanded his ministers of Iustice to withdraw the fire with all diligence, to saue *Croesus*, and to conduct him to his presence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him? or what selfe reason had conducted him to inuade his territory, & to make him of a friend an enemy? To whom he thus answered, It was thy prosperous, and my vnprosperous destiny (the Grecian god flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inuencers and conductors of *Croesus* warre against *Persia*.

Cyrus being pierc't with *Croesus* answer, & bewailing his estate, though victorious ouer it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him euer after as a king and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, *Quæ non causam, sed fortunam spectat*.

And herein is the reall difference discerned between that behauiour which we call *Beneficium laetæ, & gratiam Principis*: A theefe sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but vniustly: A King that giueth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his owne euill.

The report made by *Xenophon*, is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertaine *Croesus* at the first sight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* deliuers, and is here already set down, that hee should haue beene burnt aliue. It may very well be, that *Xenophon* portraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroycall Prince, thought an intent so cruell, fitter to bee forgotten than rehearsed, as too much mis-beseeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that necesse of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had hee beene otherwise vicious) from so cruell a purpose against his grandmothers brother. Howsoeuer it was, the Morall part of the Story hath giuen much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it passe for currant, though the trust reposed in *Croesus* afterwards may seeme to arguë, that *Cyrus* did not vse him inhumanely at the first.

For as *Herodotus* himselfe telleth vs, when *Cyrus* past with his Army ouer *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Croesus* to accompany and aduise his sonne *Cambyfes*, Gouverneur of the Empire in his absence, with whom he liued all the time of *Cyrus*, & did afterward follow *Cambyfes*

Cambyfes into Egypt, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was, I doe not finde.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the world took end; to wit, of the Babylonians, Medians & Lydians; in *Balthasar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Crasus*.

S. V.

How Cyrus wonne Babylon.

After this Lydian War ensued the great Conquest of Babylon, which gaue vnto *Cyrus* an Empire so large and mighty, that he was iustly reputed the greatest Monarch then liuing vpon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action tooke vp, it is vncertaine; onely it seemes, that ten whole yeares did passe betwene his taking those two Cities of Sardis and Babylon; which neuertheless I doe not thinke to haue bene wholly occupied in provision for the Assyrian warre, but rather to haue bin spent in settling the Estate which he had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Ctesius* hath in his fragments of a war made by *Cyrus* vpon the Scythians, though related as foregoing the victory obtained against *Craesus*. He telleth vs, That *Cyrus* invaded Scythia, and being victorious ouer that Nation, tooke *Amorges* their King prisoner: but being in a second battell ouerthrowne by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one King was deliuered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought; that no small part of those troubles which arose in the lower Asia, grew soone after the departure of the victorious army, before the Conquest was fully established.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of Asia the lesse, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Craesus*, and now by *Cyrus*, reuolted from him; against whom he employed *Pallias*, and then *Harpagus*, who first reduced the Phocians vnder their former obedience: and then the rest of the Greeks inhabiting Asia the lesse, as the Ionians, Carians, *Æolians*, & *Lycians*, who resolutely (according to the strength they had) defended themselves. But in the attempt vpon Babylon it selfe, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, hauing taken order before-hand, that nothing should be able to diuert him, or to raise that siege, & make frustrate the work vpon which he did set all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bend all his care & strength vnto the taking of that City, which beside the fame & reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was so strongly fenced with a treble wal of great height, & surrounded with waters vnfloodable, so plentifully victualled for many yeares, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their estate, but despised and derided all purposes and power of their besiegers.

The onely hope of the Medes & Persians, who despaired of carrying by assault a City so well fortified and manned, was in cutting off all supplies of victuals and other necessities; whereof though the Towne was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twenty yeares, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of people as dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would soone appeare, and vanquish the resolution of that vnwarlike multitude. In expecting the successe of this course, the besiegers were likely to endure much trauell, and all in vaine, if they did not keep streight watch and strong guards vpon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vast circuit of those walls which they wereto gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently assured vnto their commander: The consideration wherof ministred vnto the Babylonians matter of good pastime, when they saw the Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, and others, quartered about their Town to keep them in, who hauing bin their ancient friends & allies, were more likely to ioyne with them, if occasion were offered, than to vse much diligence on the behalfe of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were, yesterday laid vpon their neckes the galling yoke of seruitude. Whilest the besieged were pleasing themselves in this deceitfull and vaine gladnesse, that is the ordinary fore-runner of suddaine calamity; *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made strong, constant, and inuentive; deuised by so many channels and trenches as were sufficient and capable of Euphrates, and so to draw the same from the walls of Babylon, thereby to make his approach the more facile and assured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed, he

he stayed the time of his aduantage for the execution: for hee had left certaine bankes or heads vn-cut, betwene the maine riuer which surrounded the City, and his owne Trenches.

Now *Balthasar*, finding neither any want or weaknes within, nor any possibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous feast, publike Plaies and other Pastimes, and thereto invited a thousand of his Princes or Nobility, besides his wiues, curtizans, & others of that trade. This he did either to let the besiegers know, that his provisions were either sufficient, not onely for all needefull vses, but euen for iollity and excesse: Or because he hoped that his enemies, vnder the burthen of many distresses were well neere broken, or in honour of *Bel* his most reuerenced Idoll: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all these respects. And hee was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equall, but (vsing *Daniels* words) *He lifted himselfe vp against the Lord of Heauen*: For he & his Princes, wiues & concubines, made carowing cups of the Vessels of God, in contempt of whom he praised his owne puppets, made of Siluer & Gold, of Brasse, Iron, Wood, and Stone, *Quanta fuit stultitia in vasibus aureis bibentes, lignos & lapideos deos laudare*; How great a foolishnesse was it (saith *S. Hierome*.) *drinking in golden Cups, to praise gods of wood and stone*. While *Balthasar* was in this sort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by diuine power wrote on the wall opposite vnto him, certaine words which he vnderstood not: wherewith so great a feare and amazement seized him, as the

ioyns of his loynes were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other. Which passion when he had in some part recovered, he cried out for his Caldreans, Astrologians, & Southsayers, promising them great rewards, & the third place of honour in the Kingdom to him that could reade and expound the writing; but it exceeded their Art. In this disturbance and astonishment the Queen hearing what had past, and of the Kings amazement, after reuerence done, vsed this speech: *There is a man in thy Kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father, light, and understanding, and wisdom, like the wisdom of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King Nabuchodonosor thy father; the King (I say) thy father made chiefe of the Inchanters, Astrologians, Chaldeans, and Southsayers, because a more excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, was found in him, euen in Daniel, &c.* Now let Daniel be called, and he will declare the interpretation.

This Queene, *Iosephus* takes for the grandmother, *Origen* and *Theodoret* for the mother of *Balthasar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that she was not any of the Kings wiues, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dancing and banquetting, she came in vpon the bruit of the miracle, & to comfort the King in his distraction: And whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger yeares and times, this old Queene remembred well what hee had done in the daies of *Nabuchodonosor*, grandfather to this *Balthasar*, and kept in minde both his religion and diuine gifts.

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to reade and interpret those words miraculously written; to whom *Daniel* made answer in a farre different style from that hee vsed towards his Grandfather: for the euill which he foretold *Nabuchodonosor*, he wished that the same might befall his enemies; but to this King (whose neglect of God and vice he hated) he answered in these words, *Keepe thy rewards to thy selfe, and giue thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing vnto the King, and shew him the interpretation*: Which before he had performed, he gaue him first the cause of Gods iust iudgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence, whereof the King and all his Wife men were vtterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodness to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprived him of his estate and vnderstanding; so vpon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite power he restored him to both. This King notwithstanding lifted himselfe vp against the same God, and presuming both to abuse those vessels dedicated to holy vses, and neglecting the Lord of all power; praised and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Siluer, Brasse, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those words, from the Oracle of a true God deliuered, (to wit) *Mene, Tekel, & Pharshin*, gaue

gaue the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his Kingdome, & finished it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods iustice, and found too light; and that his Empire was diuided and giuen to the Medes and Persians.

The very euening or night of this day, wherein *Balthazar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus* either by his espiall, according to *Xenophon*, or inspired by God himselfe, whose enligne he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunity to inuite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobility were no lesse filled with the vapors of wine, than their hearts with the feare of Gods iudgement, he caused all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut downe with that diligence, as by them hee drew the great Riuier of Euphrates dry for the present, by whose channell running, his Army made their entrance, finding none to disturbe them. All the Towne lay buried (as the Poet saith) in sleepe and wine: such as came in the Persians way, were put to the sword, vnlesse they saued themselves by flight, as some did, who ranne away crying, and filling the streets with an vncertaine tumult.

Such Assyrian Lords as had reuolted from *Balthazar*, and betaken themselves to the party of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a selected company to the Kings Palace; which hauing easily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banqueting, slew both him and them without any mercy, who strugled in vaine to keepe those liues which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the prophecy of *Jeremy* fulfilled, and that of *Esay*, two hundred yeares before this subuersion, who in his seuen and fortieth Chapter, and elsewhere, writeth this destruction so feelingly and liuely, as if he had bene present both at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had seene the great and vnfeared change and calamity of this great Empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrowes and bewailings of euery suruiuing soule thereunto subiect. His prophesie of this place he beginneth in these words: *Come downe, and sit in the dust, O virgine daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no Throne, &c.* And againe, *Sit still and get thee into darkenesse, O daughter of the Chaldeans, for thou shalt no more be called the Ladie of Kingdomes.* For though it cannot be doubted, that God vsed *Nabuchodonosor* and the Chaldeans, to punish the idolatry of the Iudæans, yet *Esay* teacheth vs in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his iudgements was mixt with a rigorous extremity. For (saith *Esay*) in the person of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and giuen them into thine hand: thou didst shew them no mercy, but thou didst lay thy very heavy yoke upon the ancient. I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the sonne and the nephew.* And in the thirteenth, *Every one that is found, shall be stricken thorow: and whosoever iudgeth himselfe, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houses spoyled, and their wines ransied.* So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victory of *Cyrus*, or that receiued the report from others truly as it was, that could better leaue the same to posterity after it happened, than *Esay* hath done in many places of his prophesies, which were written two hundred yeares before any thing attempted.

The greatnesse and magnificence of Babylon, were it not by diuers graue Authors set downe, might seeme altogether fabulous: for, besides the reports of Saint *Nicome*, *Salmus*, and *Orosius*, *Aristotle* in the third of his *Politiques*, the second Chapter, receiued the report for true, That one part of the City knew not that the rest was taken three daies after. Which is not impossible, if the testimony of *Diodore Siculus* may be taken; who findes the compass thereof at three hundred and threescore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes five and forty miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, that six chariots might passe in front thereon. And of height, according to *Ctesius* and *Clitracus*, three hundred threescore and five foot, garnished with an hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenth Booke of Geography giues it a greater circuit, adding five and twenty furlongs more to the former compass, reckoning the same at three hundred fourescore and five furlongs, which makes eight and forty mile and one furlong; but finds the wall farre vnder that which *Diodore* reports: and so doth *Curtius* measure their thickenesse but at two and thirty foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is also very much; euery cubit containing a foot and halfe of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the City he giues the same with *Siculus*, and eight furlongs more. *Herodotus* findes a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, foure hundred

dred and fourescore furlongs circle; the thickenesse of the wall he measures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regall cubit. For entrance he had an hundred gates of Brasse, with posts and hookes to hang them on of the same metall: and therefore did the Prophet *Esay* rightly intitle Babylon, The Princess & Glory of Kingdomes.

But when *Cyrus* had wonne her, he stript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a slave, diuiding not onely all her goodly houses, and her whole Territory, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers; but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bond-slaves vpon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Toucheing the reigne of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enioyed in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to haue lasted onely seuen yeares: in which time he made such Constitutions, as differ little from the Ordinances of all wise Kings that are desirous to establish a Royall power to themselves and their posterity.

6. VI.

The end of Cyrus.

The last warre, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diuersly written. *Herodotus* and *Iustine* deliuer, That after the Conquest of Asia the lesse, *Cyrus* invaded the Massagetes, a very warlike Nation of the Scythians, gouerned by *Tomyris* their Queene: and that in an incounter between the Persians and these Northerne Nomades, *Tomyris* lost her Army, and her Son *Spargapises* that commanded it: In reuenge whereof, this Queene making new leuiues of men of Warre, and following the Warre against *Cyrus*, in a second battaile beat the Persian Army, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a boule of bloud, vsing these words, *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and satisfie thy selfe.*

It should heereby seeme, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their fury by some forcible inuasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares*, father to *Astages*, those Scythians invaded Media and Asia the lesse, and held the same in a seruile subiection eight and twenty yeares.

This warre which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, lasted (saith he) sixe yeares, and took end at the death of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I beleue with *Vigener*, that this Scythian Warre was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the Sacians, before the conquest of Lydia, according to *Ctesius* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, though he deliuer the successe of that warre otherwise than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (saith *Vigener*) because *Strabo* in his eleuenth booke reciteth, that *Cyrus* surprized the Sacians by the same stratageme by which *Iustine* saith, he defeated the sonne of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesius* also reporteth, That the last warre which *Cyrus* made was against *Amorrians* king of the Derbicians, a Nation (as the rest) of Scythia; whom though he ouercame, yet he then receiued the wound of his death, which he suffered three daies after.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne City of Pasagatdes, which himselfe had built, & where his Epitaph was to be read in his time, which is said to haue bin this: *Οὐ γινώσκουσες, ὅτε ὡδε σέθεν ἀδελφεὸς, οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ στήθει κέκεσται. Εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ταύτην ἐκείνου τὸ σῶμα ἐκτίθηται. Οὐ γινώσκουσες, ὅτε ὡδε σέθεν ἀδελφεὸς, οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ στήθει κέκεσται. Εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ταύτην ἐκείνου τὸ σῶμα ἐκτίθηται.* I am *Cyrus* that founded the Persian Empire, doe not enuy vnto me this little earth, with which my body is covered.

This Tombe was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either vpon hope of treasure, supposed to haue been buried with him, or vpon desire to honour his dead body with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an old rotten Target, two Scythian Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his body lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be set vpon it. These things well considered, as they giue credite to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaues his body in the hands of *Tomyris*.

And

And surely, had *Cyrus* lost the Army of Persia in Scythia, it is not likely, sh^d his son would so soon have transported all his remaining forces into Egypt, so farre off from that quarter: the Scythian Nation then victorious, and bordering Media, neither had *Cambyes* beene able in such haste to have vnderaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather beleue *Xenophon*, saying, That *Cyrus* died aged & in peace: and that finding in himselfe that he could not long enioy the world, he called vnto him his Nobility, with his two sonnes, *Cambyes* and *Smerdis*; or after *Xenophon*, *Tanaxares*: and after a long Oration, wherein he assured himselfe, and taught others of the immortality of the Soule, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deseruing of euery man in this life; he exhorted his sonnes by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things he vttered, which make it probable, that he receiued the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he gouerned Sufa in Persia; and that *Cyrus* himselfe had read the Prophecy of *Esa*, wherein he was expressely named, and by God (for the deliuey of his people) preordained. Which act of deliueyng the Iewes from their Captiuitie, and of restoring the holy Temple and City of Hierusalem, was in true consideration the noblest worke that euer *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of Gods power, vied for the chastising of many Nations, and the establishing of a Government in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an instrument of Gods goodnesse, and a willing aduancer of his Kingdome vpon earth; which must last for euer, though heauen and earth shall perish.

§. VII.

Of *Cyrus* his Decree for building the Temple of God in Ierusalem.

HAuing therefore spoken of his great victories, mentioned by sundry Historians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his seruice done vnto him that was Author of them and of all goodnesse: I hold it meet at length to speake of the Decree made in the first of his Reigne, being perhaps the first that euer he made after his possession of the Babylonian Empire: That the captiue Iewes should returne againe, into their own Territory, and re-build the House of God in Ierusalem, hauing now endured and finished the threescore and ten years captiuitie, by the Prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, hee gaue order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessary and wanting. He also restored vnto them five thousand foure hundred threescore and nine Vessels of Gold and Siluer, whereof *Nabuchodonosor*, the grandfather of *Balthasar* had formerly robbed the Temple.

The number of the Iewes which returned out of Chaldaea vnder their Leader *Zerubbabel*, the sonne of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Ieconias*, and *Iesus* or *Iosua* the sonne of *Iosadak*, were about fifty thousand; where, as soone as they arriued, they built an Altar to the liuing God, and sacrificed thereon, according to their owne Law, and afterward bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the re-building of the Temple.

But no sooner did the Iewes begin to lay any one stone, than the Samaritans & other idolatrous Nations adioyning, gaue all the impediment they could. So did the Gouernours of those Prouinces vnder *Cyrus* altogether countenance these disturbers, and in no sort fauoured the Iewes, nor the labours nor purposes they had in hand. And not only those which were but Prouinciall Lieutenants and other officers of lesse place, but *Cambyes* himselfe, who hauing the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was busied otherwise, counteraunded the building began. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that whatsoeuer *Cambyes* did when himselfe had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition: They may herein resolute themselves out of *Esdra*. That by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus* life, &c. And therefore it is true, that the Iewes themselves affirme, as it is written in the second of *Iohn*, That the Temple was 46 years in setting vp, hauing receiued so many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*.

And if we seek the naturall and politique courses which moued *Cambyes* to withstand his fathers decree, as well while he gouerned vnder him, as when himselfe became sole

and for aigne Monarch, we shall find them in that Epistle remembred by *Esdra*, written by *Helimus*, *Mithridates*, & the rest, Presidents and Counsellors in *Phanicia*, where they complaine, that the Iewes were euermore rebellious and troublers of Kings, that their Citie being once built, they would then include to pay Tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Emperors as they had formerly done in the times of other kings.

But that which for that present seemed the most foreible impediment was, that *Cambyes*, hauing it in his resolution to invade Egypt, & that it was a common opinion, That the Iewes were descended of those Nations, because they issued thence vnder *Moses*, when they conquered *Indea*, their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might returne to their old vomit, and giue the same disturbance to *Cambyes* Conquest, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonosor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For as it is written in *Ezekiel*, Egypt was the confidence of the house of Israel.

But it is to be vnderstood, as *Codoman* and others haue objected; that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counsellors and Gouernors of *Phanicia* complained against the Iewes, did not preceed, but succeed *Darius Hystaspes*, as in the sixt and seuenth chapters of *Esdra* it is made plaine: and also that those Gouernors (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and inclosing of the Citie, as by the reasons giuen in the said Epistle, and by the Kings answer it is euident.

Also in the sixt of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verse, the kings are named in order as they gouerned, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*, as: And they built and finished it (to wit, the Temple) by the appointment of the God of Israel, and by the commandment of *Cyrus* and *Darius*, and *Artahastate* Kings of Persia. Lastly, in the seuenth of *Ezra* it is written; Now after these things, in the reigne of *Artahastate* King of Persia; which was as much to say, as after the finishing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the second of *Esdra* is there named by anticipation, not in his owne time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of *Ierusalem*. Which action though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by *Cyrus*. The other ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his forme and manner of gouernment, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire vnto his eldest son *Cambyes*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaxares* his younger son to be Satrapa or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cadusia*; and hee died, after he had reigned (saith *Herodotus*) one & thirtie yeares, or (according to *Isidore*) but thirtie.

§. VIII.

Of *Cyrus* his issue: and whether *Atossa* were his daughter, or (as some thinke) were the same with *Queen Hester*.

C*YRUS* had issue two sons, *Cambyes* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Meroe*, and *Arystona*: *Ctesias* addeth to these, *Amysis*. *Atossa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyes* married. *Arystona*, *Darius Hystaspes* obtained; so did he *Atossa*, *Cambyes* being dead: who (as some Writers haue supposed) inflamed both her husbands, *Darius*, and *Xerxes* after him, to invade Greece, to be auenged of the whole Nation for the cruell intent that *Aman* (whom the old translation calleth a *Macedonian*) had against the Iewes, though the opinion of *Iosephus* be more probable, who findes *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be vnderstood, how *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, should haue bene *Esther*; whose Historie seemes rather to appertaine to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*, or of *Xerxes*. The desire of *Atossa* to haue Greece brought vnder the yoke of Persia, was partly gounded vpon the honour which thereby she thought her husband might obtaine, partly vpon a feminine humor of getting many braue Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot giue assent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who vpon the neere found of the two names, *Atossa* and *Hadassa*, (by the latter of which *Esther* was also called) makes them to haue been one person. For though it be true, that *Esther* concerning her parentage a while, might be taken for a great Lady, yet *Codoman* inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and

for the great affection which the king bare vnto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certaine it is, that *Eſther* did at length discount her Kindred and Nation; whereby if Histories could be kept free from this errour, yet the people, and especially the Nobility, must needs haue vnderstood the truth: who neuertheless did so well know the parentage of *Atossa*, that for her sake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her sonne *Xerxes* was preferred to the kingdome before his elder brother, against whom also he could haue pretended a very weake clayme. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IV.

The estate of things from the death of *CYRVS* to the reigne of *DARIVS*.

S. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian Kings.



Of the successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the Persian Empire, there are many opinions: As that of *Metaſthenes*, who hath numbred the Persian Kings and their times, as followeth.

<i>Darius Medus</i> , and <i>Cyrus</i> ioynly	2
<i>Cyrus</i> alone.	22
<i>Prifcus Artaxerxes</i> .	20
<i>Darius Longimanus</i> .	37
<i>Darius Nothus</i> .	19
<i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> .	55
<i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i> .	26
<i>Arſes</i> , or <i>Arſames</i> .	4
<i>Darius</i> the laſt, conquered by <i>Alexander</i> .	6
	years.

To which *Philo* agreeth, which number of yeares added, make in all an hundred nine and one. But in this Catalogue *Metaſthenes* hath left out *Cambyſes* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Affuerus* for the immediate ſucceſſor of *Cyrus*; in place (ſaith *Melanſon*) of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſſaſpes*: for *Metaſthenes*, as *Melanſon* coniectureth, doth not account *Cambyſes* in the Catalogue, becauſe his reigne was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a ſecond opinion, though ridiculous, of *Seder Olam*, who finds but foure Perſian Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus* haue alſo a differing account from the *Greekes*, whom neuertheleſſe *Eufebius* and moſt of the Latines follow, and ſo doth *Krentzheim*, who hath fully answered, and as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account. For in this ſort doe the *Greekes* marſhall the Perſian Kings with the times of their reignes.

chron Krentzheim
fol. 135.

Melanſon
giues *Cyrus*
but 29.

Melanſon but 20

Melanſon but 40
Melanſon 16.

Melanſon 4.

<i>Cyrus</i> in all.	30
<i>Cambyſes</i> , with the <i>Nagi</i> .	8
<i>Darius Hyſſaſpes</i> .	36
<i>Xerxes</i> .	21
<i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> .	40
<i>Darius Nothus</i> .	19
<i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> .	43
<i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i> .	23
<i>Arſames</i> .	3
<i>Darius</i> the laſt.	6
	years.

Which numbers, put together, make in all two hundred and thirtie.

This

This account (as I haue ſaid) the moſt Chronologers and the beſt learned approue. Theſe Perſian Princes being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Pencer* in his hiſtoricall Animaduerciſions hath gathered the places; finding firſt *Cyrus* in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, chap. 36. verſ. 22. 23. *Ezra* 1. chap. 1. verſ. 1. and often elſewhere.

Secondly *Cambyſes* in the eleuenth of *Daniel*, who may indeed be well eſteemed for one of thoſe three Kings in the ſecond verſe named, and ſo the marginall Commentor vpon the *Geneſis* vnderſtands that place; but, vnder correction, miſtakes the matter greatly, when he ſaith in the ſame note, that *Darius Hyſſaſpes*, was an enemy to the people of God, and ſtood againſt them: his great fauour and liberality to the *Iewes* being elſewhere proued.

Thirdly, is *Darius Hyſſaſpes* found in *Ezra* the firſt, c. 4. v. 5. who in the ſixt verſe is alſo named *Abaſſuerus*.

Fourthly, in the eleuenth of *Daniel* verſe the ſecond, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and deſcribed, and the great vvarre which he ſhould make againſt the *Greekes* by *Daniel* remembered.

Fiftly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verſe ſeuen, vvhich is alſo called *Artaxerxes*, c. 4. lib. 1. *Ezra* v. 7. and cap. 7. v. 7.

Sixtly, *Darius Nothus*, *Ezra* cap. 4. verſe 24. and cap. 5. verſe 6. *Nehem.* cap. 12. verſe 22.

Seuenthly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem.* c. 2. v. 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arſames*: for *Darius* the laſt, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who deſcended from *Xerxes* the ſon of *Atossa* *Cyrus* his daughter, and the iſſue male of *Cyrus* failing with his owne Sonnes.

But to proceede *Eufebius* with the *Latines*, following the *Greekes*, apply the beginnings and ends of euery Perſian King with their Acts, to ſome certaine Olympiad, As the war of *Aſtyages* (*Cyrus* his maternall Grand-father) and *Alyattes* (*Craſſus* his father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of *Cyrus* reigne to the beginning of the ſiue and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The inuaſion of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* to the third yeare of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, and ſo of the reſt. Which reference with good agreement between ſeueral formes of computation adde the more credit vnto both.

Again, this hiſtoricall demonſtration is confirmed by the Aſtronomical computation of *Ptolomie*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of Nouember, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the foure hundred and foure and twentieth yeare after *Nabonaſſar*. And the *Era* of *Nabonaſſar* began on the fixe and twentieth of Februarie: which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth Moneth of the firſt yeere of the eighth Olympiad; So that whether we follow the accounts of the Olympiads, as doe the *Greeke* Hiſtorians, or that of *Nabonaſſar* with *Ptolomie*, we ſhall finde euery memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

For *Ptolomie* reckons the time anſwerable to two hundred and foure and twenty *Iulian* yeares, and an hundred and fortie dayes from *Nabonaſſar*, to the fixteenth of *Iulie* in the ſeuenth yeare of *Cambyſes*.

The *Greekes* and namely *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* in the ſecond or third yeare of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, and the beginning of *Cambyſes* ſeuenth yeare in the firſt of the threeſcore and fourth Olympiad: which firſt of the threeſcore and fourth Olympiad runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonaſſar*. The like agreement is conſequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewiſe the twentieth of *Darius*, vvhich ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, is according to *Ptolomie* the two hundred and fixe and fortieth of *Nabonaſſar*, which (obſeruing the differences of *Nabonaſſars Era* & the Olympiad, viz. eight and twentie yeares) it agrees with the third of the threeſcore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the *Greekes*. In this *Iofephus* agrees with the *Greekes* throughout, ſauiug that he ioyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus*, in the deſtruction of *Babylon*; which is true, and not contrary to the *Greeke* computation, but may very well ſtand with it.

Laſtly, the diſagreements & confuſed accompts of thoſe that follow the other Catalogue of the Perſian kings formerly rehearſed, doth giue the greater credit to this of the

Greekes, which being constant in it selfe, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

Of Cambyfes, and the conquering of Egypt by him.

WE will therefore according to the truth giue the Empire of Persia to Cambyfes, the son of Cyrus, though degenerate in all things, saving the desire to increase the greatnesse of his Empire: whereof he was posselt in his Fathers time while Cyrus made warre in the north. Ctesius with others giue him a longer reigne than agreeth with the Grecian account before received.

In the fifth yeare of his sole reigne, and in the third yeare of the threescore and third Olympiad, according to Diodore and Eusebius he invaded Egypt, and hauing overthrowne the King thereof, Psammeniticus, he not onely caused him to be slaine, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and Ctesius giue for cause of this Warre (being no other indeed than the Ambition of Cambyfes) that when he sent to Amasis king of Egypt, to haue his daughter in marriage, Amasis presented him with Nitetis the daughter of Apries his predecessor, which Cambyfes disdaind.

Howsoeuer it were, true it is, that Cambyfes gathered an Armie fit for such an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entred Egypt, Amasis died, and left Psammeniticus, whom Ctesius called Amyrteus, his succellour; who enioyed Egypt after his father (according to the best copies of Herodotus) but fixe Moneths, though other Chronologers giue him fixe yeares.

But how long soeuer he held the Crowne, in one battell he lost it, and was himselfe taken prisoner.

It is said that Cambyfes following therein the example of Cyrus, did not only spare life to the conquered king, but that he also trusted him with the gouernment of Egypt, and that vpon some reuolt, or suspicion thereof, he caused him to be slaughtered. But the race of this king was not so extirpated, if we may beleue Herodotus and Thucydides, but that he left a Son called Inarus, who caused the Egyptians to reuolt both from Xerxes and Artaxerxes.

That Psammeniticus was at the first entreated gently by Cambyfes, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated Amasis the king of Egypt, who died before his arriual, that he caused his body to be drawne out of the graue, and after diuers indignities vsed, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custome both of the Egyptians and Persians. For the Egyptians vsed to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugs, to the end the wormes might not deuoure them. The Persians durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feede it with Carrion.

§. III.

The rest of Cambyfes his acts.

After this victory obtained in Egypt, Cambyfes sent an Armie into Cyprus, and constrained Euclithon king thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Island of the Egyptians.

While Cambyfes yet busied himselfe in Egypt, he so much detested the Idolatry of that Nation, as he caused the Images themselves, with the Temples wherein they were worshipped, to be torne downe and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Armie into Libya, to ouerturne the Temple of Iupiter Ammon; but the Diuell in defence of his Oratorie raised such a tempest of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of that Country is couered, as the Persians were there-with choked and ouerwhelmed.

Notwithstanding which misadventure, Herodotus and Seneca report, that disdaing to be resisted, he prepared the rest of his Armie, which himselfe meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first sent troupe had tried, he changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings haue power ouer men, yet the Elements do not obey them, according to that old English prouerbe, *Go, saith the King, Stay, saith the Tide.*

Lib. 2. c. 2.
Her. 4.3. pag.
83. 84. 85.

* Neither did the Romanes euer continue their dead to aske, till the time of Sylla Dictator, who caused his owne to be deuoured by that element, fearing the Law called *Tullio*, or like for like, because himselfe had vntombed the carcase of Caius Marius after his death, Her. 4.3. Plin. l. 8. c. 54. Senec. 5. l. 1. 1. 1. Pag. 87. 88. Her. 4.3. Senec. 7.

After his returne from the attempt of *Aethiopia*, he caused Apis the Egyptian Bull, worshipped by that Nation as God, to be slaine: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and bin executed as in seruice of him that onely is, and liueth. But soone afterwards, when in a dreame it seemed vnto him that Smerdis did sit in the royall Throne of Persia (which apparition was verified in Smerdis the Magus) he gaue it in charge to his fauourite Praxaspes, to murder Smerdis his brother. And hauing married his own sisters, contrary to the Persian Lawes, he committed a most causelesse and most detestable murder vpon the one of them, called Meroe, then by himselfe, with child, because she bewailed the death of her brother Smerdis. I finde it written of this Cambyfes, That because his predecessors obserued religiously the ordinances of their Empire, he assembled his Iudges, and enquired of them, whether there were any law among the Persians that did permit the brother to marry his owne sister: it being his own intent so to doe. The Iudges (vvhich had alwayes either lawes or distinctions in store to satisfie Kings and times) made answer, That there was not any thing written allowing any such coniunction, but they notwithstanding found it in their customes, that it was alwaies left to the will of the Persian Kings to doe what best pleased themselves; & so, as Naucleerus termes it, *innenerant occasionem*: That is as much to say, as the Iudges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings private satisfaction, he caused Sisamius one of his Iudges, and perchance one of those which fauoured his incestuous match, to be slayed a-lieue, for an vnjust iudgement giuen, and the same his hide to be hung vp ouer the iudgement seate. After which, bestowing the fathers Office on his son, he willed him to remember, that the same partialitie deserued the same punishment.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the sonne of his beloued Praxaspes was very strange & vngatefull. For when he desired to be truly informed by him what the Persians thought of his conditions, Praxaspes answered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praise from all men; onely it was by many obserued, that he tooke more than vsuall delight in the taste of Wine. With which taxation inflamed, he vsed this replication: And are the Persians double-tongued, who also tell me that I haue in all things excelled my Father Cyrus? thou Praxaspes shalt then witnesse, whether in this report they haue done me right: for if at the first shot I pierce thy sonnes heart with an arrow, then is it false that hath bin spoken; but if I misse the marke, I am then pleased that the same be accounted true, and my subiects beleueed. This being spoken, he immediately directed an arrow towards the innocent childe, who falling downe dead vvith the stroke, Cambyfes commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broched on the arrow, this monstrous Tyrant greatly reioicing, shewed it to the Father, with this saying in stead of an Epitaph: *Now Praxaspes, thou maist resolue thyselfe that I haue not lost my wittes with Wine, but the Persians theirs, who make such report.*

Many other barbarous cruelties he exercised, til at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became *selei de joy*. For when he was informed that Patizites, and Smerdis the Magi (Cadenus writeth them *Sphendanes* and *Cimerdus*) Ministers of his domestical affaires, taking aduantage of the great resemblance between Smerdis the Kings brother, and Smerdis the Magus, posselt themselves of the Empire, he made all haste towards Persia, and in mounting hastily on horsebacke, his sword dissheathing, pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an ouer-late, & remediesse repentance of the slaughter, which he had executed vpon his own brother, he soone after gaue vp his wicked ghost, which he had reigned eight yeeres, accounting therein those seuen Moneths in which the Magi gouerned, while he was absent.

In Cambyfes the Male line of Cyrus failed. For he had no issue either by Atossa or Meroe: yet Zonaras out of Hierome giues him a daughter called Pantaptes, and a son called Orontes, who being drowned in the Riuer Ophites by Antioch, the same was afterward in memorie of the Princes death called Orontes.

He built the Citie of Babylon in Egypt, in the place where Latopolis was formerly scated, and that of Meroe in the Island of Nilus, calling it by the name of his sister Meroe,

Her. 4.3. 90.

Zonaras Com. 2. p. 117.

§. III.

Of the inter-regnum betwene Cambyfes and Darius.

Cyrus and his two sons being now dead, and the Kingdome in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterfait of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapes*, or Prouinciall Gouvernours of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabyfus*, *Asphatines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achemenes* the first *Persian* King, having discovered the fraud of this imposture, ioynded their forces together, surprised and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions, and assistants. In which action (saith *Iustine*) *Intaphernes* and *Asphatines* were slaine: but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were onely wounded; for he auoweth, that all the seuen Princes were present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Gouvernour, these Princes grew into consultation how the same might be ordered from thence forth. *Otanes* one of the seuen did not fancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities should confederate, and by iust lawes defend their liberty in equalitie, giuing diuers reasons for his opinion, being as it seemed greatly terrified, by the cruelties of *Cambyfes*; As first, that it was not safe to giue all power to any one, seeing greatnesse it selfe, euen in good men, doth often infect the minde with many vices, & the libertie and freedome in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of vicked outrage. Againe, that tyrants doe commonly vse the seruices of wicked men, and fauour them most; they vsurp vpon the lawes of their Countrey, take other mens wiues by force, and destroy whom they please without iudgement.

Megabyfus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyrannie of a multitude was thrice more intolerable, than that of one. For the multitude doe all things without indgement, runne into businesse and affaires with precipitation, like raging and ouer-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most vertuous; because it is euer found, that excellent Counsailes are euer had from excellent men.

Darius gaue the third iudgement, who perswaded the creation of a king, because euen among few diurnitie of concord is feldome found, and in great Empires it doth euer happen that the discord of many Rulers hath inforced the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, saith *Darius*, farre safer to obserue the lawes of our Countrey, by which Kingly government hath bene ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperiall government by God established, and made prosperous. And to auoid partialitie, it was accorded, that the morning following these seuen Princes should mount on Horsebacke, and on him the kingdome should be conferred, whose horse after the Sun-rising should first ney or bray. In the euening after this appointment was made, it is said that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his horse *Oebarus*, who in the Suburbs of the Citie where the election was resolu'd of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to couer a Mare, who as soone as he came into the same place was the first horse that brayed. Whereupon the other fixe Princes descended from their horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Plato in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memorie of the seuen Princes, whereof *Darius* himselfe was one, that deliuered the Empire from the vsurpation of the *Magi*, he diuided the whole into seuen governments; *Herodotus* saith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

Her. l. 3. p. 100.
101.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of Darius the sonne of Hytaspes.

§. I.

Of Darius his Lineage.



Darius was descended of the ancient *Persian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achamenides*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineall Successor. For in this sort *Herodotus* deriues him as before.

Cyrus the first, who had
Teispus, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of

Aspasmes, the father of
Hytaspes, the father of

Darius, surnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*.

Hytaspes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great, in the warres against the *Scythians*, at vvhich time *Cyrus* being made iealous of *Darius* by a dreame of his owne, caused him to be sent into *Perse*, others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was deliuered, and made Gouvernour of the *Persian* *Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyfes* into *Egypt*, he then ioynded with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, and either by the neyng of his horse, or as others affirme, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more assured to himselfe by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Neeces for his wiues.

Hytaspes, according to * *Herodotus*, had besides *Darius* these three sonnes, who were great commanders in the warre which *Darius* made in *Asia* the lesse, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Græce*; *Atarnes*, *Aspasmes*, and *Artabanus*, who dissuaded *Xerxes* from the second *Græce* warre. *Hytaspes* had also a daughter married to *Gobryas* the Father of *Darius*, who commanded the Armie of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the daughter of *Darius* to his Gotten germane. *Darius* giues to *Hytaspes* five sonnes, *Darius* who succeeded *Cambyfes*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphanes*, *Otdanes*, and *Asarnes*, with two daughters.

§. II.

Of Darius his Government, and suppressing the rebellion of Babylon.

Darius deuised equall lawes whereby his subiects might be gouerned, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gaue access to all his subiects, and behaued himselfe so mildly to all men, that many Nations desired and offered themselves to become his Vassals: Only he layed diuers payments and taxes on the people, which had not bene accustomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of foure thousand five hundred and threethree talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The warre which *Cambyfes* made a faire off in *Egypt*, and the contention betwene the *Magi*, and the Princes of *Persia*, for the Empire, gaue heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their libertie, and to shake off the *Persian* yoke, whereof *Darius* being aduertised, he prepared an Armie to recover that Citie and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult worke, he vsed the seruice of *Zopirus*, who for the loue he bore *Darius*, did cut off his owne Eares and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to flye to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*: who, for hauing giuen him aduice to giue ouer the siege of their Citie, had in this sort discombed and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gaue him that Credit, as they trusted him with the disposition and cominament of their greatest forces: which when *Zopirus* had obtained, after some small colourable overthrowes giuen to the *Persians* vpon sallies, he deliuered the Citie into *Darius* his hands, who had lyen before it twentie Moneths.

Her. l. 3.

§. III. Of

S. I. I.

Of Darius his favour to the Iewes in building the Temple.

IN the second yeare of *Darius*, he gaue order that the building of the Temple at *Hierusalem* should goe on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his owne charge, and out of the reuenues of the Crowne. And whereas the Gouvernours of those Prouinces which are situate betweene *Euphrates*, and the *Phenician*; & mid-land Sea, (whom *Heracalles* the Capraine beyond the Riuer) had hindered the work in *Cambyses* his time, *Darius* gaue commandement that they should not thenceforth come neere vnto *Ierusalem*, to giue any impediment to the building, but that they should with-draw themselves, and get them farre off till all were finished, and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis; with-draw your selves farre from them*; In our *Engliss*, *Be yee farre from thence*, to wit, from the Citie, and Temple, now in building.

He also made a decree, vvhich concerned his owne Subiects, That whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting vp of the Temple of God, that his house should betorne downe, and the disturber hanged on a Gallows made of the timber thereof. He also in the same decree maketh inuocation to God: *That besh caused his name to dwell there (so) destroy all Kings and People that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Ierusalem, &c.* In foure yeares after which decree (the Iewes being really furnished vvith money and all things necessary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to vvit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth yeare of *Darius Hissaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first returne.

S. I. I. I.

Of Darius his Scythian Warre.

AFTER the recovery of *Babylon* he inuaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Intime* calleth *Lanthinnus*; and saith, that *Darius* vnderooke this warre against him, because he refused him his daughter in marriage: The better to conuoy his Armie in to *Scythia*, he built a Bridge of small Vessels ouer the Riuer *Ister* or *Danubius*, & gaue the custody of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the lesse) to the *Ionians*, & *Adians*, among whom vvvas *Miltiades*, vvho perswaded the *Asian Grecians*, to breake downe the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficultie; but the same was resisted by *Histiæus* Prince of *Milet*, a Citie of *Ionia*, which Nation being a Colonie of the *Greekes*, *Diodorus* calleth Traitors to their Countrey, because they ioyned themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaues, for as much as they would not run away from their Master, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, vvhen they were presented with as faire an occasion of liberty as could haue been desired. For the great Armie of *Darius* entring the desert Countrey, called *Bessarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieue them. For the *Scythians* vvhere then, as are the *Chrim Tartars*, their posteritie, at this day, all horse-men, vsing the Bow and Sword. They vvare not Plough-men, but Grasiers, driving their Herds from one place to another, as opportunitie of pasture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but vsed for Houses the Waggon vvherin they carried their wiues and children. These Waggon they place at very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Towne, remouable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himselfe, called now the great *Chrim*, any other Citie than such as *Agora*, (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himselfe, and vvasted his provision in those desolate Regions, vvherein he found neither waies to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or liuing creatures, nor any thing at all, vvhich either he himselfe might make vse of, or by destroying it might grieve his enemies; he began to perceiue his owne folly, and the danger into vvhich he had brought him. Yet setting a good face vpon a bad game, he sent braue messages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make triall of his valour & fortune in plaine battaile: Or if he acknowledged himselfe the weaker, then to yeelde by

by faire meanes, and become his Subiect, giuing him Earth and Water, which the *Persians* vsed to demand as a signe, that all was yeilded vnto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an Hieroglyphicall answer; sending a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse; and five Arrows: which dumbe shew *Darius* interpreting by his owne wish, thought that he did yeelde all the Elements wherein those creatures liue, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the seuen Princes, who had slaine the *Magi*, construed their meaning a right, which was thus; *O ye Persians, get ye wings like Birds, or doe vvnder the water, or creepe into holes in the earth, for else ye shall not escape our arrows*. And this interpretation was soone verified by the *Scythians* themselves, who assailed the *Persian* campe, drave the horse-men into the trenches, and vexed the Armie with continuall Alarums day and night; vvhere so fearelesse of this great Monarch, and so litle regarded him, that vvithin his hearing, and euen in his sight, they did not forbear the pastime of courting a Hare, vvhich they had started by chance. By this boldnesse of theirs, *Darius* was so discouraged, that he forooke his Campe by night, making many fires, & leauing all that were sicke and weake behinde him, & so vvith all speede marched away towards the Riuer *Ister*. He was pursued hardly by the *Scythians*, who mist him, yet arriuing at the Bridge before him, perswaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them that the *Persian* king should neuer more be able to do them either good or harm. Which vvords had certainly bin proued true, had not *Hystians* the *Milesian* preuailed vvith his people, to attend the coming of *Darius*, vvhom the *Scythians* did likewise faile to meete, vvhen they returned from *Ister* to seeke him out.

S. V.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Scythian warre.

DARIUS hauing thus escaped out of *Scythia*, determined the inuasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in vvhich Warre he employed *Megabazus*, vvho mastered the *Paonians*, and transplanted them, and posselt *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Bizantium*, and other places, being also soone after subiected, and added to the *Persian* Empire by *Otaner*, the son of *Sylamnes*, vvhom *Cambyses* had exoriated for false iudgement. So vvere the Cities of * *Selybria* and * *Cardia* likewise taken in for the *Persian*, vvho hauing now reduced vvnder his obeyance the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Embassadors to *Amintus* King of *Macedon* adioyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Souerainty ouer that kingdome. *Amintus* doubting his owne strength, entertained the Embassadors vvith gentle vvords, and aftervvard inuited them to a solemne & magnificent feast; the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be present: vvhich being granted, the Embassadors vvho vvare vvell filled vvith vvine, and presumed vvpon their greatnesse, & many vvictories, began to vse such imbrancings, and other lasciuious behauiour towards those Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the kings Sonne, great Grand-father to *Alexander* the Great, disdaining the *Persians* barbarous presumption, besought his father to vvithdraw himselfe from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadors, vvhom vvithall he entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a vvhile; promising their speedy return. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of vvell-fauoured young-men to clothe themselves in the same garments, & to vse the same attires vvhich the Ladies had vvorne at the feast, giuing them in charge, That vvhen the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthvvith transpierce them vvith their long kniues, of vvhich they vvare prouided for that purpose, vvhich vvvas accordingly performed. Charge vvvas soone after giuen by *Darius* for a seuerer reuenge of this murder. But *Alexander*, vvvhich vvvas before the death of *Amintus*, gaue his sister *Gygea* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principall Commander of *Darius* forces on that side, vvho perswading her husband now helpfull the Alliance of *Macedon* vvould proue for the inuasion of *Attica* intended, so preuailed, as *Alexander* escaped that tempest, vvhich threatned to fall vvpon him vvvery suddenly; the vvvar of *Asia* the lesse, called *Ionick*, falling out at the same time.

Her. l. 5.
* *Amaritima*
City of *Thrace*
to the South of
Constantinople.
a *Cardia*, a City
vvpon the *Cher-*
sonesus of
Thrace, after-
vvard *Sylima-*
chia to *Pan-*

S. V I.

The first occasion of the warre which Darius made upon Greece, with a rehearfall of the government in Athens, whence the quarrell grew.

NOW the better to vnderstand the reason and motiues of that great War, vvhich followed soone after, betwene the *Persians* and *Gracians*, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which Citie endured the hardest and worst brunt of *Darius* inuasion on that side the Sea with admirable successe. Neither do I hold it any impertinency, to be large in vnfoling euery circumstance of so great a businesse as gaue fire to those wars, which neuer could be throughly quenched, vntill in the ruine of this great *Persian* Monarchie, *Persepolis* the capitall Citie of the Empire, was at the request of an *Athenian* Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatnesse, the *Persians* had raised in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former bookes it may be gathered, how *Athens*, & other parts of *Greece*, were anciently gouerned, the same being already set down, though scatteringly, & in severall times, among other the Contemporary occurrents of the Eastern Emperors, and the Kings of *Iudea*, so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember againe the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedamonians*, they maintained still their ancient policie vnder Kings, though these also after some fiftene descents bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians* in the former bookes remembred, who willingly died for the safetie of his people, was therefore so honored by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former gouernement from Monarchicall to Princes for tearme of life, of which *Medon* the son of *Codrus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontide*; and of these there were twelue Generations besides *Medon*, to wit.

Agefus.
Archippus, in whose times the *Greekes* transported themselves into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourescore yeares, according to *Eusebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) finde in the yeere after *Troy* fallen one hundred and fortie.

Thersippus.

Phorbas.

Mezades.

Diogenetus, in whose time *Lycurgus* gaue Lawes to the *Spartans*.

Pheredus.

Ariphron.

Thersippus, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was ouerthrowne by *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*.

Agamnestor.

Aschylus, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedemon*.

Alcamenon, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected Decennall Gouernours: the former Princes

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisedome, gaue lawes to the *Athenians*, which were published according to *Gellius*, in the three & thirtieth yeere of *Tarquinus Priscus*, and were in after ages deriued vnto the *Romanes*, and by the *Decem viri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into twelue Tables, which were the ground of the *Romane* lawes. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his owne dayes violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed vnto the

for life hauing continued in all three hundred and sixtene yeares. The first of those that gouerned for ten yeares, or the first *Archon*, was

Charops, then

Asymedes.

Elydicus.

Hippomenes.

Leocrates.

Absander.

Erixias was the last *Archon* of the decennall

Gouernours, vvhich forme continuing three score and tenne yeares, was then changed into annuall Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of vvhich *Thesius* was the first, according to *Pausanias*: Others finde *Leostatus*; and then

Anthoisthenes.

Archimedes.

Miltiades.

Damastus.

Draco.

Megacles.

Solon, & others, who are the lesse to be regarded, by reason of the yearely change.

practice and maintenance of a popular gouernment; the state of *Athens* was very soone changed into a Monarchie by *Pisistratus* the son of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* & *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of noble Families, were become the heads, tooke occasion by their contention and insolencie to raise a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Hauing by this meanes obtained loue and credit, he wounded himselfe, & fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to haue bene slaine for his loue to the good Citizens; he procured aguard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the State-house, or Cittadell of *Athens*, he made himselfe Lord of the towne; *Hegesistratus* being then Gouernour. But the Citizens, who in euery change of gouernment had sought to remoue themselves further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could so ill brooke this vsurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was driven for lacke of helpe to fflye the towne, as soone as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (ioyning their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his tyranny founded vpon the dissention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; so was it soone after well reedified by the new breaking out of the old factios. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the vsuall practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Pisistratus*, to whom he gaue his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Family of the *Alcmeonide*, vvhich *Megacles* was chiefe, became very powerfull, yet so, that *Pisistratus* by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmeonide*, and especially *Megacles* being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his misdeemeanor towards his Wife. Wherefore they practised with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so farre, that *Pisistratus* vpon the first discouery of their intent, perceiued no other remedy for his affaires, than to with-draw himself to *Eretria*, where he remained eleuen yeares. Which time being expired, hauing hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he againe recouered the principality of *Athens*; after which third obtaining his estate, he gouerned *Athens* seuentene yeares, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three yeares, saith *Ellianus*, but as *Justinus* hath it, foure and thirty, according to the time belike as well before as after his severall expulsions. *Herodotus* gites the Father and the Son sixe and thirtie yeares, *Aristotle* fife and thirty. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leauing for his Successours his two sons *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who gouerned the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the Lineall Successors of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, & some three yeares before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And though *Hipparchus* were charged with vnnaturall lust after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers & authors of that scandall. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprise vpon his brother had more & deeper rootes than were apparant, first sought to discover the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemula*: who because she would not reueale her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Thendid *Hippias*, the better to strengthen himselfe, enter into a strait amity with *Bantides*, Tyrant of the City *Lampsacus*, whom he knew to be greatly fauoured by *Darius*, to whose son *Hypoclus* he gaue one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three yeares after the death of his brother, doubting I know not what strong practise against himselfe, he began to vse the Citizens with great seuerity, which neither *Pisistratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himselfe had euer exercised, during their vsurpation till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing lest that this disease might rather increase, than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred vp *Clisthenes* one of the noblest and best able of their Citie, to practice their deliuey: who calling to his assistance the banished *Alcmeonide*, together with an Armie of the *Lacedamonians* led by *Cleomenes* their King, so affrighted *Hippias* by composition he gaue ouer his estate, and the possession of *Athens*, and from thence embarking himselfe, tooke land at *Sigean*, whence he went to *Lampsacus* in *Mysia* gouerned by *Bantides*, who presented him to *Darius*. He was deprived of his estate; as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twenty yeares before the battell of *Marathon*: all which he continued, partly with *Bantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for

Darius.

Herod. 1. 2.
Eretria a Citie
of *Euboea*, by
others called
Melane, by
Stephanus
Eretria.
Pol. 5.
Herod. 1. 2.
Ellian pag. 262.
Justin. pag. 28.
Her. 1. 6.
Thucid. 1. 6. & 10.

Lampsacus a
Citie of *Mysia*
vpon the Hel-
lespont.
Her. 1. 5.
Thucid. 1. 6. & 10.

**Sigean* a promontorie opposite to the Ile of *Tenedos*, which *Aristotle* saith, *Animal cal. 1. 1.*

Ellian. pag. 59.
Dionys. 1. 3.
Pausan. 1. 6. 3.
Pausan. 1. 70.
Pausan. 1. 331.

Darius in *Sardis*, the Metropolis of *Lydia*, perswading and practising the enterprise vpon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great dishonour vnderooke, twenty yeares after *Hippias* had resigned his estate.

Thus farre I haue digressed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceiue the better the causes and motives of this warre: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be restored to *Athens* by the helpe of *Darius*, which made him sollicite, & perswade the *Persians* to conquer *Greece*, was one, but not the most vrgent.

§. VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cause of the warres ensuing betwene Greece and Persia.

Another, and a strong motive to this expedition, was the *Ionick* warre, breaking out in *Asia* about the same time. The Colonies transported out of *Greece* into *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, hauing enjoyed their libertie about 500. yeares, euen from the *Ionick* migration, to the time of *Croesus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcell of his Dominions, were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Seruants to the Crowne of *Persia*.

But as it is the custome of Nations halfe conquered (witnesse *Ireland*) to rebell againe vpon euery aduantage and opportunity: so did the *Ionians*, and other *Gracians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, seeke by all meanes possible to free themselves.

At this time they found such men ready to spurre them into Rebellion, as had by the *Persian* bin giuen vnto them for bridles to hold them in subiection. Euery one of those Townes had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the gouernment of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the *Persian*, by whose onely might they held the people in subiection. And this their duitful affection they had well declared, when *Darius* being in great extremity, they vied all meanes to deliuer him and his Armie (that otherwise had bin lost) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of seruice *Histiæus* the tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chiefe thanks, as hauing bene chiefe Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the rest, either perswaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their owne desires, were ready to haue abandoned him. But it came so to passe, that *Darius* being more fearefull of the harme that *Histiæus* (being powerfull and crafty) might doe to him in the future, than mindfull of the good which he had already receiued at his hand, found meanes to carry him a-long to *Susa*, where hee detained him with all kinde vsage of a friend, yet kept such good espiall vpon him, as an enemy, he could not start away. *Histiæus* had subtilty enough to discouer the kings purpose which ill agreed with his owne desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, hauing a small Territory, than to sit & feast at the great Kings table, & heare the counsailes by which a large Empire was managed, being himselfe an idle beholder, and enioying with much restraint of liberty, none of their pleasures than a priuate man might bestow vpon himselfe.

Wherefore he bethought himselfe of raising of some tumults in the lower *Asia*, to pacifie which if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authoritie in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfie the King with excuses, or deale as occasion shall require. Resolving vpon this course, he sent very secret instructions to *Aristagoras* his kinsman, whom he had left his Depoticat at *Miletus*, aduising him to stirre vp some Rebellion. These directions came seasonably to *Aristagoras*, who hauing failed in an enterprise vpon the Isle of *Naxos*, through the false dealing of a *Persian* his Associate, stood in feare of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might befall him, as one that had wasted the kings treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counsaile: & the better to draw the whole Countrey of *Ionian* into the same course which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyrannie, and did set *Miletus* at liberty. This plausible beginning wan vnto him the hearts of the *Milesians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom some he took and sold as slaues to their Citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Persian* fleet, whereof he lately had bene Admirall in the enterprise of *Naxos*, he had surprised in his first breaking out, together with the principall Officers

Officers and Captaines; so that now he thought himselfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Asia* would shortly be vpon his neck, and crush both him and his assistants to pieces, vlesse he were able to raise an Army that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were insufficient to performe. Therefore he tooke a iourney to *Sparta*, where hauing assayed in vaine with many arguments, and the offer of fifty talents, to win to his party *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedæmonians*: he went from thence to *Athens*, and with better successe besought the people to lend him their assistance. The Athenian Embassadors which had bene sent to the *Persian* Kings Lieutenants in the lower *Asia*, desiring them not to giue countenance to *Hippias*, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answers, hauing found very churlish entertainment. So that the cuill which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Persian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their consanguinity with the *Ionians*, & the persuations of *Aristagoras*, drew them on a-pace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twenty ships the Athenians furnished for this voyage; to which the *Eratrians* furnished five more, in regard of the ancient kindnes that had passed between the *Ionians* & them. With these and their owne forces ioyned, the *Ionians* entered the River *Caistrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Ephesus*: by which aduantage they surprised *Sardis*, when no enemy was heard of or suspected; insomuch, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-roy in those parts, had no other hope of safety, than by retreating himselfe into the castle, which the Grecians could not force: from whence he beheld the slaughter of the Citizens, and the City flaming.

The *Persians* at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market place, strengthened by the riuer *Pactolus*, which ran through it; and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselves, and charged their enemies; who well aduising themselves, made all the haste they could toward the sea side. But *Artaphernes* hauing gathered all the strength he could, pursued the *Grecians*, & found them nere *Ephesus*; where setting resolutely vpon them, he slaughtered a great part of their Army, the rest sauing themselves in *Ephesus*. In this fight *Enalcidas*, Captaine of the *Eratrians* perished: but his fame and memory was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preferred. After this ouerthrow, the Athenians, which were before sent vnto *Aristagoras* and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their tears, be perswaded to make any second triall of their fortunes on that side the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noise in the world, than the late good successe which the *Persians* had in one or two skirmishes; could rayse. Wherefore the *Ionians* brately proceeding, won a great part of *Caria*; and sending their Fleet into the *Hellepont*, got *Bizantium* and other Townes into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately subdued by *Cambyses*, beganne hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacy with the *Ionians*, who were able to giue them aide by Sea, rebelled against the *Persians*.

These newes comming to the care of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the Athenians, vpon whom he vowed to take sharp reuenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, & their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not haue dared to attempt such things, but by the instigation of those, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to provoke him. This was the maine ground of the Warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against *Athens*: To which, the solicitation of *Hippias*, before remembered, gaue onely some forme and assistance: the businesse, when once it was thus farre on foot, being like enough to haue proceeded, though he had perished ere it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrell of *Darius* against many of the Ilanders, if not against the whole Nation of the *Grecques*; for all of them gaue to his Rebels free harbour: the Ilanders moreouer did helpe to furnish out a Naue of three hundred and sixty saile against him. These prouocations did rather breede in him a desire to abate their pride, than any feare of harme that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by surprize. In euery fight they were beaten by the *Persians*, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline,

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wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captaines. In one sea-fight by the Ile of Cyprus, the Ionians indeed had the vpper hand; but they were Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Cilicians, whom they vanquished: neyther was that victory of any vie to them; the Cyprians, in whose aide they came, being vtterly beaten by the Persian Army at Land, and reduced into their old subiection. So had the Persians like wise by open warre and faire force ouerthrowne the Carians in two battailes, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recovered the Townes vpon Hellespont, with some Æolian and Ionian Cities: when *Aristagoras* with his friends quitting Miletus, fled into Thrace, desirous to seat himselfe in Amphipolis, a Colony of the Athenians. But the Edonians, on whose Territory belike he landed, ouerthrew him, & cut his troups in pieces.

About the same time, *Histiæus* the first mouer of this insurrection came downe into those quarters; who hauing vndertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whom his double dealing was detected.

But this euasion preferued him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the Persians, and hastily beheaded, lest the King should pardon him vpon remembrance of old good turnes; as it seems that he would haue done, by the buriall which he commanded to be giuen to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heauie king of his death.

Histiæus had sought to put himselfe into Miletus; but the Citizens doubting his conditions, chose rather to keepe him out, and make shift for themselves, without his helpe. The strength of their City by land, which had in old time withstood the Lydian Kings, and their good Fleet, which promised vnto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldened them to try the vttermost, when very few friends were left vpon that Continent to take their part. But their Nauy was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking him vpon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the causelesse flight of those that should haue assisted them. Neither was it long before the Towne it selfe being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens slaine, their wiues and children made slaues, and their goods a booty to the Persians, whom for sixe years space they had put to so much trouble.

§. VIII.

The warre which Darius made vpon Greece, with the battaile of Marathon, and Darius his death.



His Warre with good successe finished by the Persians, and some attempts made on Europe side with variable successe: *Darius* obstinate in the enterprise and conquest of Greece (though at first he pretended to make the Warre but against the Athenians and Eretrians, who ioyntly assisted the Ionians against him, and burnt Sardis in Lydia) did now by his Embassadors demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whom, some of them not so well resolu'd as the rest, submitted themselves; as the Æginets and others. Against these, the Athenians being inflamed, (by the assistance of the Lacedæmonians) after diuers encounters forc't them to giue pledges, and to relinquish the party of the Persians. *Cleomenes* led the Lacedæmonians in this warre, and caused his companion-King *Demantus* to be deposed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, farre the more confident of victory, by reason of these discords, alienations, and ciuill warres among the Greeks. He therefore gave order to *Hippias* to prepare a Fleete of shippes fit to transport his Army ouer the Hellespont: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. The charge in chiefe of his Army he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the son of *Pisistratus*, expelled out of Athens twenty yeares before, and by *Artaphernes* his brother, Gouverneur of Sardis, and the Sea-coast of Asia the lesse. These Commanders hauing their Companies brought down to the Sea-side,

Herod lib. 6.
Whether this
Cine or
People were
of Peloponnesus
in Sicily, or
of Argos, be-
tween the
Iz and the
don, I doe not
know: but
those border-
ers, and next
the enemies,
were more
likely to
compound
than the rest
farre off.
There is also a
City called Æginum, not farre from Megæ, Liue 3. 33. 26.

imbarked

imbarked themselves in sixe hundred Gallies and other Vessels, and first of all attempted the Islands called Cyclades, which lay in the mid-way between Asia the lesse, and Greece. For (obtainning those places) the Persians had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces ouer the Ægean Sea; but on the contrary they might alwayes both relieue themselves in their passage, and shrowd themselves from all suddaine tempests and outrages.

To this end they first posselt themselves of Samos, secondly, they attempted Naxos; which Island, the inhabitants despairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Dellos*, of which *Apollæ* was natiuice. Which Island *Darius* did not only forbear to sacke, but recalling the inhabitants, he gaue order to beautifie the places and Altars of *Sacred Apollo*. And hauing recovered these and other Islands, the Persians directed their course for Eretria in Euboea for that citie, (as already hath beene shewed) had assisted the Ionians at the taking & firing of Sardis. In this Island the Persians took Eretria and besieged Eretria very straitly, and after sixe daies assault, partly by force, & in part by the treason of *Euphobus* and *Philagmus*, they tooke it, sackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sayles. From Euboea the Persians past alight Army into Attica; conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of Athens, and marching towards it, they encamped at Marathon, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards Athens.

The Athenians finding the time arrived, wherein they were to dispute with their own vertue against Fortune, and to cast lots for their liberty, for their wiues, their children, and their liues, put themselves in the best order they could to make resistance, and with all sent away with speed to the Lacedæmonians for succour, imploying in that Negociation one, *Phidippides*, who passing through Arcadia, encountered in the way a familiar Duell, which he supposed to be *Lux*, who willed him to assure the Athenians of victory, promising that some one of the gods should be present at the battaile to assist them & defend them against the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his returne seeing hee could not bring with him any present succours from Sparta, yet he thought it greatly auailing to bring newes from the gods, and promise of assistance from Heauen, which no doubt (though the deuice was somewhat likely to be his owne) yet it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages haue bin more stirred vp with fond Prophecies and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any iust cause or solide reason.

The Athenians being now left to themselves, with one thousand onely of the Platæans (who hauing beene formerly defended by the Athenians against the Thebans, did in this extremity witness their thankfullnesse and gratefull disposition) began to dispute, Whether it were most for their aduantage to defend the walls of Athens, or to put themselves into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of ten thousand Athenians; and one thousand of the Platæans. In the end, and after great diuersity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perswaded the trial by battell, prevailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the Athenians disposed themselves into three troupes: two wings or hornes, as they tearme them, and the body of a battaile. The Persians when they perceiued so small a troupe aduancing towards them, thought the Athenians rather disposed of their vnderstanding, than posselt with the resolution whereof they made shew. So inuincible and resistlesse the Persians esteemed their owne numbers to be, and that small troupe of their enemies therein view, rather to be despised than to be fought withall: But in conclusion, the victory being doubtfully ballanced for a while, sometime the vertue of the Grecians, and sometimes the number of the Persians prevailed, the Grecians fighting for all that they had, the Persians for that they needed not, these great forces of *Darius* were disordered & put in rout; the Athenians following their victory euen to the Sea-shore; where the Persians, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, saued themselves in their ships.

The Persian Army consisted of an hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse; of which there were slaine in the place sixe thousand three hundred, and of the Grecians an hundred fourescore and twelue. For howsoeuer it came to passe, cyther by strange visions, which were afterward called *Panici terrores*, or by some other affright,

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it seemeth, that the invading Army, after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and so (that number, by *Herodotus* set downe) in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their scattering away. As for *Justinus* report, That two hundred thousand of the Persian Army were slain, the same hath no appearance nor possibility of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the persuader of the enterprise was slain, saith *Justin* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tels vs, That he escaped, and died most miserably in Lemnos.

Ad Att.

The greatest honour of this victory was cast vpon *Miltiades*, who both persuaded the triall by battaile, and behaved himselfe therein answerably to the downfall which he gaue. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the Grecians, of marke and commandement, that fell in the first encounter, were *Callimachus* & *Stesileus*. It is also said, That *Cynegyrus* following the Persians to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to haue held it from putting off the shore, & having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left, of which also being depriv'd, he took hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first yeare of the threescore and twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the war made by *Coriolanus* against his fellow-Romans: *Alexander* the son of *Amyntas* being then King of Macedon, and *Phanippus* then Governour of Athens, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hyblides*, after *Halicarnassus*.

In vita Arist.

This great fray thus parted, and the Persians returned backe into the lesser Asia, *Miltiades* sought and obtained an employment against the Ilanders of Paros, one of the Cyclades, and passing ouer his Companies in threescore and ten Gallies, after fixe and twenty dayes assault hee brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himselfe being made vnable, and his Companies discouraged, he returned to Athens; where those vngratefull Citizens forgetting all his seruises past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battaile of Marathon, did by the perswasion of *Xanthippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who enuied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fifty Talents; where his weake and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few daies ended his life.

Which enuy of the better sort to each other, with their priuate Factions, assisted by the vnthankfull and witlesse people, brought them, not many yeares after, from a victorious and famous Nation, to base subiection and slavery. *Miltiades* left behinde him one son called *Cymon*, begotten on *Hegesipila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of Thrace, who (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in vnderstanding, but exceeded them both in iustice and good gouernment.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recouer his honour, than sorrow for the losse receiued in Greece, gaue order for new leuiues of men, & all other warlike prouisions. But the Egyptians reuolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great strength & reuenuue) greatly distracted his resolution for the reuasion of Greece. The dissension also among his sons; of whom, the younger being borne after he was King, and by so great a mother as *Atossa*, disdained to giue place to his elder brother, borne before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affaires, gaue end to all his consultations and enterprises, and ioyned him to the earth of his ancestors, about a yeare after the battaile of Marathon, and after that he had reigned fixe and thirty yeares. He left behinde him fise sons, namely *Artabasanus*, borne before he obtained the Kingdome, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achamenes* Governour of Egypt, *Masistes* and *Anabignes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes.

S. I.

The preparation of Xerxes against Greece.



Xerxes receiued from his father, as hereditary, a double Warre; one to be made against the Egyptians, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the Grecians; of which it is hard to iudge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the successe ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this Warre, which was chiefly bent against the Athenians, the Princes of Persia were diuided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in Thrace and Macedon, vnder *Darius*, and had also *Hystaspes* for his grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his sister *Artazostres*, persuaded by many arguments the European warre. But *Artabanus*, brother to the late *Darius*, and vncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counsell, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous successe of the two late inuasions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counsell: The one in person vpon the Scythians, the other by his Lieutenants vpon the Greeks; in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his Army and his Honour.

He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well aduised before he did too farre imbarke himselfe in this businesse. For whatsoeuer vndertaking hath deliberate and sound counsell for conductor, though the successe doe not alwaies answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variablenesse of his owne nature, which only the diuine Prouidence, and not any humane power, can constrain.

But so obstinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made knowne to all those that opposed his desire to this Warre (changing opinion and counsell) assisted the Grecian Expedition with all the power he had.

After the Warre of Egypt was ended, foure yeares were consumed in describing and gathering an Army for this inuasion: which being compounded of all Nations subiect to the Persian Empire, consisted of seuentene hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts for Carriage, if we may beleue *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* findes the number lesse by seuen hundred thousand footmen.

The Commanders of the seuerall Nations were the Princes of the blood of Persia, either by marriage in the kings house, or otherwise: for to these were all commandements of this nature giuen, some few people excepted, who had of their owne Leaders.

The charge of the whole Army was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the son of *Gobryas* by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were ioyned some others of *Xerxes* his neere kinred, as Generals ouer all; sauing that the charge of ten thousand select Persians, called the immortal Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died, or were slain, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was giuen to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thousand horsemen were led by the sons of *Darius*, who commanded the late Army of *Darius* in Greece.

The Fleete of Gallies were 2200. and eight, furnished by the Phoenicians, who had Commanders of their owne Nation, and by the Cypriotes, Cilicians, Pamphilians, Lycians, Dorians, Carians, Ionians, Aolians, and Hellepontines; who were trusted with the furnishing of their owne Vessels, though commanded by the Princes of Persia; as by *Artabignes*, the son of *Darius*, and others. The rest of the Vessels for transportation were three thousand. There were also certaine Gallies furnished by *Artemisia*, the daughter of *Lygdamis*, Princesse of *Halicarnassus*, and the Ilands adioyning, which her selfe commanded. Those Gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded

all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of Zidon, in which *Xerxes* himselfe was embarked.

§. II.

Xerxes Army entertained by Pythius: hiscutting off Mount Athos from the Continent: his bridge of Boates ouer the Hellespont: and the discourse betweene him and Artabanus upon the view of the Army.

When this world of an Army was throughly furnished, he caused all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendez-vous* at Sardis in Lydia. And when he had assembled to the number of seuen hundred thousand foot, as he entred the body of Celasus, he was by one *Pythius* the Lydian entertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds of Cattell gaue food to *Xerxes* his whole Army. The Feast ended, he also presented him with two thousand Talents of silver, and in Gold foure Millions, wanting seuen thousand of the Persian *Darics*, which make so many of our Markes.

The King ouercome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not onely refuse his treasure offered, but commanded that seuen thousand *Darics* should be given him to make vp his foure Millions; of which, so many thousands were wanting when he made the present. But soon after, when *Pythius* besought him to spare one of his fine sonnes from his attendance into Greece (because himselfe was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his owne son) *Xerxes* most barbarously caused the young man, for whom his father sought exemption, to be sundered into two parts, commanding, that the one halfe of his carkasse should be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Army marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-side. The one was a passage for Gallies to be cut behinde Mount Athos, making the same (with the halfe Island or Headland, whereon it stood) to be an entire Island, sundring thereby from the Continent of Trace five Cities, besides the Mountaine & the *Chersonesus* or Necke of Land it selfe: a worke of more ostentation than of vse, and yet an enterprize of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent hauing but twelue furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to passe in front. The Cities so seuered from the maine, were Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyfus, and Cleonæ.

He also gaue order, that a Bridge vpon Boats should be made ouer the Hellespont between Abidus & Sestos, the Sea there hauing a myle of breadth, wanting an eight part; which after the finishing, was by a Tempest torne asunder and disseuered: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than discouraged, commanded those to bee flaine that were masters of the worke, and caused sixe hundred threescore and foureteene Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and industry of the Phoenicians was so well anchored to resist both winds blowing into & from the Euxine Sea, as the same being well boarded and rayled, the whole Army of seuteen hundred thousand foot, and fourescore thousand Horse, with all the Moyles and Carriages, past ouer it into Europe in seuen dayes & seuen nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armies did *Cæsar* afterward vse. And *Caligula* that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Army brought neere to the Sea-side, *Xerxes* took a view of all his Troupes, assembled in the Plains of Abidus, being carried vp, and seated on a place ouer-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adioyning: and after hee had gloried in his owne happinesse, to behold and command so many Nations, and so powerfull an Army and Fleet, hee suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into teares, moued with this contemplation, That in one hundred yeares there should not any one suruiue of that marvellous multitude: the cause of which sudden change of passion when hee vntered to *Artabanus* his Vncle, *Artabanus* spake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeares by the King remembred, is, That the life it selfe which we enioy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few dayes giuen vs in the world, there

there is no man among all these, nor else where, that can find himselfe so accompanied with happinesse, but that he oftentimes pleased himselfe better with the desire & hope of death than of liuing; the incident calamities, diseases, and sorrowes whereto mankind is subject, being so many and inuincible, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appear many times longer, to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor rest, but in desired death alone. With this melancholy discourse, *Xerxes* being not much pleased, prayed *Artabanus* not to ouer-cast those ioyes which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding still a doubtful conceit, that *Artabanus* utterly condemned the invasion of Greece against which he had formerly giuen many strong reasons, desired him to discourse freely with him. Wherupon hee were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprize of Greece could not be prosperous; Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good successe: *Artabanus*, notwithstanding that hee assured himselfe of the Kings resolution to go on, and dared not by any new Arguments to batter the great purpose it selfe, yet hee told the King, That there were two things which marvellously affrighted him, and which the King should consider as he feared, to be most aduersæ; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of so great a Fleet: in so much as if any tempest should arise, all the Continent of Greece could hardly receiue them, nor all the Hauens thereof afford them any safety: and therefore when any such shelter shall be wanting vnto them, hee prayed him to vnderstand, that in such a case of extremity, men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemy, by how much the vnfatiate desire of man to obtaine more and more thereof, doth leade him forward: for were there no man found to giue resistance, yet the want of meates to feede such an Army, and the Famine, which cannot be preuented, will without any other violence offered dis-inable and consume it. By these Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to haue diuerted *Xerxes*, nor daring perchance to utter what indeede he most feared; to wit, the ouerthrow of the Army it selfe both by Sea and Land, which soone after followed: These Cautions were exceeding weighty, if *Xerxes* his obstinacie had not mis-prised them. For, to invade by Sea vpon a perillous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, nor succoured by any party, may better fit a Prince presuming on his fortune, than enriched with vnderstanding. Such was the enterprize of *Philip*: second vpon England in the year 1588. who had belike neuer heard of this Council of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point, it was very likely, that *Xerxes* his Army, which could not haue in it lesse than two millions of Soules; besides his beafts for Service and Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer famine, and vsing *Machiavels* words, *Mourth's famished, die without a knife*. For it was impossible for Greece, being a ragged, steepe and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (besides what serued themselves) for twenty hundred thousand strangers, whom they neuer meant to entertaine, but with the sharpest need points of their weapons, destroying withall whatsoeuer they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may beleue *Herodotus* the Army of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at Thermopylæ, consisted of five millions, two hundred eighty three thousand, two hundred twenty men, besides Laundresses, Harlots, and Horses; and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his answer was, That it was impossible to prouide for all things; and that whosoever should enterprize any great matter, if he gaue the hearing to all that could be objected of accidentall inconueniences, he should neuer pursue the same farther, than the dispute and consultation: which if his Predecessors, the Persian Kings, had done, they had neuer growne to that greatnesse, or possessed so many Kingdomes and Nations as now they did; and therefore concluded, That great enterprizes were neuer vnderaken without great perils. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to bee condemned, if any necessity had enforced him to that warre. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could bee constrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull prosperity of the Persians endured; and that Greece was separated by the Sea from the rest of *Xerxes* Dominions (of whose resolution his Father *Darius* had made a deare experience) the fruit of this warre was answered.

answerable to the plantation, and the successe and end agreeable to the weak counsell whereon it was grounded: Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his owne judgement not sufficient; (for he gathered in marching on, all the strength of Thrace & Macedon) were an argument, that he rather hoped to feare the Greeks by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those vncountable multitudes: *Nou vires habent, sed pondus, & impedimenta potius sunt quam auxilium; They are great in bulke, but weak in forces, and rather a luggage than an aide.*

Besides, as it was impossible to marshall such a world of men in one Army, so the diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, bred the same confusion among the Persian commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of Babel, when they came to worke. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded ten Armies of fifty thousand chosen souldiers in each, and sent them yearly into Greece well victualled & furnished, he had either preuailed by the sword, or forced them to forsake their territory, or brought them into obedience by necessity and famine, which cannot bee resisted. But while *Xerxes* resolved to cut downe the bankes of Greece, and to let in a sea of men vpon them, he was deceived both of his owne hopes, and in their hearts whom hee employed, and beaten by the Greekes, both by Land and Sea; yea, hee himselfe, conducted by his feare, fled shamefully into Asia. A great part of his Army was buried in Greece: the remainder whereof, which wintred in Thessaly, and led by *Mardonius*, who perswaded the enterprise, was in the Summer following vtterly defeated, and himselfe slaine.

§. III.

Of the fights at Thermopylae and Artemisium.

After such time as *Xerxes* had transported the Army ouer the Hellespont, and landed in Thrace, (leauing the description of his passage alongst that Coast, and how the Riuer of Lissus was drunke dry by his multitudes, and the Lake neere to Pissyrus by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards Greece) he will speake of the encounters he had, & the shamefull & incredible ouerthrowes which he receiued. As first at Thermopylae, a narrow passage of halfe an acre of ground, lying between the Mountains which diuide Thessaly from Greece, where sometime the Phocians had raised a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas*, one of the Kings of Sparta, with three hundred Lacedaemonians, assisted with one thousand Tegeatae & Mantineans, one thousand Arcadians, & other Peloponnesians, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole, besides one thousand Phocians, foure hundred Thebans, seuen hundred Thespians, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering Locrians, defended the passage two whole daies together against that huge Army of the Persians. The valour of the Greeks appeared so excellent in this defence, that in the first daies fight, *Xerxes* is said to haue three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Army by one handfull of those men, whom not long before he had vtterly despised: and when the second dayes attempt vpon the Greekes had proued vaine, he was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and so might haue continued, had not a run-agate Graecian taught him a secret way, by which part of his Army might ascend the ledge of Mountains, and set vpon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the Persian Army had almost inclosed the small forces of the Greeks, then did *Leonidas*, King of the Lacedaemonians, with his three hundred, & seuen hundred Thespians, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quit the place which they had vnderaken to make good, & with admirable courage, not onely resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slaine vpon the place. *Xerxes* hauing lost in this last fight, together with twenty thousand other Souldiers & Capitaines, two of his owne brethren, began to doubt what inconuenience might befall him by the vertue of such as had not bin present at these battailes, with whom he knew that he shortly was to deale. Especially of the Spartans he stood in great feare, whose manhood had appeared singular in this tryall, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring

bring into the field. It is reported of *Dionysius* the Spartan, that when one thought to haue terrified him by saying, That the flight of the Persian arrowes was so thicke as would hide the Sun, he answered thus: It is very good newes: for then shall wee fight in the coole shade.

Such notable resolution hauing as freely been expressed in deeds, as it was vttered in words, caused the Persian to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the city of Sparta contained well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, & that the other Lacedaemonians, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsell of *Demaratius*, banished king of the Spartans, who had alwaies well aduised and instructed him in the things of Greece, what course were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratius* was, That all the Land-forces would assemble together to defend the Isthmus, that stright neck of ground which ioieth Peloponnesus to the Continent. For which cause he aduised, That three hundred ships well manned should be sent vnto the Coast of Laconia, to spoile the country, & to hold the Lacedaemonians & their neighbours busied at home, whilest *Xerxes* at his leasure hauing subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power vpon them, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratius* further aduised, that the said Fleet of three hundred ships should seize vpon the Iland then called Cythera, now Cerigo, which lying neer to the Coast of Laconia, might serue as a fit place of Rendez-vous vpon all occasions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient speech of *Chilon* the Lacedaemonian should be verified, that it were better for his Country-men to haue that Ile drowned in the sea, than stand so inconueniently as for them it did. What effect this counsell might haue taken, had it bin followed, it is not easie to ghesse. But a contrary opinion of *Achemenes* brother to King *Xerxes* was preferred as the safer. For the Persian fleet had bin sorely vexed with a grievous tempest which continued three whole dayes together, wherein were lost vpon the coast of Magnesia foure hundred ships of war, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreseen, that if any such calamity should ouertake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to give them succour. Therefore *Achemenes* perswaded his brother not to disperse his fleet; for if (said he) after the losse of foure hundred ships we shall send away other three hundred to seek adventures, then will the Greeks be strong enough by sea to encounter the rest of the Navy, which holding altogether is inuincible. To this counsell *Xerxes* yeelded, hoping that his Land-army and fleet should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilest both held one course, & lay not far asunder. But herein he was far deceived; for about the same time that his army had felt the valour of the Greeks by land, his Nauie likewise made a sorrowfull proofe of their skill & courage at sea. The Grecians fleet lay at that time at Artemisium in the straits of Euboea, where the Persians thinking to incompass them, sent two hundred saile about the Iland to fall vpon them behinde, vnder a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas* in a case not vnlike, but with far different successe. For that narrow channell of the sea which diuideth Euboea from the maine, was in the same sort held by a Navy of two hundred threescore & eleuen saile against the huge Persian Armada, as the straits of Thermopylae had formerly bin maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was circumvented, as this Navy might haue bin, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Iland, & the cause of their voyage, was too well knowne in the Persian fleet, and soone enough disclosed to the Greeks, who setting saile by night, met them with a counter-surprise, taking & sinking thirty vessels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea, where being overtaken with foule weather, they were driuen vpon the rocks and cast all away. Contrariwise, the Navy of the Greeks was increased by the arriual of fifty three Athenian ships, and one Lemnian, which came to their party in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side: so the feare of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred vp the other to redeme their losse with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their vnforgotten policy, they resolved in plaine fight to repair their honour, & casting themselves into the form of a Crescent, thought so to inclose the Greeks, who readily did present them battell at Artemisium.

The fight endured from noone till night, and ended with equall losse to both parts. For though more of the Persian ships were sunke and taken, yet the lesser losse fell altogether

gether as heauie vpon the Greekish fleet, which being small could worse beare it. Herein only the Barbarians may seeme to haue had the worke, that they forsooke the place of fight, leauing the wrack & spoils to the enemy, who neuertheless were faine to abandon presently euen the passage which they had vnderaken to defend, both for that many of their ships were sorely crused in the battaile, & especially because they had receiued aduertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at Thermopylae. Before they wayed anchors, *Themistocles*, General of the Athenians, engraue vpon stone at the watering place an inscription to the Ionians, that either they should reuolt vnto the Greekes, or stand neuterall; which perswasion, he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the Persians.

§. IV.

The attempt of Xerxes vpon Apollo's Temple: and his taking of Athens.

When *Xerxes* had passed the straits of Thermopylae, he waiked the country of the Phocians, & the regions adioyning: as for the inhabitants they chose rather to flye, and reserve themselves to a day of battell, than to aduenture their liues into his hands, vpon hope of sauing their wealth, by making proffer vnto him of their seruice. Part of his army he sent to spoyle the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by meanes of many offerings that had there beene made by diuers Kings and great personages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inuentory than vpon the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great astonishment that fell vpon the companies which arriued at the Temple to haue sacked it, and of two Rocks that breaking from the Mount Parnassus, ouerwhelmed many of the Barbarians, were peraduenture somewhat superstitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who liued not long after, saith, That the broken Rocks remained euen to his memory in the Temple of *Minerva*, whether they rowled in their fall. And surely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious, for seeing he beleued that *Apollo* was a god, he should not haue dared to entertaine a couetous desire of enriching himselfe by committing sacrilege vpon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licence to chastise his impiety, in such manner as is reported, was granted vnto the Diuell, by that Holy one, who saith, *Will a man spoile his gods?* and elsewhere; *Hath any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Iles of Kittim, and behold, and send to Kedar, and take diligent heede, and see whether there be any such things.* Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcusable, for that the Persians alleaged the burning of *Cybeles* Temple by the Athenians, when they set fire on the City of *Sardis* in Asia, to be the ground & cause of the waste which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in Greece. Whereas indeede, in the enterprise against *Delphi*, this Vizzor of holy and zealous reuenge falling off, discouered the face of couetousnesse so much the more vgly, by how much the more themselves had professed a detestation of the offence which the Athenians had committed in that kinde by meere mischance.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expressed briefly thus: *Hee came to Athens, which finding forsaken, hee tooke and burnt the Cittadel and Temple which was therein.* The Cittadel indeede was defended a while by some of more courage than wisdom, who literally interpreting *Apollo's* Oracle; that *Athens* should be safe in wooden walls, had fortified that place with Boords and Palissadoes: too weake to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might haue yeilded it vpon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied vpon the prophecy: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the present neede, than fashioning the business to words.

§. V.

How Themistocles the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight at Salamis.

THE Athenians had before the comming of *Xerxes* remoued their wiues and children into *Troezen*, *Aegina*, and *Salamis*, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as their freedome, & the common liberty of Greece. Neuertheless, this

great zeale, which the Athenians did shew for the generall good of their Country, was ill required by the other Greekes, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at *Salamis*, whilst they remoued their wiues & children out of the City. But when the City of *Athens* was taken, it was presently resolved vpon, that they should forsake the Ile of *Salamis*, and withdraw the fleet to *Isthmus*: which necke of land they did purpose to fortifie against the Persians, & so to defend *Peloponnesus* by land & sea, leauing the rest of Greece as indefensible, to the fury of the enemy. So should the Ilands of *Salamis* and *Aegina* haue been abandoned, and the Families of the Athenians (which were there bestowed as in places of security) haue bene giuen ouer into mercilesse bondage. Against this resolution *Themistocles*, Admirall of the Athenian Fleet, very strongly made opposition; but in vaine. For the *Peloponnesians* were so possessed with feare of losing their owne, which they would not hazard, that no perswasions could obtaine of them, to regard the estate of their distressed Friends and Allies. Many remonstrances *Themistocles* made vnto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at *Salamis*; As first in priuate vnto *Eurybiades* the Lacedaemonian, Admirall of the whole Fleet; That the self-same feare which made them forsake those coasts of Greece, vpon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no checke at the first) cause them also to disseuer the Fleet, and euery one of the Confederates to with-draw himselfe to the defence of his owne City and Estate: Then to the Councell of Warre, which *Eurybiades* vpon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might worke in them hereafter) he shewed that the fight at *Isthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, hauing the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the streights; and that, besides the safeguard of *Aegina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they should by abiding where they then were, sufficiently defend *Isthmus*, which the Barbarians should not so much as once look vpon, if the Greekes obtained victory by sea; which they could not so well hope for elsewhere, as in that present place which gaue him so good aduantage. All this would not serue to retaine the *Peloponnesians*, of whom one, vnworthy of memory, vpbraided *Themistocles* with the losse of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speake in the Councell, that had no Country of his owne to inhabite. A base and shamefull obiection it was, to lay as a reproach that losse, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignity did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a reply so sharpe, as auailed more than all his former perswasions. He told them all plainly, That the Athenians wanted not a fairer City, than any Nation of Greece could boast of; hauing well-neere two hundred good shippes of Warre, the better part of the Grecian Fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the World, and settle themselves in a more secure habitation, leauing those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refused to stand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a Towne in Italy belonging of old to the State of *Athens*, of which Towne he said an Oracle had foretold, That the Athenians in proceesse of time should build it a-new, & there (quoth he) will we plant our selues, leauing vnto you a sorrowfull remembrance of my words, and of your own vnthankfulnesse. The *Peloponnesians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better consideration of the Athenians, whose affaires depended not, as they well perceiued, vpon so weak termes, that they should be driuen to crouch to others; but rather were such, as might inforce the rest to yeeld to them, and condescend euen to the vttermost of their owne demands.

For the Athenians, when they first embraced that Heroicall resolution of leauing their grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if necessity should inforce them so farre, for the preservation of their liberty; did imploy the most of their priuate wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Naue. By these meanes they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamity should befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoised by great aduantages at Sea: Knowing well, that a strong fleet would either procure victory at home, or a secure passage to any other Country. The other States of Greece held it sufficient, if building a few new ships, they did somewhat amend their Naue. Whereby it came to passe, that, had they bin vanquished, they could not haue expected any other fortune than either present death or perpetual slavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the Athenians, whose forces by

sea did equall all theirs together; the whole consisting of more than three hundred and fourescore bottomes. Wherefore these Peloponnesians beginning to suspect their own condition, which would haue stood vpon desperate points, if the fleet of Athens had forsaken them; were soon perswaded, by the greater feare of such a bad euent, to forget the lesser, which they had conceiued of the Persians: and laying aside their insolent bravery, they yeelded to that most profitable counsaile of abiding at Salamis.

§. VI.

*How the Persians consulted about giving battaile: and how Themistocles by policy held the 20
Greekes to their resolution; with the victory at Salamis thereupon ensuing.*

IN the meane season the Persians had entred into consultation, whether it were conuenient to offer battell to the Greekes, or no. The rest of the Captaines giuing such aduice as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soon agreed vpon the fight, but *Artemisia* Queen of *Halicarnassus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this warre in person, was of contrary opinion: Her counsell was, that the King himselfe directly should march toward Peloponnesus, whereby it would come to passe, that the Greek Nauie (vnable otherwise to continue long at Salamis for want of prouision) should presently be disleuered, and euery one seeking to preferue his owne City and goods, they should, being diuided, proue vnable to resist him, who had won so far vpon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to giue battell; so on the other side, the danger will be more (said she) which we shall vndergoe, than any need requireth vs to aduenture vpon; and the losse in case it fall vpon vs, greater than the profit of the victory which we desire. For if we compell the enemies to flie, it is more than they would haue done, we sitting still: but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put vs to the worst, the iourney to Peloponnesus is vtterly dashed, and many that now declare for vs, will soon reuolt vnto the Greekes. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had sent for that purpose to the Fleet, related vnto his Master the common consent of the other Captaines, and withall this disagreeing opinion of *Artemisia*. The King well pleased with her aduice, yet resolved vpon following the more generall, but farre-worse counsaile of the rest; which would questionlesse haue bene the same which *Artemisia* gaue, had not feare and flattery made all the Captaines vtter that, as out of their owne iudgement, which they thought to be most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed that *Xerxes* had entertained a vaine perswasion of much good, that his owne presence vpon the shore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore he encamped vpon the Sea-side, pitching his owne Tent on the mount *Aegaleus*; which is opposite vnto the Isle of Salamis, whence at ease he might safely view all which might happen in that action, hauing Scribes about him to write downe the acts and behauiour of euery Captaine. The neere approach of the Barbarians, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Country-men shewed in fortifying the *Isthmus*, and of a Persian Army, marching a-pace thither; did now againe so terrifie and amaze the Peloponnesians, that no intreaty, nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meere madnesse to fight for a Country already lost, when they rather should endeavour to saue that which remained vnconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what misery would befall them, if losing the victory, they should be driuen into Salamis, there to be shut vp, and besieged round in a poore desolate land.

Hereupon they resolved forth-with to set saile for *Isthmus*: which had presently been done, if the wisdom of *Themistocles* had not preuented it. For he perceiuing what auolent fear had stopt vp their eares against all good counsaile, did practise another course, and forth-with labour to preuent the execution of this vnwholesome decree; not suffering the very houre of performance to finde him busie in wrangling alteration. As soon as the Councell brake vp, he dispatched secretly a trusty Gentleman to the Persian Captaines, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Nauie about the land, which encompassing the Greekes, might preuent their escape; giuing them withall a false hope of his assistance. The Persians no sooner heard than beleueed these good newes, well knowing that the victory was their owne assured,

assured, if the *Athenian* fleet ioynd with them; which they might easily hope, considering what abilitie their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captaines with rich rewards, and the People with restitution of their Citie, and Territories. By these meanes it fell out, that when the *Greekes* very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they found themselves inclosed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all that night, sending many of their ships about the Isle of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in reare, and landing many of their men in the Isle of *Psittalea*, which lyeth ouer against *Salamis*, to saue such of their owne, and kill such of the *Gracian* partie, as by any misfortune should bee cast vpon the shore. Thus did meere necessity enforce the *Gracians* to vndertake the battaile in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable victory, stemming the foremost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foule one vpon another, could neither conueniently fight nor flie. I doe not finde any particular occurrences in this great battaile to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome taske of writing downe many disasters that befell the *Persian* fleet; which ill acquitted it selfe that day, doing no one piece of seruice worthy the presence of their King, or the registering of his Notaries. As for the *Greekes*, they might well seeme to haue wrought out that victory with equall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Aegina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did flie towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-armie of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Aegina* hauing possessed the Straights, did sinke or take them, whilst the *Athenians* did valiantly giue charge vpon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

§. VII.

Of things following after the battaile of Salamis: and of the flight of Xerxes.

AFTER this victorie, the *Greekes* intending by way of scrutinie, to determine which of the Captaines had best merited of them, in all this great seruice; euery Captaine, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write down his owne name, but in the second place, as best deseruing next vnto himselfe, almost euery Saffage did concur vpon *Themistocles*. Thus priuate affection yeelded vnto vertue, as soone as her owne turne was serued. The *Persian* King, as not amazed with this calamitie, began to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discern his faint heart, through his painted looks. Especially *Mardonius*, Author of the warre, beganne to cast a wary eye vpon his Master, fearing lest his counsell should bee rewarded according to the euent. Wherefore purposing rather to aduenture his life in pursuite of the victory, than to cast it away by vndergoing his Princes indignation; hee aduised the King to leaue vnto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces hee promised to reduce all *Greece* vnder the subiection of the *Persian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to soothe *Xerxes* with many faire words; telling him, That the cowardise of those *Aegyptians*, *Phenicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like mettall, nothing better than slaves, who had so ill behaued themselves in the late Sea-seruice, did not concerne his honour, who had alwaies bene victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it self, against which the Warre was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the Kings eare, who presently betooke himselfe to his iourney homewards, making the more hast, for that he vnderstood, how the *Greekes* had a purpose to faile to *Hellepont*, and there to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the *Greekes* had no such intent, but rather wished his hasty departure, knowing that hee would leaue his Armie not so strong, as it should haue bene, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Eurybiades* giue counsell, that by no meanes they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, lest necessitie should inforce the *Persians* to take more courage; and rather to fight like men, than die like beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, vnder pretence of friendship, send a false aduertisement vnto this timorous Prince, aduising him to conuay himselfe into *Asia* with all speed, before his bridge were dissolued: which counsell *Xerxes* tooke very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that hee found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were torne in sunder by tempests,

Nim

and

and he thereby drin to imbarke himselfe in some obscure vessell, it is not greatly materiall; though the *Greekes* did most willingly embrace the later of these reports. Howsoever it were, this flight of his did well ease the Country; that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as *Locusts*, had before ouerwhelmed it.

§. VIII.

The negotiations between Mardonius and the Athenians, as also betweene the Athenians and the Lacedemonians; after the flight of Xerxes.

Mardonius with his three hundred thousand had withdrawne himselfe into *Thessalie*, whence he sent *Alexander*, the sonne of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as Embassador to the *Athenians*, with promise of large amends for all their losses received; and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne desires; allowing them to retaine their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that ware.

The *Athenians* had now reentred their Citie, but not as yet brought backe their wiues and children; for as much as they well perceiued that the place could not be secure, till the Armie of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians*, vnderstanding what faire conditions this Embassadour would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, lest he should finde good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewise very speedily dispatched their Embassadors for *Athens*, who arriuing before the *Macedonians* had audience, vsed the best of their persuation to retaine the *Athenians* firm. They alledged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of Warre against the rest of *Greece*, but had onely threatened the subuersion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themselves in defence of that Citie, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the *Athenians* without much crueltie of injustice could not leaue them. Wee know, said they, that yee haue endured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driuen to forsake the Towne, the houses thereof bee ruined, and vnfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, wee vnderstand to maintaine as our owne, your wiues and children amongst vs, as long as the warre shall continue, hoping that yee, who haue alwaies procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all *Greece* into slavery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promises are large, but their words and oathes are of no assurance. It was needlesse to vse many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gaue answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Embassadors; That whilst the Sunne continued his course, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither Gold nor any riches, with which hee might seeke to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wiues and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustaine themselves, onely desiring the *Lacedemonians*, that with all speed they would cause their Armie to march, forasmuch as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Thessalie*, hauing once receiued such a peremptorie answer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readinesse to inuade *Attica*, they found themselves nothing deceiued. For hee, as soone as *Alexander* had returned their obdurate purpose of resistance, did forthwith leade his armie towards them, and their Citie: they hauing now the second time quitted it, and conueyed themselves into places of more securitie abroad in the Countrey, where they expected the arriual of their confederates. From *Athens* he sent his Agent vnto them with instructions, not onely to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would be desirous to preserve them from fire, and to haue those which were already laid waste, reedified at the kings charges: Or if this affection tooke no place with them, but that needs they would relie vpon their old confederates, whose succors did very slowly aduance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might be wonne with great rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all which projects, if they should faile, the destruction of *Athens* would be a good meane to please his Master, King *Xerxes*, who must thereby needes vnderstand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the strongest part of their owne Countrey. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the *Athenians* so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lysidas*, or (as *Demosthenes* calls him) *Cyrcilus*

Cyrcilus, aduised the Senate to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people, all the Senators, & as many as abiding without the Counsaile-house, heard what he had said, immediately set vpon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were sedition or mony, that had moued him to vtter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, in the Ile of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counsaile, and bad end, assembling together did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this brauery notwithstanding, when they perceiued the slacknesse of the *Peloponnesians* in giuing them aide; they were faine to betake themselves to *Salamis* againe, the old place of their security. Remaining there, and seeing little forwardnes in those whom it most concerned to assist them, they sent very seuerer messages to *Sparta*, complaining of their slacknes, & threatening withal, to take such course as might stand best with their own good, seeing that the common estate of all was so little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatory answers, which euery day grew colder, when as the *Peloponnesian* Wall, builded a-thwart the *Isthmus*, was almost finished. But as the *Lacedemonians* waxed careless & dull, so the *Athenians* hotely pressed them to a quick resolution, giuing them plainly to vnderstand, that if they should hold on in those dilatory courses, it would not be long ere the City of *Athens* took a new course, that should little please them. All this while the *Persian* fleet lay vpon the coast of *Asia*, not daring to draw nearer vnto *Greece*, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewise the *Greekish* Nauie contained it selfe within the Harbours vpon *Europe* side; both to doe seruice where need should require at home; and withall to shunne the danger which might haue befallen any part of it, that being distracted from the rest, had aduentured ouer-farre. So mutuall feare preserved in quiet the Ilands lying in the midst of the *Aegean* Seas. But it was well and seasonably obserued by a Counsellor of *Sparta*, that the Wall vpon *Isthmus* would serue to little purpose for the defence of *Peloponnesus*, if once the *Athenians* gaue care to *Mardonius*: considering that many doores would be opened into that Demie-Iland, as soone as the Enemy should by winning the friendship of *Athens*, become the Master of the Seas about it. The *Lacedemonians* vpon this admonition, making better perusal of their owne dangers, were very carefull to giue satisfaction to the *Athenian* Embassadors, who not brooking their delays, were vpon point of taking leaue, yea, as it seemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore dispatching away five thousand *Spartans* in the evening, vnder conduct of *Pausanias*; they gaue audience the next day to the Embassadors, whose complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readinesse, deeply swearing that the Army of *Sparta* was already farre vpon the journey; and giuing them leaue to take vp other five thousand *Lacedemonians*, out of the Region adioyning, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though distasting such want of grauity, in a matter so important, were neuertheless contented with the finall conclusion; & leuying the number appointed of *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, made what haste they could to incampe in *Attica*. The other *Greeks* were nothing slacke in sending forth Companies, whose neare approach caused *Mardonius* to forsake *Attica* as a rough Country, and therefore of much disadvantage to Horse; wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of *Athens*, beating downe the Walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly escaped the fury of War.

§. IX.

The great battaile of *Plataea*.

IT were too long a rehearfall to shew all that happened in many skirmishes between the *Greekes* and him, in the Country of *Boeotia*, which *Mardonius* had chosen to bee the seat of that Warre. Much time was spent before the quarrell was decided by the trial of one maine battaile: for both parties did stand vpon their guard, each expecting when the other should assaile them.

The Army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of *Xerxes* his Army; to whom were adioyned the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedony*, *Thessaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now siding with the *Persian*, furnished his Campe with fifty thousand men. Against these the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leauied an Army of one hundred and ten thousand, of which forty thou-

land wereweightily armed, the rest were only assistants to these forty thousand, being armed more slightly, as rather to make excursions and giue chase, than to sustaine any strong charges.

These two Armies hauing eleuen daies confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of seruice; *Mardonius*, whose victuals began to faile, resolved to begin the fray. The *Greekes* were promised victory by an Oracle, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plaine of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, making prayers vnto certaine gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphes. But it was hard to find the certaine place which the Oracle designed. For the plaine of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athens*; but there was also an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, neare vnto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewise the memorials of those Nymphes and Demi-gods, were in the same place, vpon Mount *Citharon*, and the ground serued well for foot-men against horse; onely the Land belonged vnto the *Plataans*, and not vnto the *Athenians*.

Whilest the *Greekes* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull Oracle, the *Plataans* to make all cleere, did freely bestow their land on that side the Towne vpon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Plataans* caused *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to redifie their City, which was ruined in the *Peloponnesian* wars.

All things being ready for battaile; the *Lacedemonian* General thought it most meet, that the *Athenians* should stand opposite that day to the *Medes* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly vanquished at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, should entertaine the *Thebans* and other *Greekes* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and hauing beaten them often-times before. This being agreed vpon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedemonians*; which *Mardonius* vnderstanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whose valour the *Medes* & *Persians* had felt heauie proofe, or desiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the brauest Souldiers in *Greece*) he did also change the order of his battaile, and oppose himselfe to *Pausanias*. All the *Greekes* might well perceiue how the Enemy did shift his wings, and *Pausanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did also the like. Soone whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Persians* made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the *Greeks* at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much losse to themselves, and none to the enemy, lie neare to that fountaine which did serue all the Campe. Hauing therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge, and part of the Army being sent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceiued their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceed out of meer cowardise) he charged them in the reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the *Lacedemonians* being ouer-taken by the enemies horse, and ouerwhelmed with great flights of Arrows, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slaine, and some of especiall marke lost, before any signe of good successe appeared in the entrailes.

But as soone as *Pausanias* had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that Age and Country accounted fortunate; he gaue the Signall of battaile: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did sit vpon the ground, as was their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage receiued the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging vpon them without any feare of such notable resistance. The rest of the *Greek* Army that was in march, being reuoked by *Pausanias*, came in a-pace to succour the *Lacedemonians*: onely that part of the Army which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arriue vnto the place of the great battaile, because the *Thebans*, and other *Greekes* confederated with the *Persians*, gaue them checke by the way. Neuerthelesse, the *Spartans* with other their assistants, did so well acquite themselves, that the *Persians* were vanquished, and *Mardonius* with many thousands more slaine in the field; the rest fled into the Campe, which they had fortified with wooden Walls, and there defended themselves with such courage as desperate necessity inforced them vnto, holding out the longer, because the *Lacedemonians* were not acquainted with the manner of assaulting Fortresses, and Walls. In the meane time the *Athenians* hauing found strong opposition

of the *Thebans* and *Thessalians*, did with much labour & courage obtain victory, which hauing not long pursued, they came to help the *Lacedemonians*, whom they found wearily busied in assaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves vnder-took it, & in short space forced a passage through the Wall, at which breach first, and then on all sides, the *Greekes* entred with such fury, and iust desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand they are said not to haue left three thousand aliue, excepting those who fledde away with *Artabazus*, when as the *Persian* Army first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especiall cause of it was the foolish retreat, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were so, that the place was well fortified; and the number of those who cast themselves into it greater than any of the Assaultants; yet they being of seuerall Nations and Languages and hauing lost their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was impossible that they in such a terror and astonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemy Country, against an Army of men, farre more valiant than themselves, and enflamed with present victory. Therefore the same wall which for a few houres had preserved their liues, by holding out the Enemy, did now impale them, and leaue them to the slaughtering fury of vnpitifull Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Thessaly* and other Countries in his way, that hee was sent by *Mardonius* vpon some piece of seruice: For he well knew, that had they vnderstood any thing of that great discomforture, all places would haue beene hostile vnto him, and sought with his ruine to purchase fauour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and lost, he came to *Byzantium*, whence he shipped his men ouer into *Asia*. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, vnder-taken by *Xerxes* against the *Greekes*, vpon hope of Honour, and Conquest, though sorting otherwise, accordingly as *Artabazus* had fore-seene, and rather worse, for as much as it began the quarrell, which neuer ended before the ruine of the *Persian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greekes*, despised and sought to haue beene brought into slavery. Hereby it may seeme, that the vision appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himselfe, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subuersion of the *Persian* Monarchie by the *Greekes*, who thus prouoked, entred into greater consideration of their owne strength, and the weaknesse of their Enemies.

§. X.

The battaile of *Mycale*, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the like.

The same day on which the battaile was fought at *Plataea*, there was another battaile fought at *Mycale*, a Promontory, or Head-land in *Asia*, where the *Persian* fleet rode.

Leutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greek* Nauy, at the request of some Ilanders & *Ionians*, did saile into those parts, to deliuer the *Samians*, & procure the *Ionians* to reuolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himselfe at this time lay at *Sardis*, a City in *Lidia*, not farre from the Sea-side, hauing left threescore thousand vnder the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionis* and the Sea-coast. Therefore when *Artaystes* and *Ithamistres*, Admirals of the *Persian* fleet, vnderstood that the *Greekes* bent their course towards them; they did forth-with draw their ships a ground, fortifying with *Palisades* & otherwise, as much ground as was needful for the encamping of all their land & sea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arriual, perceiuing that they meant to keep within their strength, & resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his gally close aboard the shore, and called vpon the *Ionians* (who more for feare than good will were encamped among the *Persians*) exhorting them in the *Greek* tongue to remember liberty, & vse the faire occasion which they now had to recouer it. Herein he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Euboea*, trusting that either these persuasions would preuaile, or if the *Persians* did happen to vnderstand them, that it would breed some ialousie in them, causing them to fight in feare of their own companions. It need not seeme strange, that this

very same stratageme, which little or nothing availed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succeed. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to perswade those Inhabitants of *Asia* to revolt; who now in his declining estate, gave a willing eare to the sweet sound of liberty. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former brauery, little regarded and lesse feared any treason to be contriued by their subiects, were now so wary, that from the *Samiens* which were amongst them, they took away their armes, the *Milefians* whom they did suspect, but would not seeme to mistrust, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the streight passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Milefians* did best of all others know those places. But these deuices little availed them. For the *Samiens* perceiuing that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold vpon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully within the Campe; which example the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to haue found some that durst beginne. It is said that while the *Greekes* were yet in a march towards the Enemies Campe, a rumour suddenly ranne in the Army, that *Mardonius* was ouerthrowne in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was giuen out by the Captaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of *Plataea* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the euening of the same day.

The like report of that great battaile, wherein *Paulus Aemilius* ouerthrew *Perseus* the last King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in foure dayes, as *Liuie* with others doe record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the Riuer *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of the same day in *Peloponnesus*: That of the battell against the *Tarquinius* and the *Latines*, presently noyed at *Rome*. And (which is most remarkable) the victory obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebell to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germanie*, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himselfe Emperour; which newes much troubling the City of *Rome*, with feare of a dangerous Warre; it was sodainly reported that *Antonius* was slaine, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of publique ioy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Authour of these tidings could not bee found; the Emperour *Domitian* betooke himselfe to his iourney against the Rebell; and being now with his Army in march, hee receiued aduertisement by Poste, of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembering the rumour noised before in *Rome*, of the selfe-same victory, he found that the report and victory were borne vpon one day, though twenty thousand furlongs (which make about five and twenty hundred miles) asunder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example giues credit vnto many the like. And indeed it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgery or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not bee found (as happens in dreames among many thousand vaine and friuolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit we may finde, that God himselfe doth sometimes vse to terrifie those who presume vpon their owne strength, by these light meanes of tumultuous noyses, as hee raised the siege of *Samarita*, by causing a sound of Horses and Chariots to affright the *Aramites*; and as hee threatened *Sennacherib*, saying: Behold, I will send a blast vpon him, and he shall heare a noyse, and returne to his owne Land. Wherefore it may well haue bene true, that God was pleased by such a meane as this, to animate the *Greekes*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heauy hearts, being in great feare, lest their owne aduenture should by no meanes fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their owne Country of *Greece*, which was ready to be subdued by *Mardonius* whilest they went wandring to seeke out enemies a-farre-off, vpon the coast of *Asia*. But the same of the battaile fought at *Plataea* being noyed among them, euery man desired that his own valour in the present fight, might be some help to work out the full deliuerance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of spirit, they diuided themselves into two Battalians, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies Campe, the *Lacedaemonians* conducted the other, by the Mountaines and streight passages, to winne the higher ground. The *Athenians* did first set vpon the Campe (ere the *Lacedaemonians* could arrive on the other part) & being desirous to get all the honour

Esay 37. 7.

of the day to themselves, did so forcibly assault it, that they brake way through the *Palladaes* and *Gabions*, and made themselves Masters of the place, slaying all that could not save themselves by flight. In this fight the *Samiens* did good seruice, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Milefians*, who vpon the like ieaousie, were placed by the *Persians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the passages, did now (as if they had bin set of purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the sword as fel into their hands, letting none escape, except very few, that fled through by-patnes. The *Lacedaemonians* that day did little seruice, for the business was dispatched ere they came in: Only they broke such companies as retired in whole troopes, making them flee disperfed in very much disorder, whereby the *Milefians* were enabled to doe the greater execution vpon them. This was the last fight of that huge Army leauied against *Greece*, which was now vtterly broken, and had no meanes left to make offensive Warre.

§. XI.

Of the barbarous qualities of *Xerxes*: with a transition from the Persian affaires to matters of *Greece*, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.

Xerxes lay at *Sardis*, not farre from the place of this battaile; but little mind had he to reuenge either this or other his great losses, being wholly giuen ouer to the loue of his Brothers Wife: with whom he could not preuaile by intreaty, nor would obtaine his desire by force, because he respected much his Brother her husband; he thought it best to make a match between his owne Son *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to finde occasion of such familiarity as might worke out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastity of the Mother did still reiekt him, or the beauty of the Daughter allure him; he soone after fell in loue with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to gouerne himselfe in peace, as to guide his Army in war. This yong Lady hauing once desired the King to giue her the Garment which he then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife; he caused the Queene thereby to perceiue her husbands conuerfation with her, which she imputed not so much to the beauty of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon she conceiued extreame hatred. Therefore at a Royall feast, wherein the custome was that the King should grant their request, she craued that the Wife of *Masistes*, her husbands brother, the yong Ladies Mother, might be giuen into her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either haue reformed the abuse of such a custome, or haue deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatening her selfe with the like, to whatsoeuer she should inflict vpon the innocent Lady, granted the request; & sending for his brother, perswaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seemes, that he vnderstood how villainously that poore Lady should be intreated, whom hee knew to be vertuous, and whom himselfe had loued. *Masistes* refused to put her away; alleading his owne loue, her deseruing, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reasons important to moue him to keepe her. But in most wicked manner *Xerxes* reuiled him; saying, That hee now should neither keepe the Wife which he had, nor haue his Daughter whom he had promised vnto him. *Masistes* was much grieved with these words, but much more, when he returned home, hee found his Wife most butcherly mangled by the Queene *Amestris*, who had caused her Nose, Lips, Eares, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Breasts in like manner, which were cast vnto Dogs. *Masistes* enraged with this villany, took his way with his children, & some Friends, towards *Babylonia*, of which Prouince he was Gouvernor, intending to rebell & auenge himselfe. But *Xerxes* vnderstanding his purpose, caused an Army to be leauied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the sword. Such was the Tyrannicall condition of the Persian Government; and such are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is ioyned with absolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his ouer-thrown, and lying vpon the ground, said; That he doubted, whether in regard of his vertue, hee should againe erect it, or, for the mischief done by him to *Greece*, should let it lye. But surely whatsoeuer his other

other good qualities were, he was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently mer-
cilesse.

Therefore we may firmly beleue, that the vertue of *Cyrus* was very great, vpon
which the foundation of the *Persian* Empire was so surely laid, that all the wickednesse
and vanities of *Xerxes*, & other worse Princes, could not overthrow it, vntill it was bro-
ken by a vertue almost equall to that which did establish it. In wars against the *Egypti-
ans*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the first it had bene very good; but against
the generall estate of *Greece*, neither he, nor any of his posterity, did euer make offensive
warre, but receiued many losses in *Asia*, to which the last at *Mycale* serued but as an intro-
duction; teaching the *Greekes*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the *Persian* was no bet-
ter Souldier at his owne doores, than in a forraigne Country: whereof good triall was
made forth-with, and much better prooue as soone as the affaires of *Athens* were quietly
setled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the History of *Greece*, taking in the
matters of *Persia*, as also the estate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of
time shall present them. True it is, that the *Persian* estate continued in her greatnesse, ma-
ny ages following, in such wise that the knowne parts of the World had no other King-
dome, representing the Maiesty of a great Empire.

But this greatnesse depended onely vpon the riches and power that had formerly
been acquired, yet liding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excep-
ting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessiue Luxury, where-with
both it, and all, or the most of Empires that euer were, haue bene enervated, made vn-
weildy, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry swords of poore and hardy Enemies.
Hereby it came to passe, that *Xerxes* and his successours were faine to defend their
Crownes with money and base policies; very seldome or neuer (vnlesse it were with
great aduantage) daring to aduenture the triall of plaine battaile with that little Nation
of *Greece*, which would soone haue ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not priuate
malice and ielousie vrged euery City to enuie the height of her neighbours wals, and
thereby diuerted the swords of the *Greekes* into their owne bowels, which after the de-
parture of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better haue continued, to hew out the way
of conquest, on the side of *Asia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian Warre, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

S. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.



After that the *Medes* and *Persians* had receiued their last blow, &
were vtterly beaten at *Mycale*: *Leuctichides*, who then comman-
ded the *Grecian* Army, leauing the pursuit of the warre to
the *Athenians*, assisted by the reuolted *Ionians*, returned with
the *Lacedemonians* and other *Peloponnesians* to *Sparta* and o-
ther places, out of which they had bene leauied. The *Athe-
nians* in the meane while besieged *Syracusa*, a City on the strait
of the *Hellaspont*, betweene which and *Abydos*, *Xerxes* had lately
fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, desperate of
succour, did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greeks*, who enter-
tained themselves the Winter following on that side the *Hellaspont*. In the Spring they
drew homeward, and hauing left their wiues and children, since the inuasion of *Asia*, &
the abandoning of *Athens*, in diuers Islands, and at *Troizen*, they now found them out, &
returned with them to their owne places.

And though the most part of all their houses in *Athens* were burnt and broken down,

and the wals of the City ouer-turned, yet they resolu'd first on their common defence,
and to fortifie their City, before they cared to couer themselves, their wiues and chil-
dren, with any priuate buildings: Whereof the *Lacedemonians* being aduertised, and
misliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in respect that their owne City of *Sparta* was
vulnerable, as also because the *Athenians* were grown more powerfull by Sea, than either
themselves, or any other State of *Greece*, they dispatched messengers to the *Athenians* to
dissuade them; not acknowledging any priuate mislike or ielousie, but pretending, that
if the *Persians* should return to inuade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no bet-
ter state to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would serue to receiue their ene-
mies, and to be made a Seate for the Warre, as *Thebes* had lately bin. To this the *Athe-
nians* promised to giue them satisfaction by their own Embassadors very speedily. But
being resolu'd to goe on with their workes by the aduice of *Themistocles*, they held the
Lacedemonians in hope of the contrary, till they had raised their wals to that height, as
they cared not for their mislikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gaine
time) they dispatched *Themistocles* towards *Lacedemon*, giuing him for excuse, that hee
could not deliuer the *Athenians* resolutions, til the arriual of his fellow-Commissioners,
who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedemonians* expectation being
conuerted into ielousie (for by the arriual of diuers persons out of *Attica*, they were told
for certaine, That the wals of *Athens* were speedily grown vp beyond expectation) *Thes-
tacles* prayed them not to beleue reports and vaine rumours, but that they would bee
pleased to send some of their owne trusty Citizens to *Athens*, from whose relation they
might resolue themselves, and determine accordingly. Which request being granted,
and Commissioners sent, *Themistocles* dispatched one of his owne, by whom he adui-
sed the *Athenians*, first to entertain the *Lacedemonians* with some such discourse as might
retaine them a few daies, and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himselfe and
the other *Athenian* Embassadors, then at *Sparta*, had their liberty also to return. Which
done, and being also assured by his associates and *Aristides*, that *Athens* was already
defensible on all parts, *Themistocles* demanding audietice, made the *Lacedemonians*
know, That it was true that the wals of *Athens* were now raised to that height, as the
Athenians doubted not the defence of their City; praying the *Lacedemonians* to be-
leue, That whensoever it pleased them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know
them for such, as right well vnderstood what appertained to a Common-weale & their
owne safety, without direction and aduice from any other: That they had in the warre
of *Xerxes* abandoned their City, and committed themselves to the wooden Walls of
their shippes, from the resolution of their owne counsels and courage, and not there-
to taught or perswaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous warre against the
Persians they found their owne iudgements and the execution thereof in nothing in-
feriour, or lesse fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-weale a-
mong the *Greekes*: And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and
Iudges of their owne affaires, and thought it good reason, that either all the Cities confe-
dered within *Greece* should be left open, or else that the Wals of *Athens* should be fini-
shed and maintained.

The *Lacedemonians* finding the time vsit for quarrell, dissembled their mislike, both
of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the diuision, & so suffered the *Athenians* to depart, &
receiued backe from them their owne Embassadors.

The Wals of *Athens* finished, they also fortified the Port *Pyreus*, by which they might
vnder couert imbarke themselves vpon all occasions.

S. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatnesse, and prosperous warres made by that State vpon the Persian.

The *Athenians* hauing setled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gal-
lies for the pursuit of the warre against the *Persians*, to which the *Lacedemoni-
ans* added other twenty, and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the
Cities of *Greece* confederated, they set sayle for *Cyprus*, vnder the conduct of *Pausanias*
the *Lacedemonian*; where, after their landing hauing possesed themselves of many princi-
all places, they imbarked the Army againe, and tooke land in *Thrace*, recouering from
the

the *Perſians* by force the City *Bizantium*, now *Conſtantinople*; from whence *Paſſanias*, behauing himſelfe more like a Tyrant than a Capraine, eſpecially towards the *Ionians*, lately reuolted from *Xerxes*, was called backe by the Council of *Lacedæmon*, and not onely accuſed of many inſolent behauiours, but of Intelligence with the *Mædes*, & Treafon againſt his Countrey. In his ſtead they employed *Dæres*, who either gaue the ſame cauſe of offence; or elſe the *Athenians*, who affected the firſt commandement in that warre, practiſed the ſouldiers to complaine; though indeede the wife and vertuous behauiour of *Ariſtides*, Generall of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare & incomparable ſincerity, had been able to make a good Commander ſeeme ill in compariſon of himſelfe; & therefore was much more auailable, in rendring thoſe deteſted, whoſe vices afforded little matter of excuſe. Howſoeuer it were, the *Lacedæmonians* being no leſſe wearied of the war, than the *Athenians* were eager to purſue it, the one obtained their eaſe, and the other the execution and honour which they deſired: for all the *Greeks* (thoſe of *Peloponneſus* excepted) willingly ſubiected themſelves to the commandement of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatneſſe in that preſent age, & of their ruine in the next ſucceeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed vnto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities; they appointed Receiuers and Treafurers, & began to leuie mony, according to their diſcretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of *Greece*, and for the recouering of thoſe places on *Europe* ſide, in *Aſia* the leſſe, & the Ilands, from the *Perſians*. This tribute (the firſt that was euer payed by the *Greeks*) amounted to foure hundred and threſcore Talents; which was raiſed eaſily by the honeſt care of that iuſt man *Ariſtides*, to whoſe diſcretion all the confederates referred themſelves, & no one man found occaſion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of *Ariſtides*, & other worthy Citizens, brought vnto the *Athenians* great commoditie, ſo the deſire which they conceiued of encreaſing their commoditie, corrupted their vertue, & robbing them of the generall loue, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their City to the defence of her treaſure, which with her in the next age periſhed. For it was not long ere theſe foure hundred and threſcore Talents were raiſed to ſix hundred, nor long after that, ere their couetous tyranny had conuerted their followers into ſlaues, and extorted from them yearly thirteene hundred Talents. The Iſle of *Delos* was at the firſt appointed for the Treafure-houſe wherein theſe ſummes were laid vp, and where, at the generall Aſſembly, the Captaines of thoſe forces, ſent by the confederates, were for forme ſake called to conſultation. But the *Athenians*, who were ſtronger by ſea than all *Greece* beſides, had lockt vp the common treaſure in an Iſland, vnder their owne protection, from whence they might tranſport it at their pleaſure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commander in this Warre was *Cimon*, the ſonne of *Miltiades*, who firſt tooke *Eion*, vpon the Riuer *Strimon*; then the Iſle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Delopians*: they maſtered the *Cariffy*, & brought into ſeruitude the *Naxy*, contrary to the form of the confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or diſobeyed their commandements; taking vpon them and vſurping a kinde of ſoueraigne authority ouer the reſt: which they exerciſed the more aſſuredly, becauſe they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be reſiſted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the warre in their owne perſons, and giuen vp altogether to their eaſe, made choice rather to pay their parts in mony, than either in men of warre, or in ſhips, leauing the prouiſion of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weak in all their Sea-defences, and in the exerciſe of the Warres; the other greatly ſtrengthened their Nauie and their experiences, being alwayes armed and employed in honorable Seruices, at the coſt of thoſe, who hauing liſted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-mony, leuied vpon theſe their confederates, employed ſo well by the *Athenians* at the firſt (as ill proceedings are often founded vpon good beginnings) that no great cauſe of repining was giuen. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admirall ſcoured the *Aſiaticke* Seas, took in the City of *Phæſelus*; which hauing formerly pretended neutrality, and reſuſed to relieue, or any way aſſiſt the *Greekes*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and ſo to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contribution.

From thence he ſet ſayle for the Riuer *Enrymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Perſian* Fleet

Fleet rode, being of ſixe hundred ſayle, (or according to the moſt ſparing report) three hundred and fifty, and hauing a great Land-Armie, encamped vpon the ſhoare; all which forces hauing bene prouided for aduancing the Kings affaires in *Greece*, were vtterly deſeated in one day, and two hundred ſhips taken by the *Athenians*, the reſt being broken to pieces, or ſunk, ere euer they had ſworn in the *Greekiſh* Seas. *Cimon* hauing in one day obtained two great victories, the one by the Sea, and the other by Land, was very ſoone preſented with a third. For foureſcore ſayle of *Phenicians* (who were the beſt of all Sea-men, vnder the *Perſian* command) thinking to haue ioyned themſelves with the Fleet before deſtroyed, arriued vpon the ſame Coaſt, ignorant of what had paſſed, and fearing nothing leſſe than what enſued. Vpon the firſt notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called *Hydra*, did ſo amaze them, that they onely fought to run themſelves on ground; by which meane preſeruing few of their men, they loſt all their ſhips. Theſe loſſes did ſo breake the courage of the *Perſian*, that, omitting all hope of preuailling vpon *Greece*, he condeſcended to whatſoeuer Articles it pleaſed the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty vnto all the *Greekes* inhabiting *Aſia*; and further covenanting, That none of his ſhips of War ſhould ſayle to the Weſtward of the Iſles, called *Cyaneæ* and *Chelidoniæ*.

This was the moſt honourable peace that euer the *Greekes* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any warre that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till ſuch time as vnder *Alexander*, they ouerthrew the empire of *Perſia*; in which war, few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but ſerued altogether vnder the *Macedonians*.

§. III.

The death of *Xerxes* by the treaſon of *Artabanus*.

Efides theſe loſſes, which could not eaſily haue bin repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time ſuch, as gaue iuſt cauſe to the *Perſians* of ſeeking peace vpon any termes not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the vncle of *Xerxes*, perceiuing, that the King his Maſter did eaſily take ſmall occaſions to ſhed the blood of ſuch, as in kindred or place were neere vnto him, began to repoſe leſſe hope of a ſaſetie in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soueraignie, by deſtroying a Prince that was ſo hated for his cruelty, and deſpised for his cowardice and miſfortunes. Hauing conceiued this Treafon, he found meates to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in ſuch cloſe manner, that (as if he himſelfe had been innocent) he accuſed *Darius* the ſon of *Xerxes*, and cauſed him to ſuffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedneſſe he got the Kingdome, and held it ſeuē moneths; or whether intending the like euill to *Artaxerxes* the ſon of *Xerxes*, he was by him preuented and ſurpriſed; were hard to affirme any certainty. But all Writers agree vpon this, That taken hee was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreame torments, according to the ſentence, whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verſe:

Raro antecedentem ſecluſum

Deſeruit pede pæna clauſo.

Seldome the villaine, though much haſte he make,
Late-footed Vengeance failes to ouertake.

§. IIII.

The baniſhment of *Themistocles*: his flight to *Artaxerxes* newly reigning in *Perſia*; & his death.

Artaxerxes being eſta bliſhed in his Kingdome, and hauing ſo compounded with the *Athenians*, as the preſent neceſſity of his affaires required, began to conceiue new hopes of better fortune againſt the *Greekes*, than he or his predecessors had euer hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Perſians* were chaſed out of *Greece*, did ſo highly value their owne merits in that ſeruice, that they not onely thought it fit for themſelves to become the Commanders ouer many Townes and Iſlands of the *Greekes*, but euen within their owne walls, they would admit none other forme of Government than meere *Democratically*. Herein they were ſo inſolent, that no integrity

nor good desert was able to preferue the estate of any such as had borne great office, longer than by flattering the rascall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themistocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatnesse vpon popularitie, yet now presuming vpon his good seruices done to the State, hee thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had receiued from him, that they laide vpon him the punishment of *Ostracisme*, whereby hee was banished for ten yeeres, as a man over-burthensome to the Commonwealth.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedemonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Pausanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of *Greece* vnto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themistocles* finding no place of security against the malice of two such mighty Cities, was driuen, after many troublesome flights, and dangerous remouings, to aduenture himself into *Perfia*; where he found *Artaxerxes* newly settled, & was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceiued of aduancing his affaires by the counsell and assistance of *Themistocles*, proued altogether fruitlesse. For when the *Athenians*, in fauour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infested *Egypt*, causing it to reuell against the *Persian*) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Armie in *Egypt*, and scowring those Easterne Seas, to the great hindrance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can vnderstand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King send his Letter to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had giuen, of assuring the *Persian* estate against the *Greekes*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceiued much vnlikelnesse of good successe, in leading a great Army of daftardly *Persians* against the warlike people of *Greece*; or else (as in fauour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the loue of his Countrey would not permit him to seeke honour by the ruine of it: sure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to vndertake the conduct of great forces against the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict between thankfulnesse to his well deseruing Prince, and naturall affection to his own ill-deseruing people, by finishing his life with a cup of poyson.

§. V.

How the *Athenians*, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the *Persian*, were shamefully beaten in *Egypt*.



Hen was *Artaxerxes* driuen to vse the service of his owne Captaines in the *Egyptian* warre, wherein it appeared well, That a iust cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred saile strong was sent forth vnder *Cimon*, to take in the Isle of *Cyprus*: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintaine, the *Persian* being vtterly broken at Sea, & thereby vnable to relieue the Island. Now although it were so, that a peace had been concluded, which was likely to haue been kept sincerely by the *Persian*, who had made so good proof of the *Grecian* valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any ships of Warre (without which the *Greekes* could receiue no harme from him) wherof if any one should be found sayling towards *Greece*, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole estate, yet all the Sea-coast (no smal part of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an enemy too far over-matching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, lest the league which in his own worser fortunes he had made with them, he would break in theirs, and therefore sought to get such assurance into their hands, as might vtterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their reuenues & power, by adding that rich and great Island to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profit; they thought it the wisest way, to take whilst they might, whatsoeuer they were able to get and hold, and he vnable to defend.

The Isle of *Cyprus* lying in the bottome of the streights betweene *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either seeke to enrich himselfe by trade with those Countries, or to infest one or more of them

them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their *Ambition* which had already deuoured, in conceit, this Island, vvas on the sodaine vwell-nigh choaked with a greater morfell, to snatch at vvhich, they let *Cyprus* alone; vvhich they might easily haue swallowed and digested. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians* confining *Egypt*, hauing found how greatly the Countrey was exhausted by the late warres, and how vweakely defended by very slender *Persian* Garrisons, conceiued rightly, that if such small forces as the *Satrapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the sodaine of his owne *Guards*, or leuie out of the ordinary *Garrisons*, vvere by him defeated; the naturals of the Countrey, not long since oppressed by *Cambyses*, and after a reuolt very lately subdued by *Xerxes*, would soone breake faith vwith him, vvhich had no other title to that Kingdome than a good sword. Further, he perswaded himselfe that the people, vnable to defend themselves against the *Persian* vwithout his assistance, would easily be drawne to accept him, the author of their deliuerance for King. Neither did this hope deceiue him. For hauing taken and cruelly slaine *Achamenes* the *Viceroy*; diuers *Cities* forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclaiming him King, shewed the most of their endeuour for prosecution of the warre. But he considering his owne weaknesse, and that the meanes of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceiued well, that to resist the power of *Artaxerxes*, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price soeuer he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the Souldiers therein embarked; he invited the Commanders to share with him the kingdome of *Egypt*, as a farre greater reward of their aduenture, than such an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their estate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly sorted according to their expectation) would haue bin contented with an equall share, and not haue fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a diuination vnecessary. He vvas possessed of the peoples loue, they vvere of most power. But the issue of those affaires vvas such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally.

Yet had the beginnings of their enterprize very good and hopefull successe: For they entred the Land as farre as to *Memphis*, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it selfe they tooke two parts: to the third part, vvhich was called the White wall, they laid such hard siege, that neither those forces of the *Persians*, vvhich then vvere in *Egypt*, vvere strong enough to remoue them; neither could *Artaxerxes* vwell deuise what meanes to vse for the recovery of that which was lost, or for the preferuation of the remainder. The best of his hope vvas by setting the *Lacedemonians* vpon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to looke homewards to their owne defence. This vvas the first time that the *Persian* sought to procure the assistance of the *Greekes* one against the other, by stirring them vp vwith gold to the entertainment of priuate quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he sent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* vwith much Treasure; who, after great expence, finding that the *Lacedemonians* vvere nothing forward in employing their whole force against the *Athenians*, vvhom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Armie in *Egypt*; he thought it his wisest way to employ the rest of his mony and meanes to their reliefe, who had now the space of fixe yeares defended his masters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his name, the sonne of *Zopyrus*, vvhich arriving in *Egypt*, vvas first encountred by the reuolted people; ouer whom he obtained victory, vvhich made him master of the Countrey, whilst the *Athenians* lay busied about *Memphis* the great Citie.

It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange ayre, and want of supply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: sure it is, that when *Megabazus*, hauing reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it selfe, whether his former successe had amended the courage of the *Persians*, or want of necessities made the *Athenians* inferior to themselves, he chased them out of *Memphis*, and pursued them so neere, as they were forced to fortifie themselves in the Isle of *Prosopites*, where *Megabazus*, after eighteen moneths siege, turning away one part of the River by diuers Trenches, assaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put all to the sword, saue a few that saued themselves by flight into *Lybia*; the same entertainment had fiftie other Gallies which they sent to the succour of the first two hundred.

Prosopites an Island between the Rivers of *Taly* & *Phar-maciacy*, two of the outlets of the Nile, towards *Alexandria*.

Mendesius is an Island in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the outlet called *Buſiris* and *Molcor*. But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesium*, runneth into the Sea by the Citie *Panaphys*.

hundred. For those *Athenians* hauing heard nothing that their Fleet and Armie vvas continued, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesium*, and fell vnto among the *Phenician* Gallies and the *Persian* Armie; so as the *Persians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amyrteus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This vvas the end of the *Athenians* sixe yeares warre in *Egypt*, and the reward of their vanitie and indiscretion to vndertake many enterprises at once.

§. V.

Of other warres made by the *Athenians* for the most part with good successe, about the same time.

Notwithstanding these ouerthrowes in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home warres waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the *Lacedemonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their aduantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten neere vnto *Italia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, so they obtained two great victories soone after; the one ouer the *Peloponnesians*, neere vnto *Ceryphalia*; the other ouer the *Aginets*, neere vnto *Agina*; where they sunke and carried away threecore and ten Gallies of their Enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the suddaine, and besieged *Agina*, from whence they could not be moued, notwithstanding that the *Corinthians*, to diuert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight, with equall losse, the *Corinthians*, when they returned againe to set vp their *Trophie*, as Victors in the former battaile, were vtterly broken and slaughtered by the *Athenian* Garrisons and *Megarians*, to their great losse and dishonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were discomfited neere to *Tanagra*, by the *Lacedemonians*, who returned from the succour of the *Dorians* against the *Phocians* (at which time the *Theſſalian* horse-men turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought against them) so about threecore daies after the *Athenians* entred *Boetia* vnder the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wan *Phocia* on the gulfe *Oceus*, and euened the wals of *Tanagra*, to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Agina* to render vpon most base conditions; as to beat downe the wals of their Citie, and to giue them hostages for Tribute; the siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts elsewhere. Besides these victories they sackt and spoiled many places vpon the Sea-coast of *Peloponnesia*, belonging to the *Lacedemonians*; wan vpon the *Corinthians*, and ouerthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their succour. These were the vndertakings of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, during the time of those six yeares that a part of their forces made warre in *Egypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Theſſalie*, perswaded thereunto by *Orestes*, but were resisted by the King *Pharsalus*, who had chased *Orestes* out of his Dominions. They also landed in *Sicyonia*, and had victory ouer those that resisted, after which they made truce with the *Peloponnesians* for five yeares, and sent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ships; but they were againe allured by *Amyrteus* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Marish and Wooddie parts of *Egypt* from the *Persians*, to whom they sent sixtie of their ships. The rest of their Armie failing in their enterprise of *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coasted the Island, incourented a fleet of the *Phanicians* and *Cilicians*, ouer both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*: as also those returned safe which were sent into *Egypt*.

§. VII.

Of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, that he was *Ahashuerosh* the husband of *Queene* *Hester*.

These *Egyptian* troubles being ended, the reigne of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable; whereof the length is by some restrained into twenty yeares, but the more and better Authors giue him fortie, some allow vnto him foure and forty. He

He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentlenesse. His fauour was exceeding great to the *Jewes*; as appeareth by the Histories of *Esdra*s and *Nehemiah*, which fell in his time.

To proue that this was the King who gaue countenance and aide to that great worke of building the Temple, it were a needlesse trauaile; considering that all the late Diuines haue taken very much paines, to shew that those two Prophets were licensed by him, and succoured in that building, in such sort as appears in their writings.

This was likewise that King *Ahashuerosh* who married *Hester*. Whereof if it be needfull to giue prooffe, it may suffice, That *Ahashuerosh* liued in *Susa*, reigning from *India* to *Ethiopia*, and therefore must haue bin a *Persian*; That he liued in peace, as appears by the circumstances of the Historie, & vsed the counsaile of the seuen Princes, the authority of which Princes began vnder *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyses*.

The continuall Warres which exercised King *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, together with the certainty of his marriages with sundry wiues, from none of whom he was diuorced, but left his first wife *Stossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, aliue in great honour, she being mother to *Xerxes* the succeeding King; doe manifestly prooue that *Hester* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Jew*, That at the perswasion of *Mardocheus*, *Ioiachim* the high Priest the son of *Iesua*, caused the feast of *Purim* to be instituted in memory of that deliuerance. Now the time of *Ioiachim* was in the reigne of *Artaxerxes*, at the comming of *Esdra*s, and *Nehemiah*: *Iesua* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The same continuance of warres, with other his furious and tragicall loues; wherewith *Xerxes* did consume such little time, as he had free from warre, are enough to proue, that the storie of *Hester* pertained not vnto the time of *Xerxes*, who liued but one and twentie yeares, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Ahashuerus* or *Artaxerxes* is expressed by *Nehemiah*. Again, it is well knowne, that *Xerxes* in the seuenth yeare of his reigne (wherein this marriage must haue bin celebrated) came not neere to *Susa*. Of the Princes that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to proue that none of them could be *Ahashuerosh*, it is enough to say, that *Mardocheus* hauing bene carried from *Ierusalem* captiue, with *Techonias*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was vnlikely to haue liued vntill their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he liued in *Susa*, reigned from *India* to *Ethiopia*, liued in peace, was contemporarie with *Ioiachim* the high Priest: and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that seuenth yeere of his reigne; which good fortune might well giue occasion to such a Royall feast, as is described in the beginning of *Hester*. This is the summe of the arguments, brought to proue the age of *Hesters* storie by the learned and diligent *Krentzheimius*, who adds the authorities of *Iosephus*, affirming the same, and of *Philo*, giuing to *Mardocheus* eightene yeares more than *Isaac* the Patriarch liued, namely, one hundred fourescore and eightene yeares in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth yeare of this *Artaxerxes*, if we suppose him to haue bin carried away captiue, being a Boy of ten yeares old.

§. VIII.

Of the troubles in *Greece*, foregoing the *Peloponnesian* Warre.

But it is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the *Greekes*, who from this time forward, more vehemently prosecuting their ciuill warres, suffered the *Persians* for many ages to rest in peace: this *Egyptian* expedition being come to nought. Soone after this, the *Lacedemonians* vndertooke the warre called, Sacred, recovered the Temple and Ile of *Delphos*, and deliuered both to the inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the same, and gaue it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the meane while the banished *Boetians* re-entred their owne Land, and maſtred two of their own Townes possess by the *Athenians*, which they soone recovered againe from them; but in their returne towards *Athens*, the *Boetians*, *Eubaeans*, and *Locrians*, (Nations oppressed by the *Athenians*) set vpon them with such resolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all slaine or taken;

taken, wherby the *Bacotians* recovered their former liberty, restoring to the *Athenians* their prisoners. The Ilanders of *Euboea* tooke such courage vpon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was aduertised that the *Megarians*, (who first left the *Lacedemonians*, & submitted themselves to *Athens*) being now weary of their yoke, had slaine the *Athenians* Garrisons, & ioyned themselves with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, & *Epidaurians*. These newes hastened *Pericles* homeward with all possible speed; but ere he could recouer *Attica*, the *Peloponnesians*, led by *Plisioanax*, the son of *Pausanias*, had inuaded it, pillaged, & burnt many parts thereof; after whose returne *Pericles* went on with his first intent and recovered *Euboea*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponnesians*, and yielded to deliuer vp all the places which they held in the Countrey of *Peloponnesus*: and this truce was made for thirtie yeares.

After fixe of these yeares were expired, the *Athenians* (fauouring the *Mylefians* against the *Samians*) inuaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the Citizens were forc't to yeelde themselves vpon most lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliuer vp all their ships, to breake downe their own wals, to pay the charge of the war, and to restore whatsoeuer had beene taken by themselves, or by their practice from the *Athenians*. In the necke of which followed that long and cruell *Peloponnesian* Warre, whereof I haue gathered this briefe following: the same contention taking beginning fiftie yeares after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But because there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this warre, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell; I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the Countrey at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, *Athens*, and *Sparta*, vpon which all the rest had most dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian Warre.

S. I.

Vpon what searimes the two principall Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, stood, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.



Greece was neuer vnited vnder the gouernement of any one Prince or Estate, vntill *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Vnion and League against the *Persian*, wherof they were Captaines, than into any absolute subiection. For euery Estate held their owne, and were gouerned by Lawes faire different, and by their owne Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yeelde obedience no other wise than as to such, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Persian* war (deemed the Generall quarrell of *Greece*) and tooke the profit and honour of the victorie, to their owne vse and increase of greatness. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did so farre enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought vnder such obedience, as differed little from seruitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with armes, and sometimes with gifts, preferue their libertie; of whom the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* were chiefe: which two people deserued best the plague of tyranny, hauing first giuen occasion thereunto, by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Countrey by perpetuall Warre. For, vntill these two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* distracted all *Greece*, drawing euery State into the quarrell, on the one or other side, and so gaue beginning to the *Peloponnesian* warre (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not, before the time that *Philip* had ouer-mastered all, forasmuch as euery conclusion

conclusion of one was afforded home forth matter of some new distraction of the whole Countrey) the warres, commenced betwene one Citie of *Greece* and another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controuersies were soone decided, either by the authoritie of the *Ambassadors*, who were the generall Councell of *Greece*; or by the power of the *Lacedemonians*, whose aide was commonly held as good as the assurance of victorie.

The *Lacedemonians* had liued about foure hundred yeares vnder one forme of Gouernment, when the *Peloponnesian* warre began. Their education was onely to practice feates of Armes; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poore, and cared not much for wealth; euery one had an equall portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintaine him in such manner as they vsed. For brauery they had none, and curious building or apparrell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinary meales being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They vsed money of *Iyron*, whereof they could not be couetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they liued *Plopian*-like, saue that they vsed no other occupation than Warre, placing all their felicitie in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they sought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they vsed mercenarie Souldiers in their warres, and exacted great tribute of their Subiects, which were for the most part Ilanders, compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* flecte was great.

As in forme of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference between these two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, suddaine in their conclusions, and as hastie in the execution: The *Lacedemonians* very slow in their deliberations, full of grauitie, but very resolute, & such as would in cold blood performe what the *Athenians* did vssually in flagrant. Whereby it came to passe, that the *Lacedemonians* had all the Estates of *Greece* depending vpon them, as on men firme & assured, that sought honor & not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in streight subiection. But the Signory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, vntill such time as the *Persian Xerxes* had inuaded *Greece*, pretending onely a quarrell to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiuing well, that the town of *Athens* could not be defended against his great Armie of seuentene hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth vpon a Naue, & (assisted by the other *Grecians*) ouerthrew the flect of *Xerxes*, whose Land-forces were soone after discomfited by them, & the *Greekes*, who all serued vnder conduct of the *Spartans*. After these victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in flect, reduced all the Ilands of the *Greekish* Seas vnder their obedience; imposing vpon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of war against the *Persians*; though indeed they employed their forces chiefly, to the conquest of such Ilands, and haue Townes, of their owne Countreimen, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lacedemonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in expeditions to be made farre from home. But afterwards perceiuing the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much ielousie, and were very apt to quarrell with them; but much more willing to breede contention between them & other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would haue oppressed the *Plataeans*, when they of *Plataea* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aide, than this aduice, That they should seeke helpe at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* should be intangled in a long and tedious Warre, with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proued otherwise, for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did onely serue to increase their honour and puissance.

S. II.

How Sparta and Athens entred into Warre.

Neuerthelesse many Estates of *Greece* were very ill affected to *Athens*, because that Citie grew very insolent vpon suddaine prosperitie, and maintaining the weaker Townes against the stronger, inroached apace vpon their Neighbours; taking

their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much enraged, because the people of the Iland *Corcyra*, their Colonie which had rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their fleet by adioyning that of *Corcyra* vnto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that reuenge which else they would haue taken. Now howsoeuer it were so, that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed vpon among the *Greekes*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redresse by warre the iniuries done to their Allies.

First therefore seeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certaine offences committed against the gods; whereto hauing for answer, That they themselves should expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*; they began to deale plainly, and required that the people of some Townes, oppressed by the State of *Athen*, should be set at liberty; and that a decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, should be reuerled. This last point, they so earnestly presse, that if they might obtaine it, they promised to abstain from their purpose of making Warre.

This they desired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but onely that by seeming to haue obtained somewhat, they might preferue their reputation without entring into a warre, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparant, than they were very willing to vnder-goe.

But the *Athenians* would yeeld to nothing, for it was their whole desire that all *Greece* should take notice, how farre they were from feare of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needefull to the Warre; wherein the *Lacedamonians* were Superiour, both in number and quality, being assisted by most of the Cities in *Greece*, & hauing the generall fauour, as men that pretended to set at liberty such as were oppressed; but the *Athenians* did as farre exceede them in all prouisions of Money, Shipping, Engines, and absolute power of command among their Subiects; which they held, & afterward found of greater vse in such neede, than the willing readinesse of friends, who soone grow weary, and are not easily assembled.

§. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian warre.

THe first and second yeares expedition was very grieuous to the Citie of *Athen*. For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut downe; the Countrie people driuen to flye, with Wiues, Children, and Cattraile, into the Towne; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the Citie, such as before they had neuer felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the reuolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Ile of *Lesbos*, & the siege of *Plataea* their confederated Citie, which they durst not aduenture to raise; besides some small overthrowes receiued. The *Lacedamonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrie of *Attica*, and therein abide, vntill victuals began to faile, wasting and destroying all things round about: The Gouernours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their Enemies; but vsed to send a fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which wasted as fast all the Sea-coast of their Enemies, whilst they were making warre in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, wanted the Towne of *Plataea*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that warre, the *Lacedamonians* beganne to perceiue how vnfit they were to deale with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was thoroughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to such harme as they themselves might, and did receiue. Their Confederates beganne to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiuing wel that *Athen* was plentifully relieved with all necessities, which came by the Sea from the Ilands that were subiect vnto that Estate; and therefore these invaders tooke but small pleasure in beholding the walls of that mightie Citie, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territorie was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they began

began to set their care to build a strong Nauie, wherein they had little good successe, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst vndertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

§. IIII.

Of the great losse which the Spartans receiued at Pylus.

AMong other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea; they receiued at *Pylus* a very sore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Corcyra*, waiting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of *Laconia*, and all the halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrarie windes detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontorie, ioyning to the maine, by a strange necke of Land. Before it there lies a small barren Iland of lesse than two miles compasse, and within that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the head-Land and Isle. This Promontorie the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in haste they might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was supplied by the naturall strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and hauein, they in reason expected many aduantages against their enemies. For the Countrie adioyning was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient times had held very strong and cruell warre with *Sparta*; and (though quite subdued) they were held in streight subiection, yet was not the olde hatred so extinguished, that by the neere neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not be reuiued. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedamonians*, and as many of their bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repaire to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily excursions into *Laconia*, which was not farre off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this hauein, lying almost in the mid-way betweene them and *Corcyra*, make them able to sur-round all *Peloponnesus*, and waste it at their pleasure. The newes of these doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all haste out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few daies before with their whole Armie: but now they brought not onely their Land forces, but all their Nauie, to recouer this peece, which how bad a neighbour it might proue in time, they well fore-saw, little fearing the grieuous losse at hand, which they there in few daies receiued. For when they in vaine made a generall assault on all sides, both by Sea and Land, finding that small Garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute in the defence: they occupied the hauein, placing foure hundred & twenty choice men all of them, Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell, that leads into the Port; but so narrow, that onely two ships in front could enter between the Isle and *Pylus*; likewise but seuen or eight ships could enter at once by the further channell, between the Iland and the Main. Hauing thus taken order to shut vp this new Towne by Sea, they sent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other stufte, wherewith to fortifie round about, and blocke vp the peece on all sides. But in the meane season the *Athenian* fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entring the hauein, did breake and sinke many of their Enemies vessels; tooke five, and so inforced the residue to runne themselves a-ground.

Now was the Towne secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iland as good as lost. Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the campe (as was their custome in great dangers) to aduise what were best for the publike safety; who when they did perceiue that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Isle, than by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedamonians* should deliuer vp all the ships which were in the coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the town, nor the *Athenians* against the campe: That a certaine quantitie of Bread, Wine, and Flesh, should be daily carried into the Isle; but that no ships should passe into the Iland secretly: That the *Athenians* should carry the *Lacedamonian* Embassadors to *Athen*, there to treat of peace, and should bring them backe, at whose returne the truce should end, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one point, should be held vtterly void in all: That when the truce was expired, the

Athenians

Athenians should restore the *Peloponnesian* ships, in as good case as they receiued them. The Embassadors comming to *Athenes*, were of opinion, that as they themselves had begun the warre, so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedemonians* did sue to them for peace, adding them to make an end of warre, whilest with such reputation they might. But they found all contrarie to their expectation: For in stead of concluding vpon euén termes, or desiring of meet recompence for losse sustained, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be restored to them, which had been taken from them by the *Lacedemonians* long before this warre beganne, refusing likewise to continue the treaty of peace, vntill the *Spartans* which were in the Isle, were first rendered vnto them as prisoners. Thus were the Embassadors returned without effect, at which time the truce being ended, it was desired from the *Athenian* Captaines, that they should, according to their covenant, restore the ships, which had beene put into their hands. Whereunto answer was made, that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all should be held void; now (said the *Athenians*) ye haue assaulted our Garrisons, and thereby are we acquired of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like friuolous allegations which they made, were but meere shifts; yet profit so far ouer-weighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedemonians* driuen to vse many hard meanes, for conuincing of victuals into the Isle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to *Athenes*, where it was decreed that when the *Peloponnesians* next inuaded *Attica*, these prisoners should all be slaine. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell vpon them; the *Lacedemonians* were so farre from waisting *Attica*, that they suffered their own Countrie to be continually ouer-runne, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those which issued out of *Pylus*, which became the Rendezvous of all that were ill-affected vnto them.

S. V.

How the Lacedemonians hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a peace, that was not well kept.

Therefore they indeuoured greatly to obtain peace; which the *Athenians* would not harken vnto. For they were so puffed vp with continuance of good successe, that hauing sent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold vp a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Isle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gain or losse, they banished the Captaines, as if it had beene meere through their default, that the Isle of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it selfe; no whit inferiour vnto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their ouer-weening much abated shortly after, by some disasters receiued, especially in *Thrace*, where in a battaile which they lost at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Brasidas*, Generalls of the *Athenian* and *Lacedemonian* forces, were both slaine; which two had most bin aduersaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderation; so the *Lacedemonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Naue which they had receiued at *Pylus*, were faine to proceed lamely in the war, against such as, through commoditie of their good fleet, had all aduantage that could be found in expedition, were feruently desirous to conclude the businesse, ere Fortune by any new fauour should reuine the insolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it onely a consideration of their present estate, that vrged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and speedy effect; but other dangers hanging ouer their heads, and ready to fall on them, which vnlesse they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to auoide. The estate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmity with them, was now, after a truce of thirty yeares well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by ioyning with those who alone found them worke enough. *Argos* was a rich and strong Citie, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not so vnwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the *Lacedemonians* could euer farre preuaile vpon it, when they had little else to doe.

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This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not beene regarded. For it was then thought, that by waisting the Territorie of *Athenes* with sword and fire, the quarrell should easily and in short time haue beene ended, whereby not onely the *Athenians* should haue been brought to good order, but the *Corinthians*, and others, for whose sake the war was vnder-taken, haue bin so firmly knit to the *Lacedemonians*, that they should for loue of them haue abandoned the *Argives*, to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready mony, & meanes to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong fleet from any great harme that the *Peloponnesians* vvaunting vtherewith to maintaine a Naue, could doe vnto them; yea as Masters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither warre nor peace; their daily traualles, and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians* were glad to vse the occasion, vvhich the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a finall peace, vvhich vwith much adoe they procured, as seemed equall and easie; but was indeed impossible to be performed, and therefore all their traualle was little effectually.

The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed vpon; it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedemonians* should restore first. These had vponne more townes vpon the continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but vvhath they had vponne, they had not vponne absolutely. For they had restored some Townes to such of their Allies, from vvhom the State of *Athenes* had taken them, some, and those the most, they had set at libertie (as reason required) vvhich had opened their gates vnto them, as to their friends & deliuerers, & not compelled them to breake in as enemies. Now concerning the Townes vvhich were not in their owne hands, but had bin rendered vnto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found meanes to giue some satisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retaine others, vvhich they had gotten in the Warre; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themselves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, vvhom they had offended by reuolting, notwithstanding what fouer articles were drawne, and concluded, for their securitie, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing those things vvhich on their part were required, so that restoring only the prisoners vvhich they had, they deferred the rest, vntill such time as they might receiue the full satisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrel, the *Lacedemonians* entered into a more straight alliance vwith the *Athenians*, making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moued by the backwardnesse of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to haue sued for peace at their hands, as soone as things were once compounded betweene *Athenes* and *Sparta*, did shew themselves plainly vnwilling to giue care to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* succour, they should make sure worke, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound vnto them by well-deserving in the late warre, or found so troublesome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durst let it appeare) was little worse than friendship. It bred great ieaousie in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceiue such a coniunction betweene two so powerfull Signiories: especially one clause threatening every one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a secret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of subduing the whole Countrie, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For besides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutuall consent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleasures. This impression wrought so strongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebanes*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had borne to the *Athenians* their professed enemies, was violently thrown vpon the *Lacedemonians* their vniust friends: whereby it came to passe, that they who had lately borne chiefe sway in *Greece*, might haue been abandoned to the discretion of their enemies, as already in effect they were, had the enemies wisely vsed the aduantage.

§. VI.

Of the negotiations, and practices, held betweene many States of Greece, by occasion of the peace that was concluded.

THe admiration wherein all Greece held the valour of *Sparta* as vnresistable, and able to make way through all impediments, had bin so excessiue, that when by some sinister accidents, that Citie was compelled to take and seeke peace, vpon termes not founding very honourable, this common opinion was not onely abated, but (as happens vsually in things extreame) was changed into much contempt. For it was neuer thought that any *Lacedemonians* would haue endured to lay down his weapons, & yeeld himselfe prisoner, nor that any misfortune should haue bin so great, as should haue drawn that Citie to relieue it selfe otherwise than by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were some of especiall marke, being ouer-laid by enemies, in the Island before *Pylus*, had rather chosento lie in captiuitie, than to die in fight, and that *Pylus* it selfe, sticking as a thorne in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred such anguish in that Estate, as vterly wearying the accustomed *Spartan* resolution, had made it sit down, and seeke to refresh it selfe by dishonorable ease: then did not onely the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceiue basely of those men which were vertuous, though vnfortunate; but other lesser Cities ioyning with these in the same opinion, did cast their eies vpon the rich & great Citie of *Argos*, of whose abilitye, to do much, they conceiued a strong beleefe, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which through foolish enuie is become almost natural in the greater part of mankind. We curiously search into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should haue discerned only the vertues; and comparing iniuriously our best parts with their worst, are iustly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting in our selues.

The first that published their dislike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whose vehement entreaty (though moued rather by enuy at the greatnesse of *Athens* daily encreasing) the *Lacedemonians* had entred into the present Warre. But these *Corinthians* did onely mure at the peace, alleading as grieuances, that some townes of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantineans*, who during the time of Warre, had procured some part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forsake their dependancy vpon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily discover themselves; feare of reuenge to come, working more effectually, than indignation at things already past. The *Argives* feeling the gale of prosperous Fortune that began to fill their sailes, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand vnder; giuing for that purpose vnto twelue of their Citizens, a full & absolute commission to make alliance betweene them & any free Cities of Greece (*Athens* & *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding euery particular businesse to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were set thus open to all commers; the *Mantineans* began to leade the way, and many Cities of *Peloponnesus* following them, entred into this new confederacy; some incited by priuate respects, others thinking it the wisest way to do as the most did. What inconuenience might arise vnto them by these courses, the *Lacedemonians* easily discerned; & therefore sent Embassadors to stop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceiued that the milchiefe had bin hatched. These Embassadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough disposition, with a grauity expressing the opinion which they had conceiued of their present aduantage ouer *Sparta*. They had caused all Cities which had not entred yet into alliance with *Argos*, to send their Agents to them, in whose presence they gaue audience to the *Lacedemonians*; the purport of whose Embassie was this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forsake the alliance, which they had long since made with *Sparta*; and that reason did as well binde them to hold themselves contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their ancient confederacy, forasmuch as it had bin agreed between the *Spartans* and their associates, that the consent of the greater part, (which had yeelded vnto peace with *Athens*) should bind the lesser number to performe what was concluded, if no diuine impediment withstood them. Herevnto the *Corinthians* made answer, that the *Spartans* had first begun to doe them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had lost many places, without

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provision of restitution; and that the very clause, alledged by the Embassadors, did acquite them from any necessity of subscribing to the late peace, forasmuch as they had sworn vnto those people whom they perswaded to rebell against *Athens*, that they would neuer abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in reason & religion to vse all meanes of vpholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no lesse to be accounted a Diuine impediment, than were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things vnderaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they said that they would do as they should find cause. Having dismissed the Embassadors with this answer, they made haste to ioyne themselves with *Argos*, & caused other States to do the like; so that *Sparta* & *Athens* were in a manner left to themselves, the *Thebans* and *Mezarians* being also vpon the point to haue entred into this new confederacie. But as the affections were diuers, which caused this hastie confluence of sudden friends to *Argos*, it so likewise came to passe that the friendship it selfe, such as it was, had much diuersitie both of sinceritie and of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the *Lacedemonians*: as the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*; these did firmly betake themselves to the *Argives*, in whom they knew the same affection to be inueterate; others did onely hate the peace concluded; and these would rather haue followed the *Spartans* than the *Argives* in war, yet rather the *Argives* in war than the *Lacedemonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like vnto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the societie of the *Argives*, as they had done: but the different formes of government, vied in *Thebes* and *Argos*, caused the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incur the danger of innouation, by ioyning with such as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This businesse hauing ill succeeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethinke themselves of their owne danger, who had not so much as any truce with *Athens*, and yet were vnprepared for warre. They sought therefore to come to some temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians* who had dealt with all Greece at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one Citie that had shewed against them more stomache than force, but gaue them to vnderstand that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which *Athens* had lately made with *Sparta* & her dependants; yet finally they granted vnto these *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledge themselves dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they desired; but into priuate confederacie they would not admit them, it being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*, That the one should nor make peace nor warre without the other.

Herein, as in many other passages, may clearly be seene the great aduantage which absolute Lords haue, as well in peace as in warre, ouer such as are serued by voluntaries. We shall hardly finde any Signiorie, that hath beene so constantly followed as *Sparta* was by so many States, and some of them little inferiour to it selfe, being all as free: whereas contrariwise, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulsion meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed vpon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacie, and giuing vp such places as were agreed vpon: of which the *Lacedemonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For such Townes as their old Allies had gotten by their meanes in the late war, could not be restored without their consent, which had them in present possession; and particularly the Towne of *Panacte*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no meanes be obtained from them by the *Lacedemonians* (who earnestly desired it, that by restitution thereof vnto the *Athenians*, as earnestly demanding it, themselves might recouer *Pylus*) vnlesse that they would agree to make a priuate alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were constrained to doe, though knowing it to be contrarie to the last agreement betweene them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedemonians* hauing broken one article of the league made between them and the *Athenians*, that by so doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not giue vp the town of *Panacte*, till first they had vterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the

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the *Athenians*. This was sought to haue bin excused by the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, who comming to *Athens* (vvhither they had sent home all prisoners that had bin detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to salue the matter; saying, That from henceforth no enimie to *Athens* should nestle in *Panaete*, for it was destroyed. But these Embassadors had not to deale vvith tame fooles. For the *Athenians* told them in plain termes, That of three principall conditions agreed vpon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but vsed such base conclusion as stood notvvith their honour: hauing made priuate alliance with the *Thebans*; hauing destroyed a Towne that they should haue restored; and not hauing forced their dependants by Warre, to make good the Couenants of the late concluded peace. Heerevpon they dismissed the Embassadors vvith rough words, meaning vvith as rough deeds to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time, both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that yeare, in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades*, a powerfull young Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the warre, yet wished that first they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendered to them by Couenant, especially *Pylus* that had so forely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, vvwhose Nobilitie, riches, & fauor with the people, made him desire warre, as the meane vvherby himself might procure some honourable employment; vsed all meanes to set the quarrell on foot, vvilest the *Athenians* had yet both aduantage enough, as not hauing rendered ought saue their prisoners, and pretence enough to vse that aduantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed against their wills) had broken all couenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to performe nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* should, and might require, vvntill they had first, vvithout any longer halting, fulfilled all articles vvheieto they were bound, euen to the vtmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who hauing already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the deliuey of their Citizens, vvwhich vvere prisoners. But *Alcibiades* vvishing a speedy beginning of open vvwarre, sent priuily to the *Argiues*, and gaue them to vnderstand how fitly the time serued for them to associate themselves with *Athens*, vvwhich was enough to giue them securitie against all Enemies.

The *Argiues* vpon the first confluence of many Estates vvnto their societie, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should haue had the conduct of all *Greece* against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as hauing ill vsed it, and thereby leauing their old enemies in case of much contempt and disability. But these suddain apprehensions of vaine ioy, were suddainly changed into as vaine feare; vvwhich ill agreed vvith the great opinion that had lately bin conceiued of *Argos*. For vvhen the *Thebans* had refused their alliance; vvhen the *Corinthians* had sought securitie from *Athens*; and vvhen a false rumour was noyed abroad, *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were cometo a full agreement vvpon all points of difference; then began the *Argiues* to let fall their crests, and sue for peace vvnto the *Lacedæmonians*, vvho needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their grauity, and were not ouer-hastie to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argiues*, vvwhich were not now consulting how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to saue themselves. Wherefore they sent away presently to *Athens*, their owne Embassadors, accompanied vvith the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offensiue, and defensiue, betvvcent their Estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this businesse the *Lacedæmonians* knew not vvhat to thinke: for vvell they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent it; but to keepe the loue of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done, than stood vvith their honour, or profit; others held it the vviseest way, hauing done so much, not to stick vpon a little more, but rather by giuing full satisfaction, to retaine the friendship of that State, vvwhich was more to be valued than all the rest of *Greece*. This resolution preuailing, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, vvho comming to *Athens*, vvith full commission to make an end of all controuersies, did earnestly labour in the Councell-house, to make the truth of things appeare, saying; that their Confederacie vvith the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recouery of *Panaete*: concerning vvwhich Towne, or any other businesse, that it much grieued

ued the *Lacedæmonians*, to see things fall out in such vvise as might giue to the *Athenians* cause of displeasure; but that all should be done vvich in reason might be required for making matters euen betvvcent them; to vvwhich purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that *Pylus* might be restored to them; and especially for the present, that the negotiation vvith the *Argiues* might be called aside. Favourable audience was giuen to this proposition, the rather, because they vvich promised amends, had power to make their words good. But all this faite likelihood of good agreement was dashed on the suddaine, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, vvho, secretly dealing vvith the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, persvaded them vvell of his friendship towards their city, & aduised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude vvhat they pleased in the name of *Sparta*, might not be knowne to the Communitie of *Athens*, lest the insolent multitude should therevpon grow peremptory & vvield to nothing; vvlesse they could draw them to vvncreasonable conditions. The Embassadors beleued him, & fashioned their tale in the assembly of the people, as he had aduised them. Heerevpon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the aduantage, vvwhich their double dealing afforded, inueighed openly against them, as men of no sincerity, that were cometo *Athens* for no other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthening themselves vvith friends, meaning to draw the *Argiues* & their Adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrary to their owne Oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, vvhom a pleasing errand vvould very hardly haue satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (vvwhose honest meanings had so ill been seconded vvith good performance) were now so much incensed vvith the double dealing of the Embassadors, and the strong persvasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league vvith *Argos*. Yet for the present so farre did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, preuaile vvith them, that the businesse was put off, vvntill he himselfe, vvith other Embassadors, might fetch a better answer from *Sparta*.

It may also seeme a great wonder, how so poore a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of so great importance, vvhen the Spartan Embassadors might haue cast the load vpon his owne shoulders, by discovering the truth: But the grauity vvwhich was vvually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindered them (perhaps) from playing their game handsomely against so nimble a vvitt; and they might vvell haue bene thought vvntrusty men, had they professed themselves such as vvould say and vvnsay for their most aduantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a sovre message to deliuer at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the *Lacedæmonians* should take the paines to rebuild *Panaete*, and should immediately renounce their Alliance made vvith the *Thebans*; letting them vnderstand that otherwise the *Athenians*, vvithout further delay, vvould enter into confederacy vvith the *Argiues*, and their adherents. The *Ephori* at *Sparta* had no minde to forsake the *Thebans*, assured friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was suffered to breake out vvhat vvay it could, vvwhich to mitigate, they vvould doe no more, than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable friend, vvho vvould not seeme to haue effected nothing) sweare a-new to keepe the Articles of the league betvvcent him and *Athens*. Immediately therefore vvpon returre of the Embassadors, a new league was made betvvcent the *Athenians*, *Argiues*, *Mantineans*, & *Eleans*, vvith very ample prouision for holding the same common friends and enemies; vvherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were passed ouer vvith silence, yet was it manifest that the vvhole intent of this confederacy did bend it selfe chiefly against them, as in short vvile after was proved by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill case, vvho hauing restored all that they could vvnto the *Athenians*, and procured others to doe the like, had themselves recouered nothing of their owne (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that vvwhich did most of all disable them, vvvas the losse of reputation, vvwhich they had not more impaired in the late Warre by misfortunes, than in sundry passages betvvcent them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keepe vvwhose Amity, they had left sundry of their old friends to shift for themselves. Contrarivvise, the *Athenians*, by the treaty of peace, had recouered the most part of that vvwhich they lost in warre;

all their gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the access of new Confederates.

§. VII.

How the peace betweene Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

IT was not long ere the Argives and their fellows had found businesse wherewith to set the Athenians on worke, and make vse of this coniunction. For, presuming vpon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the Epidaurians, whom it concerned the State of Sparta to defend. So, many acts of hostility were committed, wherein Athens and Sparta did (as principals) infest each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aide of their feuerall friends.

By these occasions the Corinthians, Boeotians, Phocians, Locrians, & other people of Greece, began a new to range themselves vnder the Lacedaemonians, & follow their ensignes. One victory which the Lacedaemonians obtained by their meere valour in a battell, neer to Mantinea, against the Argive side, helped well to repaire their decayed reputation, though otherwise it yeelded them no great profit. The ciuill dissension arising shortly after within Argos it selfe, betweene the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almost throwne downe the whole frame of the new combination. For the chiefe Citizens getting the vpper hand, made a league with Sparta, wherein they proceeded so farre as to renounce the amity of the Athenians in expresse words, and forced the Mantinians to the like. But in short space of time the multitude preuailling, reuered all this, and hauing chased away their ambitious Nobility, applied themselves to the Athenians as closely as before.

Beside these vprores in Peloponnesus, many assaies were made to raise vp troubles in all parts of Greece, & likewise in Macedon, to the Athenians, whose forces & readines for execution, preuented some things, reuenged other, and requited all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the Athenians wanting matter of quarrell, & the Lacedaemonians growing weary, they began to be quiet; retaining still that enmity in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discovered in effects, though not yet breaking out into terms, of open Warre.

§. VIII.

The Athenians sending two Fleets to sacke Siracuse, are put to flight, and utterly dissipated.

DURING this intermission of open War, the Athenians re-entertained their hopes of subduing Sicil, whither they sent a Fleet so mighty as neuer was set forth by Greece in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, & furnished with all necessaries to so great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in Athens, whence *Alcibiades* Author of that voyage, and one of the Generalls of their Fleet, was driuen to banish himselfe; for feare of such iudgement, as else he was like to haue vndergone, among the incensed people; partly by the inuasion which the Lacedaemonians made vpon Attica, whilst the forces of that State were so far from home. Hereunto was added the aide of the King of Persia, who supplied the Peloponnesians with mony.

Neither was the successe of things in Sicilia such, as without help from Athens, could giue any likelihood of a good end in that warre. For although in the beginning, the enterprise had so well succeeded, that they besieged Siracuse, the chiefe City of all the Island, and one of the fairest Townes which the Greekes inhabited, obtayning the better in sundry battailes by Land and Sea; yet when the Towne was relieved with strong aide from Peloponnesus, it came to passe that the Athenians were put to the worke on all sides, in such wise that their Fleet was shut vp into the haue of Siracuse, and could not issue out.

As the Athenian affairs went very ill in Sicil, so did they at home stand vpon hard terms, for that the Lacedaemonians, who had beene formerly accustomed to make wearisome yearly iournies into Attica, which hauing pillled & foraged, they returned home; did

now

now by counsell of *Alcibiades*, (who seeking reuenge vpon his owne Citizens was fled vnto them) fortifie the Town of Declea, which was neere to Athens, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harry all the Country round about, and sometimes giue alarme vnto the City it selfe. In these extremities, the peruerse obstinacy of the Athenians was very strange; who leauing at their backes, and at their owne doores, an enemy little lesse mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another Fleet into Sicil, to inuade a people no lesse puissant, which had neuer offended them.

It often happens, that prosperous euent makes foolish counsaile seem wiser than it was; which came to passe many times among the Athenians, whose vaine conceits *Pallas* was said to turne vnto the best. But where vnfound aduice, finding bad prooffe, is obstinately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be iustly blamed for a miserable issue. This second Fleet of the Athenians, which better might haue serued to conuey home the former that was defeated; after some attempts made to small purpose against the Siracusans, was finally (together with the other part of the Nauie, which was there before) quite vanquished, & bard vp into the haue of Siracuse, wherby the camp of the Athenians, vtterly depriued of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driuen to breake vp, and flye away by Land; in which flight they were ouer-taken, routed, and quite ouerthrowne, in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischiefe wel deserved fell vpon the Athenians, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pisiodorus* Generalls, formerly sent into that Ile, pretending that they had taken mony for making peace in Sicil, whereas indeed there was not any means or possibility to haue made warre. Hereby it came to passe, that *Nicias*, who had the chiefe command in this unhappy enterprise, did rather choofe to hazzard the ruine of his Country by the losse of that Army, wherein consisted little lesse than all the power of Athens; than to aduventure his owne estate, his life, and his honour vpon the tongues of shamelesse accusers, and the sentence of Iudges before his triall resolved to condemne him, by retiring from Siracuse, when wisdom and necessity required it. For (said hee) *they shall giue sentence vpon vs, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would giue eare to any that would speake in our behalfe, but altogether harken to suspicious and vaine rumors that shall be brought against vs; yea these our Souldiers who now are so desirous to retorne in safety, will in our danger be well contented to frame thir tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude.*

This resolution of *Nicias* though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man to doe what reason willet, not what opinion expecteth; & to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report & censure of others) yet it may be excused; since he had before his eyes the iniustice of his people, and had well vnderstood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a president and patterne wherby oppression beginning vpon one, is extended as warrantable vpon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily haue ouer-mastered; but when afterwards the Army, hauing no other expectation of safety than the faint hope of a secret flight; he was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moon, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to haue the camp break vp till seuen and twenty daies were past. His timorousnesse was euen as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not haue thought that the power of the Heauens, & the course of Nature, would be as vnjust as his Athenians, or might pretend lesse euill to the slothfull, than to such as did their best. Neither doe I thinke that any Astrologer can allege this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armes destruction, other wise than as the folly of men did, by application, turne it to their owne confusion. Had *C. Cassius* the Roman, he, who slew *Julius Caesar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, hee retrying, the broken remainder of *Crassus* his Army defeated by the Parthian Archers, was aduised, vpon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were past the signe of *Scorpio*; he made answer that he stood not in such feare of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So aduentering rather to abide the frowning of the Heauens, than the neerer danger of Enemies vpon earth, he made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both shew his noble resolution, and giue a faire example to that good rule,

Sapiens dominabitur astris.

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily workes by a concatenation of meanes, deprives the Governours of vnderstanding, when he intends euill to the multitude; and that the wickednesse of vniust men is the ready meane to weaken the vertue of those who might haue done them good.

§. IX.

Of the troubles where-into the State of Athens fell, after the great losse of the Fleet, and Army, in Sicilia.

THe losse of this Army was the ruine of the Athenian Dominion, and may be well accompted a very little lesse calamity to that Estate, than was the subuersi-
on of the walls, when the City about feuen yeares after was taken by *Lyfander*. For now began the subiects of the Athenian Estate to rebell, of whom, some they reduced vnder their obedience, others held out; some for feare of greater inconuenience were set at liberty, promising onely to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subiects; others hauing a kinde of liberty offered by the Athenians, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect liberty by force. Among these troubles it fell out very vnseasonably, that the principall men of Athens being wearied with the peoples insolency, tooke vpon them to change the forme of that Estate, and bring the gouernment into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captains which were abroad, they caused them to set vp the forme of an Aristocratie in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meane time, some that were most likely to withstand this innouation, being slaine at Athens, the Commonalty were so dismayed, that none durst speake against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not, but euery man was affraid of his neighbour, lest he should be a member of the league. In this generall fear the Maiesty of Athens was vsurped by foure hundred men, who obseruing in shew the ancient forme of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded vnto the people, and concluded vpon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were onely such as were first allowed in priuate among themselves; neither had the Commonalty any other liberty, than onely to approue and giue consent: for whoso-
euer presumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no inquiry made of the murther. By these meanes were many Decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new Authority, which neuerthelesse endured not long. For the Fleet and Army which then was in the Isle of Samos, did altogether detest these dealings of the foure hundred vsurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they reuoked *Alcibiades* out of banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the Persian King had promised to the Lacedæmonians, were by *Tissaphernes* his Lieutenant, made vnprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the first bene very well entertained in Sparta, whilest his seruice done vnto that State was not growne to be the object of enuie. But when it appeared that in Counsaile & good performance he so far excelled all the Lacedæmonians, that all their good successse was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens weary of his vertue, especially *Agis* one of their Kings, whose wife had so far yeelded her selfe to the loue of this Athenian, that among her inward friends she could not forbear to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* should be killed out of the way. But he discouering the Spartan treachery, conueighed himself vnto *Tissaphernes*, whom he so bewitched with his great beauty, sweet conuersation, and sound wit, that he soone became the Master of that barbarous Vice-royes affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings Treasures and Forces in those parts. Then began he to aduise *Tissaphernes*, not so far forth to assist the Lacedæmonians, that they should quite ouerthrow the State of Athens, but rather to helpe the weaker side, and let them one consume another, wherby all should fall at length into the hands of the Persian. By this counsaile he made way to other practises, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the onely Favourite of so great a Potentate) he played his owne game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repealed by the Army, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the foure hundred) he laboured greatly to recon-

reconcile the Souldiers to the Governours; or at least to diuert their heat another way, and turne it vpon the common Enemy. Some of the foure hundred approued his motion, as being weary of the tyranny wherof they were partakers, partly because they saw it could not long endure; and partly for that themselves, being lesse regarded by the rest of their companions, than stood with their good liking, sought to acquit themselves of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtaine peace of the Lacedæmonians, desiring chiefly to maintain both their own authority & the greatness of their City, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preserve their owne power, or safety at least, than the good Estate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made sundry ouertures of peace to the Lacedæmonians, desiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted than the waivering multitude; especially considering that the City of Sparta was gouerned by an Aristocratie, to which form they had now reduced Athens. All these passages betwene the foure hundred (or the most and chiefe of them) and the Lacedæmonians, were kept as secret as might be. For the city of Athens, hoping, without any great cause, to repaire their losses, was not inclined to make composition, from which vpon iust ground the Enemy was much more auerse, trusting well that the discord of the Athenians (not vnknowne abroad) might yeeld some faire opportunity to the destruction of it selfe, which in effect (though not then presently) came to passe. And vpon this hope king *Agis* did sometimes bring his Forces from Decelea to Athens, where doing no good, he receiued some small losses. Likewise the Naue of Peloponnesus made shew of attempting the City, but seeing no likelihood of successse, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better Fortune of the Athenians might more lightly haue bin regarded, than in this their decayed estate. Yet it seemes, without any disparagement to their wisdom, they should rather haue forborne to present vnto the City, or to the Countries neere adioyning, any terrour of the warre. For the dissension within the walls might soone haue done more good than could be receiued from the Fleet or Army without, which indeed gaue occasion to set the Citizens at vnity, though it lasted not very long. The foure hundred, by meanes of these troubles, were faine to resigne their authority, which they could not now hold, when the people hauing taken armes to repell forraigne Enemies, would not lay them downe, till they had freed themselves from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of gouernment a full restitution of the soueraign command vnto the people, or whole body of the City, but only to fife thousand; which company the foure hundred (when their authority began) had pretended to take vnto them as assistants: herein seeming to do little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who seldome assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agreed that *Alcibiades* and his Companions should be recalled from exile, and that the Army at Samos should be requested to undertake the gouernment: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers desire.

§. X.

How Alcibiades wonne many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile, made their Generall, and againe depofed.

THis establishment of things in the City, was accompanied with some good successse in the Warres. For the Lacedæmonians were about the same time ouerthrown at Sea, in a great battell, by the Athenian Fleet, which had remained at Samos, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards ioyning such forces as he could raise, obtained
so many victories. Before the Towne of Abydus, his arriual with eighteen ships, gaue the honour of a great battell to the Athenians; he ouerthrew and vtterly destroyed the fleet of the Lacedæmonians, commanded by *Mindarus*; took the Towns of Cyzicus, and Perinthus, made the Selymbrians ransom their City, & fortified Chrysopolis. Hereupon letters were sent to Sparta, which the Athenians, intercepting, found to containe the distresse of the Army, in these few words: *All is lost; Mindarus is slaine; the Souldiers want victuals; we know not what to doe.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* ouerthrew the Lacedæmonians in fight by land at Chalcedon, took Selymbria, besieged & won Byzantium, now called Constantinople, wth euery

in those dayes was a goodly, rich, and very strong City. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high Admirall of all the Nauie.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and he driuent to banish himselfe againe; onely because his Lieutenant, contrary to the expresse command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the Fleet.

The second banishment of *Alcibiades* was to the Athenians more harmefull than the first; and the losse which thereupon they receiued, was (though more heauie to them, yet) lesse to be pittied of others, than that which ensued vpon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had sought reuenge vpon his owne City; now, as inured to aduersity, he rather pittied their fury, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should haue repaired their weak estate, than fought by procuring or beholding the calamity of his people, to comfort himselfe after iniury receiued. Before they, who were instituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arrived at the Fleet, he presented battaile to *Lysander* the Lacedæmonian Admirall, who was not so confident vpon his former victory, as to vndertake *Alcibiades* himselfe, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former losse of fifteen) than his enemies had, & better ordered than they had bin vnder his Lieutenant. But when the decree of the people was published in the Nauie, then did *Alcibiades* with-draw himselfe to a Towne vpon Hellespont, called Bizanthe, where he had built a Castle.

§. II.

The battaile at Arginuse, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captains by the people.

After this time, the Athenians receiuing many losses and discomfitures, were driuen to flie into the Hauen of Mytelene, where they were streightly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this siege necessity inforced them to man all their Vessels, and to put the vttermost of their forces into the hazzard of one battaile. This battaile was fought at Arginuse, where *Callicratidas*, Admirall of the Lacedæmonians, losing the honour of the day, preserved his own reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well haue beene expected, that the ten Captaines, who ioyntly had command in chiefe ouer the Athenian fleet, should for that good daies seruice, and so happy a victory, haue receiued great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwise they were forthwith called home, & accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken & sunke, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessels to take them vp, they might haue saued them from being drowned. Hereto the Captaines readily made a very iust answer, That they pursuing the victory, had left part of the fleet, vnder sufficient men, to saue those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse auailed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, That he himselfe escaping in a meale-tubbe, had been intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to desire of the people reuenge of their deaths vpon the Captaines. It was very strange, that vpon such an accusation maintained with so slender euidence, men that had well deserved of their Country should be ouerthrowne. But their enemies had so incensed the rascall multitude, that no man durst absolue them, saue onely *Socrates* the wise and virtuous Philosopher, whose voice in this iudgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much adoerelieued by other vessels in the storme: but the Captaines which were absent escaped; for when the fury of the people was ouer-past, this iudgement was reuersed, and the accusers called into question for hauing deceiued and peruerbed the Citizens. Thus the Athenians went about to free themselves from the infamy of iniustice; but the diuine Iustice was not a-sleep, nor would be so deluded.

§. XII.

§. XII.

The battaile at Egos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian warre.

The Peloponnesian fleet vnder *Lysander*, the year next following, hauing scowred the Ægean Seas, entred Hellespont, where (landing Souldiers) it besieged & took the town of Lampfacus. Hereupon all the nauie of Athens, being an hundred & fourescore saile, made thither in haste, but finding Lampfacus taken before their coming, they put in at Sestos, where hauing refreshed themselves, they sailed to the riuier called, *Egos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goats-Brook*, or the riuier of the *Goats*; being on the Continent, opposite to Lampfacus: and there they cast Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lysander*, who rode at Lampfacus in the harbor. The next day after their arrival they presented fight vnto the Peloponnesians, who refused it, whereupon the Athenians returned again to *Egos-Potamos*, & thus they continued fise daies, brauing euery day the Enemy, & returning to their own harbour when it drew towards euening.

The Castle of *Alcibiades* was not far from the Nauie, & his power in those places was such as might haue greatly auailed his Countreymen, if they could haue made vse of it. For he had waged Mercenaries, & making war in his own name vpon some people of the Thracians, had gathered much wealth, & obtained much reputation among them. He perceiuing the disorderly course of the Athenian Commanders, repaired vnto them, & shewed what great inconuenience might grow, if they did not soon fore-see & preuent it. For they lay in a roade subiect to euery weather, neither neere enough to any Towne wherethey might furnish themselves with necessities, nor so farre off as had been more expedient. Sestos was the next Market-Towne; thither both Souldiers and Mariners resorted, flocking away from the Nauie euery day, as soone as they were returned from brauing the Enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lie at Sestos, which was not farre off, or at least to consider how neere their Enemy was, whose feare proceeded rather from obedience to their General, than from any cowardise. This admonition was so farre despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his owne matters, & to remember that his authority was out of date. Had it not bin for these opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) haue compelled the Lacedæmonians, either to fight vpon vnequall terms, or vtterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that he might so haue done by transporting the light-armed Thracians his Confederates, and others his Followers ouer the Streights, who assaulting the Peloponnesians by Land, would either haue compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leaue their ships to the mercy of the Athenians. But finding their acceptance of his good counsaile no better than hath bin rehearsed, he left them to their fortune, which how euill it would be he did prognosticate.

Lysander all this while defending himselfe by the aduantage of his Hauen, was not carelesse in looking into the demeanour of the Athenians. When they departed, his manner was to send forth some of his swiftest Vessels after them, who obseruing their doings, related vnto him what they had seene. Therefore vnderstanding in what carelesse fashion they romed vp & down the Country, he kept all his men a-board after their departure, & the fift day gaue especiall charge to his Scouts, That when they perceiued the Athenians, disimbarke, as their custome was, & walking towards Sestos, they should forthwith returne, and hang vp a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lysander* being in a readinesse, made all speed that strength of Oares could giue, to *Egos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies a-board their ships, not many neere them, and all in great confusion vpon the news of his approach.

Insomuch that the greatest industry which the Athenians then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that losse imported, gaue ouer Athens as desperate, & made a long flight vnto the Ile of Cyprus; all the rest were taken, & such of the Souldiers as came in to the rescue cut in pieces. Thus was the war which had lasted seuen and twenty years, with variable successe concluded in one houre, & the glory of Athens in such wise eclipsed, that she neuer afterward shone in her perfect light. Immediately vpon this victory *Lysander*, hauing taken such Townes as readily did yeeld

yeeld vpon the first fame of his exploit, set saile for Athens, and ioyning his forces with those of *Agis & Pausanias*, Kings of Sparta, summoned the City, which finding too stubborne to yeeld, and too strong to be won on the sudden, he put forth againe to Sea, & rather by terrour than violence, compelling all the Ilands, and such Towns of the Ionians, as had formerly held of the Athenians, to submit themselves to Sparta, hee did thereby cut off all prouision of victuals, and other necessaries, from the citie, & enforced the people by meere famine to yeeld to these conditions: That the long wals, leading from the Towne to the Port, should be throwne downe; That all Cities subiect to their Estate, should be set at liberty; That the Athenians should be Masters only of their own Territories, and the fields adioyning to their Town; And that they should keep no more than twelve Ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same, whom the Lacedæmonians did, and follow the Lacedæmonians as Leaders in the Wars.

These Articles being agreed vpon, the wals were throwne down with great reioicing of those who had borne displeasure to Athens, & not without some consultation of destroying the City, and laying waste the Land about it. Which aduice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Gouvernors, or rather cruell Tyrants, appointed ouer the people, who recompensed their former insolency and iniustice ouer their Captaines, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slavery,

The only small hope then remaining to the Athenians, was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repaire what their owne folly had ruined. But the thirty Tyrants perceiuing this, aduertised the Lacedæmonians thereof, who contriued, and (as now domineering in euery quarter) soon effected his suddaine death.

Such end had the Peloponnesian war. After which the Lacedæmonians abusing their reputation, and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to Greece, & by Combination of many Cities against them, were dispossessed of their high authority, euen in that very Age, in which they had subdued Athens. The greatest foile that they took was of the Thebans, led by *Epaminondas*, vnder whom *Philip* of Macedon, father to *Alexander* the Great, had the best of his education. By these Thebans, the City of Sparta (besides other great losses receiued) was sundry times in danger of being taken. But these haughty attempts of the Thebans came finally to nothing; for the feuerall Estates, & Signories of Greece, were grown too ialous one of anothers greatnesse, that the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, Argiues, & Thebans, which were the mightiest, associating themselves with the weaker party, did so counterpoize the stronger, that no one City could extend the limits of her iurisdiction so far as might make her terrible to her Neighbors. And thus all parts of the country remained rather euely ballanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of Macedon, (whose forefathers had bin dependants, & followers, yea almost meere Vassals to the Estates of Athens and Sparta) found means, by making vse of their factions, to bring them all into seruitude, from which they neuer could be free, till the Romans presenting them with a shew of liberty, did themselves indeed become their Masters.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnesian Warre, or shortly following it.

§. I.

How the affaires of Persia stood in these times.



During the times of this Peloponnesian War, and those other lesse expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, hauing peaceably enjoyed a long reigne ouer the Persians, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the Bastard, whom the Greeke Historians (lightly passing ouer *Xerxes* the second, and *Sogdianus*, as Vsurpers, and for their short reigne little to be regarded) place next vnto them, or to *Xerxes* the second; who, and his brother *Sogdianus* after him (seeming to haue bene the

the sons of *Hester*) held the Kingdome but one yeare betweene them, the younger succeeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I haue said before) to pursue the History of the Persians from henceforth. by rehearfall of all the particulars, otherwise than as they shall be incident to the affaires of Greece. It may therefore suffice to say, That *Xerxes* the second, being a vicious Prince, did perish after a moneth or two, if not by surfeit, then by the treachery of his riotous brother *Sogdianus*. Likewise of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he slew vniustly *Bagoramus* a principall Eunuch, & would haue done as much to his brother *Darius* the Bastard, had not he foreseene it, and by raising a stronger Army than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leaue, seized at once vpon the King and Kingdome. *Darius* hauing slaine his brother, held the Empire nineteene yeares. *Amysius* of Saïs an Egyptian rebelled against him, and hauing partly slaine, partly chased out of the Land the Persian Garrisons, allied himselfe so firmly with the Greeks, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome, and deliuered it ouer to his posterity, who (notwithstanding the fury of their ciuill Warres) maintained it against the Persian, all the dayes of this *Darius*, and of his son *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Likewise *Amorges*, a Subiect of his owne and of the Royall blood, being Lieutenant of Caria, rebelled against him, confederating himselfe with the Athenians. But the great calamity, before spoken of, which fell vpon the Athenians in Sicil, hauing put new life into the Spartans, and giuen courage to the Ilanders & others, subiect to the State of Athens, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for *Darius*, that the Lacedæmonians being destitute of mony, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Nauie, without which it was impossible to aduance the war against the state of Athens, that remained powerful by sea, were driuen to craue his assistance, which he granted vnto them, first vpon what conditions best pleased himselfe, though afterwards the Articles of the league betweene him and them were set downe in more precise termes; wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make warre ioynly vpon the Athenians, and vpon all that should rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of Asia, which had formerly bene his, or his Predecessours, should returne to his obedience. By this Treaty, and the war ensuing (of which I haue already spoken) he recovered all that his Grand-father and Father had lost in Asia. Likewise by assistance of the Lacedæmonians, hee got *Amorges* a-lie into his hands, who was taken in the City of Iasus; the Athenians wanting either force or courage to succour him. Neuerthelesse Egypt still held out against him; the cause wherof cannot be the employment of the Persian forces on the parts of Greece: for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold, which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, & his naturall enemies, what the valour of his own Subiects was insufficient to performe. *Darius* had in marriage *Parysatis* his owne sister, who bare vnto him (besides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to say, the Mindefull, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the Kingdome; & *Cyrus* the younger, a Prince of singular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that euer Persia bred after *Cyrus* the Great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leaue vnto his elder sonne *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a ialous eye vpon the doings of young *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower Asia, tooke more vpon him than befitted a Subiect: for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to haue taken some very sharpe course with him, had not his owne death preuented the comming of his younger sonne, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the warre betweene these brethren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, we shall haue occasion to speake somewhat in more conuenient place.

§. II.

How the thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place very conuenient to shew the proceedings of the Greekes, after the subuersion of the wals of Athens, which gaue end to that warre called the Peloponnesian warre, but could not free the vnhappy Country of Greece from ciuill broiles. The thirty Gouvernours, commonly called the thirty Tyrants of Athens, were chosen the first by the people to compile a body of their Law, & make a collection of such

such ancient Statutes, as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the City standing as it did in that sodaine alteration. To this charge was annexed the supreme authority, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessity of the times did so require it, wherein the Law being vncertain, it was fit that such men should giue iudgement in particular causes, to whose iudgement the Lawes themselves, by which the City was to be ordered, were become subiect. But these thirty, hauing so great power in their hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to deserue it, by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them in trust.

Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellowes, as were odious to the City, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approued, who considered their lewd conditions, but did not withall bethinke themselves, how easie a thing it would be vnto these thirty men, to take away the liues of Innocents, by calling them perturbors of the peace, or what else they listed, when condemnation without true triall and proofe had bene once well allowed. Hauing thus plaussibly entred into a wicked course of gouernment, they thought it best to fortifie themselves with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders, which they must needs commit for the establishing of their authority. Wherefore dispatching two of their own company to Sparta, they informed the Lacedæmonians, that it was the full intent of the thirty, to keep the City free from all rebellious motions: to which purpose it behooued them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired the Lacedæmonians to send them a Garrison, which they promised at their own cost to maintaine. This motion was well approued, and a Guard sent, the Captaine of which was so well entertained by the thirty, that none of their misdeedes could want his high commendations at Sparta. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons, inuaded the principall men of the City, sending armed men from House to House, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely, or able to make any head against this wicked forme of gouernment: whereby there was such effusion of blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the thirty) seemed very horrible, and vnable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly discouraged, caused his fellowes to bethinke themselves, and prouide for their own security, and his destruction, lest he should make himselfe a Captaine of the discontented (which were almost the whole City) and redeeme his owne peace with their ruine. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetest, and giue vnto them some part of publike authority, the rest they disarmed; and hauing thus increased their owne strength, and weakened their opposites, they began a-fresh to shed the blood, not onely of their priuate enemies, but of such whose mony, or goods, might enrich them, and enable them for the payment of their guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that euery one of them should name one man, vpon whose goods he should seize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* vttered his detestation of so wicked intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the thirty was most tyrannicall, accuse him to the Councell, as a treacherous man, and (wheras one maine priuiledge of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirty, but haue the accustomed trial) he took vpon him to strike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, and so reduced him vnder the triall and sentence of that order. It was well alleadged by *Theramenes*, that his name was not more easie to be blotted out of the Catalogue, than any other mans; vpon which consideration, he aduised them all to conceiue no otherwise of his case, than as of their owne, who were liable to the same forme of proceeding: but euery man choosing rather to preferue his owne life by silence, than presently to draw vpon himselfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would neuer come neer him, the Tyrants interpreting silence as consent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drinke poyson.

S. III.

The conspiracy against the thirty Tyrants, and their deposing.

After the death of *Theramenes*, the thirty began to vse such outrage, as excelled their former villanies. For, hauing three thousand (as they thought) firme vnto them, they robbed all others without feare or shame, despoiling them of lands and

and goods, & caused them to flie into banishment, for safeguard of their liues. This flight of the Citizens procured their liberty, & the generall good of the City. For the banished Citizens, who were fled to Thebes, entred into consultation, & resolved to hazzard their liues in setting free the City of Athens. The very thought of such a practice had bin treason at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventy men, or thereabout, were the first vndertakers, who with their Captaine *Thrasybulus* took Phyla, a place of strength in the Territory of Athens. No sooner did the thirty heare of their exploit, than seek means to preuent further danger, assembling the three thousand, and their Lacedæmonian guard, with which force they attempted Phyla, but were with some losse of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to naught by means of snow that fell, and other stormy weather, against which they had not made prouision. Retiring therefore to the City, which about all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard, and two companies of Horse, to weary out them which lay in Phyla, with a flying siege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thrasybulus* were increased from seventy to seven hundred, which aduentured to giue charge vpon those guards, of whom they cut off about an hundred and twenty. These small, but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in Phyla, who now with a thousand men got entrance into Piræus, the suburbe of Athens, lying on the Port. Before their comming the thirty had resolved to fortifie the Towne of Eleusine, to their owne vse, whereinto they might make an easie retreat, and saue themselves from any sudden perill. It may well seeme strange, that whereas their barbarous maner of gouernment had brought them into such danger, they were so far from seeking to obtaine mens good will, that contrariwise, to assure themselves of Eleusine, they got all of the place who could beare arms into their hands by a traine, & wickedly (though vnder forme of Iustice) murdered them all. But, *Stelephus* *tutam per scelera est iter*, the mischiefs which they had already done were such, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparant likelihood of safety, than by extending their cruelty vnto all, seeing few or none were left, whom they could trust. When *Thrasybulus* and his fellowes, who as yet were termed conspirators, had taken the Piræus, then were the three thousand armed againe by the Tyrants, & brought to assault it; but in this enterprise *Thrasybulus* had the better, & repelled his enemies, of whom although there were slain to the number of seventy only, yet the victory seemed the greater, because *Critias*, and one other of the thirty, perished in that fight. The death of *Critias*, & the stout defence of Piræus, together with some exhortations vsed by *Thrasybulus* to the Citizens, wrought such effect, that the thirty were deposed. Neuertheless there were so many of the three thousand, who hauing communicated with the thirty in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharpe account, that no peace, nor quiet form of gouernment could be established. For Embassadors were sent to Sparta, who crauing aide against *Thrasybulus*, & his followers, had fauourable audience, & a power sent to their assistance, both by Land & Sea, vnder the conduct of *Lyfander*, & his Brother; whom *Pausanias* the Spartan King did follow, raising an Army of the Cities confederate with the Lacedæmonians. And here appeared first the ialousie, wherein some people held the State of Sparta. The Boeotians and Corinthians, who in the late wars had bin the most bitter enemies to Athens, refused to follow *Pausanias* in this expedition, alleging that it stood not with their oathes, to make war against that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing indeed, lest the Lacedæmonians should annexe the Territory of Athens to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted, that *Pausanias* took this answer in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to crosse the proceedings of *Lyfander*, whom he enuied. Therefore hauing in some small skirmishes against them of *Thrasybulus* his party, made a shew of war, finally wrought such means, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirty men, & such others, as were like to giue cause of tumults, being sent to Sparta. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, hauing withdrawn themselves to Eleusine, were shortly after found to attempt some innouation; wherupon the whole City rising against them, took their Captains, as they were comming to Parlie, and slew them: which done, to auoid further inconuenience, a law was made, that all injuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made, and carefully obserued, the City returned to her former quietnesse.

CHAP. X.

Of the expedition of Cyrus the younger.

§. I.

The grounds of Cyrus his attempt against his brother.

THE matters of Greece standing vpon such termes, that no one Estate durst oppose it selfe against that of Lacedæmon; young Cyrus, brother to Artaxerxes, King of Persia, hauing in his fathers life time very carefully prosecuted the Warre against Athens, did send his messengers to Sparta, requesting that their loue might appeare no lesse to him, than that which hee had shewed towards them in their dangerous war against the Athenians. To this request, being generally, the Lacedæmonians gave a suitable answer, commanding their Admirall to performe vnto Cyrus all seruice that he should require of him. If Cyrus had plainly discovered himselfe, & the Lacedæmonians bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the Kingdome of Persia should haue been the recompence of his deserts; or that he perishing in battaile, as after he did, the subuersion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew vnto the Greeks the wayes, which vnder the Macedonian Ensignes, the victorious foot-steps of their posterity should measure; & opening vnto them the riches, and withall the weaknesse of the Persian, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that Conquest, which he reserued to another generation; than to giue into their hands that mighty Kingdome, whose houre was not yet come. The loue which Parysatis the Queen-Mother of Persia bare vnto Cyrus her younger son, being seconded by the earnest fauour of the people, & ready desires of many principall men, had moued this young Prince, in his fathers old age, to aspire after the succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before bin shewed) whose meaning was to curbe this ambitious youth; he found his elder brother Artaxerxes established so surely by the old Kings fauour, that it were not safe to attempt any means of displanting him, by whose disfauour himselfe might easily lose the place of a Vice-roy, which he held in Asia the lesse, & hardly be able to maintaine his owne life. The nearest neighbour to Cyrus of all the Kings Deputies in the lower Asia, was Tissaphernes, a man compounded of cowardise, trechery, craft, & all vices which accustomedly branch out of these. This man accompanied Cyrus to his Father, vsing by the way all faire shewes of friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might wel be thought, that Queene Parysatis had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that Parysatis had vsed the best of her endeaour to that purpose, alleadging that (which in former ages had bin much auailable to Xerxes, in the like disceptation with his elder brother) Artaxerxes was born whilest his father was a priuate man, but Cyrus, when he was a crowned King. All which not sufficing, when the most that could be obtained for Cyrus, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in Lydia, and the parts adioyning: then did this Tissaphernes discover his nature, and accuse his friend Cyrus to the new King Artaxerxes, of a dangerous treason intended against his person. Vpon this accusation, whether true or false, very easily beleueed, Cyrus was arrested, and by the most vehement intreaty of his Mother very hardly deliuered, and sent backe into his owne Prouince.

§. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, and his first entry into the warre.

THE forme of gouernment which the Persian Lieutenants vsed in their severall Prouinces, was in many points almost Regall. For they made War and Peace, as they thought it meet, not onely for the Kings behoofe, but for their owne reputation; vsually indeede with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their owne heads were held onely

at the Kings pleasure, which caused them to frame all their doings to his wil, whatsoeuer it were, or they could coniecture it to be. Cyrus therefore being settled in Lydia, began to consider with himselfe, the interest that he had in the Kingdome; the small assurance of his brothers loue, held only by his Mothers intercession, the disgrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the meanes which he had by loue of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the Lacedæmonians, whom he had bound vnto him, to obtaine the Crowne for himselfe. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waiting till occasion should present it selfe: but rather enterprise somewhat whilest yet his Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon he first began to quarrell vwith Tissaphernes, and seized vpon many Townes of his iurisdiction, annexing them to his own Prouince, which displeased not Artaxerxes at all, who (besides that he was of condition somewhat simple being truly paid by Cyrus the accustomed Tributes out of those places, vvas well contented to see his brothers hot spirit exercised in priuate quarrels. But Tissaphernes, whose base conditions were hated, & cowardize despised, although he durst not adventure to take armes against Cyrus, yet perceiving that the Milesians were about to giue vp themselves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other townes of the Ionians had done, thought by terrour to preferue his reputation, and keepe the towne in his own hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to Cyrus, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occasion to take armes, vvhich vvas no small part of his desire. In leuying Souldiers he vsed great policie; for he tooke not only the men of his own Prouince, or of the Countries adioyning, whose liues were ready at his will; but secretly he furnished some Grecian Captaines with money, who being very good men of war, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in Thrace, others in Thessalie, others elsewhere in Greece; but all of them ready to crosse the Seas, at the first call of Cyrus, til which time they had secret instructions to prolong their seuerall warres, that the Souldiers might be held in continuall exercise, and ready in armes vpon the sudden. Cyrus hauing sent a power of men to besiege Miletus, forthwith summoned these bands of the Greeces, who very readily came ouer to his assistance, being thirteen thousand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of Artaxerxes. With this Armie, and that which he had leuiued before, he could very easily haue forced Miletus, and chased away Tissaphernes out of Asia the lesse: but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters, that was to be employed in the accomplishment of higher designs. Pretending therefore that the Pisidians, a people of Asia the lesse, not subiect to the Persian, had invaded his Territory, he raised the siege of Miletus, and with all speede marched Eastward, leauing Tissaphernes much amazed, vvhich had no leisure to reioyce that Cyrus had left him to himselfe, when he considered, that so great an Army, and so strong, was neuer leuiued against the Rulers of Pisidia, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause taking a band of five hundred horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the Court of this great preparation.

§. III.

How Cyrus tooke his journey into the higher Asia, and came vp close to his Brother.

THE tumult which his coming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queene Statira, against Parysatis, the Queen-Mother, whom she called the Author and occasioner of the war. But whilest the King in great feare was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger hastened vpon him very fast. For Cyrus made great marches, hauing his number much increased, by the repaire of his Countrymen, though most strengthened by the accessse of seuen hundred Greeces, & of other foure hundred of the same Nation, who reuolted vnto him from the King. How terrible the Greeks were to the Barbarians, he found by triall in a Muster, which (to please the Queene of Cilicia, who had brought him aide) he made in Phrygia, where the Greeces by his direction making offer of a charge vpon the rest of his Armie, which contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Campe (not perceiving that this was but a braverie) fled a maine, the victualles and baggages forsaking their cabins, and running all away for very feare. This was to Cyrus a ioyfull spectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed

by men of the same temper, and the more vnlikely to make resistance, because they were prest to the warre against their will & dispositions, vvhether his Armie vvas drawne along by meere affection and good will. Neuertheless he found it a very hard matter to perswade the *Greekes* to passe the Riuer of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the vway vvhich they had troden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious returne. Therefore he vvas driuen, being yet in *Cilicia*, to seeke excuses, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principall Captaines, & his own great enemy, lay by the Riuer, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such deuices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*, vvhether some of the *Greekes* considering, That who so passed the Riuer first, should haue the most thanks, and might safely returne if the rest should refuse to follow them; they entred the Foords, vvhetherby vvere all finally perswaded to do as some had begun; and being allured by great hopes, they resolutely to seeke out *Artaxerxes*, vvhether he vvas to be found. The King in the meane time hauing raised an armie of nine hundred thousand men, vvas not so confident vpon this huge multitude, as to aduenture them in triall of a plaine battaile. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thousand men, had vnder-taken to make good the Streights of *Syria*, vvhich vvere very narrow, and fortified with a strong vvall, and other defences of nature, and art, which made the place to seeme impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself toward the kings forces, not daring to looke *Cyrus* in the face, who despairing to finde any vway by Land, had procured the *Lacedemonian* fleet, by the benefit vvhether of to haue transported his Armie. I do not finde that this cowardise of *Abrocomas*, or of his Souldiers, vvhether arrived not at the Campe, till fise dayes vvere past after the battaile, receiued either punishment, or disgrace, for they, toward vvhom he vvvith-drew himselfe, vvere all made of the same mettall.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* vvas vpon the point of retiring to the vttermost bounds of his kingdome, vntill by *Teribazus*, one of his Captaines, he vvas perswaded not to abandon so many goodly Prouinces to the Enemy, vvhether vould thereby haue gathered addition of strength, and (vvhich in the sharpe disputation of Title to a kingdome is most auailable) would haue grown superior in reputation. By such aduice, the king resolutely vpon meeting with his brother, who now began to be secure, being fully perswaded, that *Artaxerxes* would neuer dare to abide him in the field. For the king hauing cast vp a Trench of almost fortie miles in length, about thirtie foot broad, and eightene foot deepe, intended there to haue encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe, as to be farre distant from his enemies.

S. IIII.

The battaile betwene Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

THE Armie of *Cyrus* hauing overcome many difficulties of euill vwayes, and scarcity of victuals, vvas much encouraged by perceiuing this great feare of *Artaxerxes*; and being past this trench, marched carelessly in great disorder, hauing bestowed their Armes in Carts, and vpon Beasts of carriage; vvhether on the sudden one of their Vaunt-currors, brought newes of the kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, & had ranged their battailes in good order vpon the side of the Riuer *Euphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they saw not till it was after-noon. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the feete of that huge multitude, which the king drew after him, and perceiued by their neere approach how well they were marshalled, coming on very orderly in silence, whereas it had bin expected, that rushing violently with loud clamours, they should haue spent all their force vpon the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so vnequall in distent, being all embattailed in one body and square, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Persian* manner) in the midst of his own, did not with the corner, and vtmost point thereof, reach to the halfe breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battaile, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greekes* begin to distrust their own manhood, which was not accustomed to make proofe of it selfe, vpon such excessive oddes. It was almost incredible, that so great an Armie should be so easily chased. Neuertheless, it quickly appeared, that these *Persians*, hauing learned (contrary to their custome) to giue charge vpon their

their enemies with silence, had not learned for it was contrary to their nature to receive a strong charge with courage. Vpon the very first offer of on-set, made by the *Greekes*, all that beastly rabble of cowards fled amaine, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and sithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did small hurt that day, because the drivers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his enemies gaue so much confidence to *Cyrus*, and his Followers, that such as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had bin assured vnto him that day, had not he sought how to declare himselfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiuing that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompass the *Greekes*, and to set vpon them in the rear, he aduanced with sixe hundred Horse, and gaue so valiant a charge vpon a squadron of *Greekes*, and which lay before the King, that he brake it, slaying the Capitaine thereof, *Araspeus*, with his own hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole company of sixe hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chafe, leaving *Cyrus* not ill-guended, who perceiuing where the King stood in troupe, vncertaine whether to follow, or leave the field, could not containe himselfe, but said; *Let the man*; and presently with a small handfull of men about him ran vpon his brother, whom he strake through the Curace, and wounded in the breast. Hauing given this stroke, which was his last, he receiued immediately the fatall blow, which gaue period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded vnder the eye with a dart, throwne by a base fellow, where-with he felled, he fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was vnpossible to haue recovered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his sake; nor caring afterwards for their own liues, which once they perceiued that *Cyrus* their Master was slain. *Artaxerxes* caused the head and right hand of his brother to be forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them, fled apace, calling vpon the name of *Cyrus*, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troups, and vtterly dismayed such *Persian* Captaines as were now, euen in their owne eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Campe of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned, from vvhence *Artaxerxes* making all speede, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greekes*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tissaphernes*, who hauing made way through the battaile of the *Greekes*, was ready now to ioyne vvvith his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his brothers death, bin sufficient to countervaille all disasters receiued, the exploit of *Tissaphernes* in breaking through the *Greekes* would haue yeelded little comfort. For *Tissaphernes* had not slaine any one man of the *Greekes*, but contrariwise, when he gaue vpon them, they opening their battaile, draue him with great slaughter through them, in such wise, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the squadron of the *Greekes*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greekes*, as Masters of the field gaue chase to all that cattle in their sight, they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these *Greekes*, intending to set vpon them in the rear. But these good Souldiers perceiuing the Kings approach, turned their faces and made head against him; who not intending to seeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled; being pursued vnto a certaine Village, that lay vnder a Hill on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a brauery, than with purpose to attempt vpon these bold fellows any further. For he knew well that his brothers death, had secured his estate, vvhether he vould seeme to haue slaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to giue reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough, shewing a manly looke halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he aduanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displayed on the top of a Speare. This ensigne might haue encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greekes* espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so neere them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discouering their approach, fled vpon the spur, so that none remained in the place of battaile, save only the *Greekes*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondered that they heard no newes of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was pursuing the Armie, they thought it was fittest for them, hauing

having that day done enough, to returne to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings coming had given them no leisure to dine.

The hard estate of the Greekes after the fight, and how Artaxerxes, in the night, made them yeelde to him.

IT was now about the setting of the Sunne, and they bringing home dark night with them, found their Campe spoiled, little or nothing being left that might be true for food: so that wanting victuals, to satisfy their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with sleep. In the meane season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Campe, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune, because he perceived that the basenesse of his people, & weakenesse of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greekes*; which gave him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shameful demeanor of his Armie, should live to carry tidings home, it would not be long ere with greater forces they disputed with him: for his whole glory, wherefore he resolved to try all means, whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had scene: to which purpose he sent them a braue message the next morning, charging them to deliver up their Armes, and come to his Gates, to awaite there vpon his Mercie. It seemes that *Phalimus* in good hope to have found their high courages broken, vpon report of his brother's death, but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the *Greekes* being a quarter of the morning from *Ariens*, a principall Commander vnder *Cyrus*, that his Master being slain, he had retired himselfe to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into *Ionia*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, waiting for them so long if they would ioyne with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer backe to *Ariens*, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Ariens* himselfe in the Kings Throne, if he would ioyne with them, and pursue the victory. Before they received any reply to this answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Campe, whose errand seemed to the Captaines very insolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquished to yeelde their Weapons, another, that he would dye ere he yeelded to such a motion; a third asked, whether the king, as having the victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or whether he desired them in way of friendship, for then would they first know, with what courtesie he meant to requite their kindnesse. To this question *Phalimus* a *Pracian*, waiting vpon *Tissaphernes*, answered: That the king having slaine *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the midst whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold vp their throats, for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told *Phalimus* that having nothing left but their Armes and Valour, whilst they kept their Armes, their Valour would be seruiceable; but should they yeelde them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat *Phalimus* laughed, saying, This young man did seeme a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deep speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Armes and Valour, to preuaile against the great King. It seemes that *Phalimus*, being a Courtier, and employed in a businesse of importance, thought himselfe too profound a States-man, to be cheit in his Embassage by a bookish dispute. But his wisdom herein failed him. For whatsoeuer he himselfe was (of whom no more is knowne, than that he brought an vntriest message to his own Countreinen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, and Lienes to the mercilesse *Barbarians*) this young Scholler by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principall Commanders were surpris'd by treachery of the *Persians*, being a private Gentleman, and having neuer scene the warre before, vnder-tooke the conduct of the Armie, which he brought safe into *Greece*, fetching it from all those, and from greater dangers, than *Phalimus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithfull to the King, as they had bin to *Cyrus*, offering their

their seruice in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might haue vse of them. But the final answer was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the king good, as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalimus* deliuered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilst they abode where they then were, denouncing War if they stirred thence; Whereunto he required their answer. *Clearchus* the Generall told him, they liked it. How (saith *Phalimus*) must I vnderstand you? As choosung peace if we stay, or otherwise warre, said *Clearchus*. But whether warre or peace; quoth this politike Embassadour: To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose,) Let our doings tell you, and so dismissed him; no wiset than he came. All that day the *Greekes* were faine to feed vpon their Horses, Asses, and other Beasts, which they rosted with arrowes, darts, and wooden targets, throwne away by the Enemies.

§. V I.

How the Greekes began to returne home-wards.

AT night they tooke their way towards *Ariens*, to whom they came at mid-night, being forsaken by foure hundred foot, and forty horse, all *Thracians*, who fled quer to the King, by whom how they were entertained, I do not find. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces; for had they bin kindly vsed, it may well be thought that some of them should haue accompanied *Tissaphernes*, and serued as Statists to draw in the rest. *Ariens* being of too base a temper, and birth, to thinke vpon seeking the kingdom for himselfe, with such assistance as might haue giuen it vnto *Cyrus*, was very well pleased to make couenant with them for mutuall assistance vnto the last: Whereunto both parts hauing sworne, he aduised them to take another way homeward, vvchich should be somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relieue them with victuals, than that by vvchich they came. The next day, hauing made a wearisome march, & tyred the Soldiers, they found the Kings Armie which had coasted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purposed themselves to haue encamped: towards vvchich *Clearchus* made directly, because he would not seeme by declining them to shew feare, or weakenesse. That the Kings men were contented to remoue, and giue place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behaiour; Nor strange, that the *Greeks*, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an vnknown Country, should be very fearefull: but it is almost past beliefe, that the noise which was heard of these poore men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition inforced them to do, should make the *Persians* flie out of their Campe, and so affright the great King, that in stead of demanding their Armes, he should craue peace of them. The next day very early, came messengers from *Artaxerxes*, desiring free acceffe for Embassadours, to entreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars do best open the quality of the persons; by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to run over the generall passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battle, because the *Greekes* (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* dissembling the dignity, was contented sweetly to swallow down this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieue them.

§. V I I.

How Tissaphernes, under colour of peace, betrayed all the Captaines of the Greekes.

Hitherto the *Greekes*, relying vpon their own vertue, had rather aduanced their affaires, than brought themselves into any straights or rearmes of disadvantage. But now came vnto them the subtile Foxe *Tissaphernes*, who circumventing the Chiefe Commanders by fine sleights, did mischieuously entrappe them, to the extreame danger of the Armie. He told them, that his Prouince, lying neere vnto *Greece*, had caused him greatly to desire, that their deliuerance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countreinen at home, would not be vnthankfull for such a benefit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearse

the great seruice that he had done to his Master, being the first that aduertised him of *Cyrus* his intent, and hauing not onely brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battaile shewed his face to the *Greekes*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gaue chase to the *Barbarians* that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alleadge to the King, entreating that he would giue me leaue to conduct you safe into *Greece*; in which suite I haue good hope to speede, if you will send a milde answer to him, vvhich hath villed me to aske you, for what cause ye haue borne Armes against him. The Captaines hearing this, vvere contented to giue gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he said) that peace should be granted: the conditions wherof were; That they should passe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they tooke, and committing no spoile: yet that it should be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to afford them an open Market. Hereupon both parties hauing sworne, the League was concluded, and *Tissaphernes* returning to the king to take leaue, and end all businesse, came vnto them againe after twenty dayes, and then they set forward. This interim of twenty dayes, vvhich *Tissaphernes* did spend at the Court, ministered great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, vvhich alone sufficed to breede doubt, the Brethren, and Kindred of *Ariens*, repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Souldiers, did worke him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the *Greekes*, than formerly he had bin. This caused many to aduise *Clearchus*, rather to passe forward as well as he might, than to relye vpon couenants, and sit still whilest the king layed snares to entrappe them. But he on the contrary perswaded them, to rest contented whilest they were well, and not to cast themselves againe into those difficulties, out of which they vvere newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting withall their own wants, and the kings meanes, but especially the Oathes mutually giuen and taken, vvhewith he saw no reason why the enemy should haue clogged himself if he meant mischief, hauing power enough to do them harine by a faire and open Warre.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatnesse and place in Court) which caused his Oath to be the more esteemed; for as much as no inforcement, or base respect, was like to haue drawne it from him. But his falshood vvas such, both in substance and in successe, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceeded from the fountaine of Truth, *I hate a rich man a lyer*. A lyer may finde excuse when it growes out of feare: for that passion hath his originall from weaknesse. But when Power, vvhich is a *Charakter* of the Almighty, shall be made the supporter of vntruth, the falshood is most abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, aduancing his own strength against the diuine Iustice, doth commit that sinne with an high hand, which cominonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with sure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found means to destroy all the Captaines, whom he subtilly got into his power by a traine; making the General *Clearchus* himselfe the meane to draw in all the rest. The businesse was contriued thus: Hauing trauailed some dayes together in such wise, that the *Persians* did not encampe with the *Greekes*, vvhich vvere very ialous of the great familiarity, appearing betwene *Tissaphernes*, and *Ariens*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to roote out of *Tissaphernes* his braines all causes of distrust, whercof many had grown in that short time. To which purpose obtaining priuate conference with him, he rehearsed the oath of Confederacie, which had past between them, shewing how religiously he would keepe it, and repeating the benefits, which the *Greekes* did receiue by the helpe of *Tissaphernes*, he promised that their loue should appeare to him not vnfruitfull, if he would make vse of their seruice against the *Mysians* or *Pisidians*, who were accustomed to infest his Prouince; or against the *Egyptians*, vvhich were then Rebels to the great King. For which cause he desired him, that whereas all diuine and humane respects had linked them together, he would not giue place to any close accusation or suspicion, wherby might grow sudden inconuenience to either of them, vpon no iust ground. The faithlesse *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministered faire occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to minde how many waies he could haue vsed to bring them to confusion, without peril to himselfe, especially by

by burning the country, through which they were to passe, wherby they must needs haue perished by meere famine. For vvhich cause he said that it had bin great folly, to seeke by periurie, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as vvere already in his hands; But the truth vvas, that his owne loue to them had moued him to worke their safetie, not onely for those ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himselfe, and the King, by their assistance: but for that he might by their friendship, hope to obtaine what *Cyrus* had mist. Finally, he inuited the credulous Gentlemen to Supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good will, that he promised to bring all the Captaines with him to the same place, where, in presence of them all, *Tissaphernes* likewise promised to tell openly, vvhich of them had by secret information sought to raise dissension between them. *Clearchus* himselfe being thus deceiued, vvvith great importunitie drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repaire with him to the Campe of *Tissaphernes*, vvhither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers as it had bin to some common Faire. But being there arriued, *Clearchus* vvvith other the five principall Coronels, vvere called into the Tent, the rest staying vvithout, vvhich they had not vvvaited long ere a signe vvas giuen, vpon vvhich they vvvithin vvere apprehended, and the residue slaine. Forth-with certaine bands of *Persian* Horsemen scoured the field, killing as many *Greekes* as they met, and riding vpto the very Campe of the *Grecians*, who vvondred much at the tumult, vvhich they knew not the cause, till one, escaping sorely vvounded, informed them of all that had bin done. Heereupon the *Greekes* tooke Armes in haste, thinking that the enemy would forthwith haue assailed their Campe. Anon they might perceiue the Embassadors of *Tissaphernes*, among whom vvere his own brother, and *Ariens*, followed vvith three hundred Horse, vvho called for the principall men in the Armie, saying, that they brought a message from the King, vvhich *Ariens* deliuered to this effect: That *Clearchus* hauing broken his faith, and the league made, vvas iustly rewarded vvith death; that *Menon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Coronels, for detecting his treacherie, vvere highly honored: and finally, that the King required them to surrender their Arms, vvhich vvere due to him, as hauing belonged vnto his seruant *Cyrus*. When some altercation had followed vpon this message, *Xenophon* told the Embassadors, that if *Clearchus* had in such sort offended, it vvas vvell that he vvas in such sort punished: but he willed them to send backe *Menon* and *Proxenus*, vvhom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greekes* might be aduised how to answer the *Persian*. Hereunto the Embassadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed vvithout speaking one vvord more. *Clearchus*, & the other foure were sent to *Artaxerxes*, by vvhose commandement their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amisse to preuent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousnesse of *Tissaphernes*, the reward vvhich he afterward receiued. He saw his Prouince vvasted by the *Greekes*, against vvhom receiuing from his Master conuenient aid of men and mony, he did so ill manage his affaires, that neither subtiltie, nor periurie (to vvhich he failed not to haue recourse) auailed him; finally, the king vvas ialous of his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant into those parts, vvho tooke it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treacherie, vvhich made him so mistrusted at home, that the seruice vvhich he could not do, he vvas thought vpon priuate ends to neglect; & so hated abroad, that he knew not vvich vvay to flie from the stroke, all the vvorld being shut against him. But now let vs returne to the prosperitie, vvherin he triumphed vvithout great cause, hauing betrayed brauer men than himselfe, and intending to bring the like mischief vpon the vvhole Armie.

§. VIII.

How Xenophon heartened the Greekes, and in despite of Tissaphernes went off safely.

Great vvas the heauinesse of the Souldiers, being now left destitute of Leaders; and no lesse their feare of the euill hanging ouer their heads, which they knew not well how to auoide. Among the rest, *Xenophon*, vvwhose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deepe sadnesse of the whole Armie to be such as hindered them from taking any course of preuenting the danger at hand, began to aduise the vnder-

were to passe, made countenance of warre: but some companies being sent by night to seize vpon a place of equall height to that wherupon the enemies lay, looking vpon the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest, which caused these people to flye, every one retreating to the defence of his owne. The first vpon whose Countrey the *Greekes* did enter were the *Tacchi*, who romping all their prison of victuals into strong holds, brought the Armie into much want, untill with hard labour one place vvas forced, wherein great store of cattaille were taken, the people made captiuitie, threw themselves head-long downe the rocks, the very women throwing down first their own children, and then casting themselves vpon them. Here vvas taken a great bootie of Cattaille, which serued to feed them, trauieling through the land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountered the *Greekes* hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions living, who vvere glad, when after seuen dayes iourney they escaped from those continuall skirmishes, wherewith they had bin vexed by these *Barbarians*. Hence trauieling through a good corne Countrey, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the *Seythini*, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adioyning, vsed them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountaine, whence they might discover the *Black Sea*. From *Gymnia* (which was the name of his Towne) he led them through the Territorie of his enemies, desiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After the eyes march, they came to a Mountaine called *Teches*, being (as I thinke) a part of the *Mountaines* called *Mofchisi*, whence their guide shewed them the Sea, towards which they bent their course, and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macraones* (wherewith by means of an interpreter, found among themselves, who borne in that place had bin sold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of *Colchis*, wher stands the Citie of *Trabizond*, called then *Trapezum*, a Colonie of the *Greekes*. The *Colchis* entertaining them with hostilitie, were requited with the like, for the Armie having now good leisure to repose themselves among their friends the *Trapezumians*, did spoile the Countrey thirte dayes together, forbearing onely the Borders vpon *Trabizonde*, at the Citizens request.

* *Trabizonda* a Colonie of the *Greekes*, situate in the bottom of the *Euxine Sea*.

S. XII.

How the Armie began at *Trabizond* to provide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of *Sinope*, and there persecuted the same purpose.

HAving now found an Hauen Towne, the Souldiers were desirous to the shipping, & change their tedious Land-iournies into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Chersophus* a *Lacedemonian*, one of the principall Commanders, promised by means of *Anaxibius* the *Lacedemonian* Admirall, who was his friend, that he would provide Vessels to imbarke them. Having thus concluded, they likewise tooke order for the staying of such ships as should passe that way, meaning to vse them for their navigation. Lest all this prouision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Armie, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adioyning to cleare the wayes, and make an easie passage for them by Land; vvhreunto the Souldiers were vtterly unwilling to giue ear, being desirous to returne by Sea, but the Countrey fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophons* request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezumians*, vvhich they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, forsaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of *Trabizonde*: the other tooke Merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessels were staid to increase the fleet. After long abode, when victuals began to faile, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchi*, neere vnto the Campe was already quite wasted, they were faine to imbarke their sicke men, with the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Armie tooke their way by Land to *Cerasus*, a *Greece* Towne, where the fleet likewise arrived. Here the Armie being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand of the best armed men. From hence they passed through the Countrey of the *Colchis*, vvhich was divided

5 *Mofchisi* a Nation of *Pontus* Capadocia.

divided into factions. The stronger partie, despising their friendship, caused them to ioyne them with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

The next place of their abode was *Sinope*, a *Greece* Towne likewise, and a Colonie of the *Sinopians*, as *Trapezum* and *Cerasus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, hauing neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sicke men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sicke in convenient lodgings, taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Prouision for the Armie they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territorie of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. These newes were vnwelcome to *Sinope*, whence Embassadours were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings and threatening to ioyne with the *Paphlagonians*, if redresse could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*. That were necessitie had enforced the Army to esch those of *Sinope* good manners in so bad a methode: letting them know, that he feared not to deale with them and the *Paphlagonians* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonians* would be glad to take *Sinope* it selfe, to vvhich, if cause were giuen, they would lend assistance. Vpon this answer the Embassadors grew better aduised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could shew, and commanding the Towne of *Sinope* to relieue the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with shipping, letting them vnderstand how difficult the passage by Land would proue, in regard of the many and great Riuers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good counsaile, and the faire promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Armie, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would passe the rest of the way by Sea; provided that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serue to imbarke euery one of them, then would they not put from the shore.

c *Sinope* a Port-Towne in the Countrey of the *Sinopians*.

S. XIII.

Of dissension which arose in the Armie; and how it was embarked.

HEther to the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the companie in firme vnitie; which now beganne to dissolue and to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of *Greece*, warming their heads with priuate respects to their severall ends and purposes. Whilest they, who were sent as Agents from the Campe, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunity of the coast wherupon they lay, thought it would be an honourable vvorke to build a City in those parts, which were soone like to proue great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puissance, and of the great repaire of the *Greekes* into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Countrey, diuining of his successe by the entrails of beasts. The Sooth-sayer whom he employed had receiued a great reward of *Cyrus*, for coniecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not giue battaile in ten daies: he therefore, hauing preferred his mony carefully, was desirous to be soone at home, that he might freely enioy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diuersitie of mens opinions, some approving the motion, but the greater part reiecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heracles*, being informed of this consultation, were sore afraid, lest the pouertie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themselves at home, should giue successe to the proiect. Which to preuent, they promised to supply the Armie with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered mony to some of the Captaines, who thereupon vndertook to giue the Souldiers pay, if they would presently set saile for *Greece*. One of these Captaines being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to leade them into *Cherronesus*. *Xenophon* who desired onely the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that he would hate them to set forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a traitor that should forsake the Armie, before such time as they were arrived at their iournies end. *Silanus* the Sooth-sayer, who had vttered *Xenophons* purpose, was hereby staid from pursuing his fellowes, and driuen to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than stood.

stood with his good liking. Also the other Captaines were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived, that ships were prepared sufficient for their Navigation, but that the money promised to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope*, and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Armie was now resolved for the voyage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perswaded them to this resolution, thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Naue whilst they were in good readinesse, to depart, but to keep the money to themselves. The Captaines therefore who being disappointed by these townes, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with faire hopes, repented much of their faire offers, & signifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make proposition to the Armie, of taking the ships, & sayling to *Phasis*, where they might seize vpon Lands, and plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the businesse, they began to vvoike the principall of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These newes becoming publike, bred a suspicion of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the rest of the Captaines to his purpose, and meant now to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore assembling the Companies, he gaue them satisfaction, and withall complained of some disorders which he caused them to redresse. A generall inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*, which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadors from *Corylas*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending presents, desired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embassadors were friendly entertained, & peace concluded, vvhich needed not to haue bin sought, for that the *Greeks* hauing now their fleet in a readines, did soon weigh Anchors, & set saile for *Harmente* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibius*, who promised to giue the Army pay as soone as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIV.

Another great dissension and distraction of the Armie. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by Xenophon.

THe neerer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater vvas their desire to make prouision for themselves, that they might not returne home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Armie were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, he might the more conueniently procure the good of them all; they determined to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose fauour as well the Captaines as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedemonians*, who were iecalous of him already (being incensed by that fugitiue who forsooke the Army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ships) or moued by some tokens appearing to him in the entrails that threatned ill successe to his gouernment, procured with vehement contention, that this honour vvas laid vpon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedemonian*. It seems that *Xenophon*, considering the vexation incident to the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting pay, did wisely in yeelding to such tokens as forbad him to accept it: especially, knowing so well their desire, which vvas, by right or by wrong to get wealth wheresoeuer it might be found, without all regard of friend or foe. *Cherisophus* had bin Generall but sixe or seuen dayes, when he vvas deposed, for hauing bin unwilling to rob the Towne of *Heraclea* which had sent presents to the Campe, and bin very beneficiall vnto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two daies they had sailed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Riues, which would haue giuen impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Seas: one seditious man began to put them in minde of seeking to get somewhat for themselves; telling them that all their prouision would be spent in three dayes, and that being now come out of the *enemies* Country, victuals and other necessities could not be had without money; for which cause he gaue aduice to send messengers into the Towne of *Heraclea*, giuing the Citizens to vnderstand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand peeces of money, called *Cyzicus*, which summe amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound startling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded; and the sum raised to ten thousand *Cyzicus* at least: which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*

as being Generall, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*: but in vaine, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Left therefore either of these should faile in managing the busines which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudency and lesse discretion were sent, who in such wise deliuered their insolent message, that the Citizens taking time to deliberate vpon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the Walls. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their rauinous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians* & *Achaens*; they forsook immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, choosing new Leaders out of their owne number. About foure thousand and five hundred they were, all heauily armed, who electing ten Captains, sailed into the Port of *Calphas*, which is in the mid-way between *Heraclea* & *Byzantium*, with purpose to assaile the *Bythinians* on the suddaine. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and foure hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred wherof were lightly armed, and forty horse; which small band had done good seruice already, and could not haue bin spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Gouernour of *Byzantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the Riuer *Calphas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies to conuoy him ouer into *Greece*; for which cause he tooke his way thither by Land, leauing to *Xenophon* such shipping as he had; who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed vpon the Confines of *Heraclea*, & *Thracia Asiatica*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land-Country to the Propont. The Mutiners who had landed at *Calphas* by night, with purpose to take spoiles in *Bythinia*, diuided themselves into ten Companies, euery Captaine leading his owne Regiment into some Village, five or sixe miles from the Sea, in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered; and so was that part of the country surprised on the sudden, and sacked all at one time. The place of Rendezous was an high piece of ground, where some of them arriued, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble & danger: two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaped, the rest were all put to the sword. For the *Thracians* which had slipped at first out of the Souldiers hands, did raise the Country, and finding the *Greeks* laden with booty, tooke the aduantage of their disorder, cutting in peeces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill wheron they encamped. One great aduantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retreat from these *Arcadians* & *Achaens*: who wanting the assistance of horse, & hauing neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driuen to stand meerly vpon their defence, bearing off with greater danger, & many wounds received, the Darts & Arrowes of the Barbarians, till finally they were driuen from their watering place, & enforced to craue parley. Whatsoeuer the Articles of composition were, the *Thracians* yeilded to all; but pledges for assurance they would giue none, without w^{ch} the *Greeks* well knew, that all promises of such people, especially to incensed, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of some Trauailers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* Army, passing along those parts: & receiuing by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly throwne themselves, he marched directly towards the place wher they lay, taking with him for guides them who gaue him the intelligence. His horse-men he sent before to discouer, & to scoure the waies; the light-armed foot-men took the hill tops on either hand, all of them setting fire on whatsoever they found combustible; wherby the whole Country seemed to be on a light flame, to the great terror of the enemies, who thought that some huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five mile of the *Arcadians*, encreasing still the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soon after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would haue fallen vpon them in the dark, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* continuing thither in very good order, to haue giuen battell, found that his device; to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Greeks* were also departed; concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they remoued at break of day, & perceived by signs that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calphas*, in which Iurny he ouertook them. They embraced Him and His, with great ioy: Confessing that they themselves had

thought the same which the enemies did, looking that he should haue come by night; wherein finding themselves deceived, they were affraid lest he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away, to ouertake him, and ioyne with him. So they arrived at the Hauē of Calpas, where it was decreed, That whosoever from thenceforth made any motion to disioyne the Army, should suffer death.

§. XV.

Of diuers pieces of seruice done by Xenophon; and how the Army returned into Greece. The occasions of the Warre betwene the Lacedæmonians and the Persian.

THe Hauē of Calpas lay vnder a goodly head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Oliues. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very conuenient Sea for a great City. All which commodities, that might haue allured the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant, caused them to haste away, fearing lest *Xenophon* should finde some deuise to haue fettered himselfe and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to liue at home; neither did they so much for hope of gaine follow *Cyrus* in that Warre, as in regard of his Honour, and the loue which they bare vnto him: the poorer sort were such as left their Parents, Wiues, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to returne. But whether it were so that *Xenophon* found aduantage by their owne superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signes appearing in the entrailes, did indeed forbid their departure: so long they were enforced to abide in the placetill victualls failed; neither would the Captaines leade them forth to forrage the Country, vntill the Sacrifices should promise good successe. *Cherisophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the *Heracleans*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were ioyned to the rest of the Army, which the greater it was, the more provision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Coronell into the place of *Cherisophus*, would needes aduenture to gratifie the Souldiers with the spoile of some Villages that stood neer at hand; in which enterprise he found ill successe, the whole Country lying in wait to entrap him, and an Army of Horse being sent by *Pharnabazus* the Satrap, or Vice-roy of Phrygia, to the assistance of these Bythinian Thracians, which troupes falling vpon the Greeks that were scattered abroad in seeking booty, slew five hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certaine Mountaine there by. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army to the rescue of those that suruiued, and brought them safe to the Campe; vpon which the Bythinians made an offer that night, & breaking a *Corps d'garde*, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the present condition of the Army, so disheartened and vnfurnished of necessaries, caused the Greeks to remoue their Campe to a place of more strength; vvhich hauing intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to endure trauaile, *Xenophon* with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to bury those which were lately slaine, and to abate the pride of the Thracians, and their assistants. In this iourney his demeanour was very honourable. For hauing giuen buriall to the dead, the Enemy was discouered, lying on the tops of the Hills adioyning, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough, and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leaue at their backs a wood scarce passeable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with halfe the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many; & letting them further know, that if they did not charge the Barbarians, he would not faile with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the camp, yet what should they do there, wanting victualls to sustain them in the place, and ships to carry them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fight vvell that day, hauing eaten their dinners, than another day fasting; and not to regard the vncertaine returne, which might serue to stay Cowards from running away, but to wish vnto the Enemy a faire and easie way, by vvhich he might flye from them. These perswasions were followed vvvith so valiant execution, that both Persians and Bythinians being chased out of the field, abandoned the Country forthwith, remouing their Families, and leauing all that could not sodainely be conueighed away,

to the discretion of the Greekes, vvho at good leisure gathered the Haruest of these bad Neighbours fields. This was the last fight which they had on the side of Asia. For they were not onely suffered quietly to enioy the spoile of the country, but vvhen the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony on the Port of Calpas, Embassadours were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and make offer of their best assistance. But the Souldiers had no minde to stay. Wherefore entring further into Bythinia, they tooke a great booty, which they carried away vnto Chrysopolis, a city neer vnto Chalcedon, where they sold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in Phrygia to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly feare, lest their long stay in that Country might breed in them a desire to visite his Prouince, vvhere they might haue found great vvealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he sent to the Lacedæmonians an Admirall, entreating him with much instance and large promises to waite them ouer into Europe; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admirall condescending, promised to giue the Souldiers pay, as soon as they arrived at Byzantium. So were they carried out of Asia at the intreaty of the Persian, who in the height of his pride had thought them so surely imprisoned with mighty Riuers, that he not onely denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to surrender their Armes into his hands, and so to yeeld their liues to his discretion. How discourteously they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his iniurious dealings, they seized vpon Byzantium, vvhich by *Xenophon's* perswasion they forbore to sacke; I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertain little to the generall course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discouer the secrets of Asia, and stirre vp the Greekes to thinke vpon greater enterprises, than euer their forefathers had vnderaken. Likewise it was the onely remarkeable action which the time afforded: For the Roman warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of Italy; and in Greece all things were quiet, the Lacedæmonians ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seedes of the Warre shortly following, which the Lacedæmonians made vpon *Artaxerxes*, were already sowne, before these companies returned out of the high Countries of Asia. For the Townes of Ionia, which had sided with young *Cyrus* against *Tissaphernes*, if not against the great King, prepared to rebell; which they thought safer, than to fall into the hands of *Tissaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant both of his old Prouince, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the Ionians besought the Lacedæmonians to send them aide, whereby to recouer their liberty; & obtained their request. For a power was sent ouer, vnder conduct of *Timbroas* a Spartan, who bestowed his men in such Towns as had already reuolted, to secure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offensiue War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the affaires of Greece, vvilest they were managed by the Lacedæmonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedæmonians tooke courage by example of Xenophon's Army, to make Warre vpon Artaxerxes.



IT seemes that the Lacedæmonians did well perceiue in how ill part *Artaxerxes* tooke their fauour shewed vnto his brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open war against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care, that no aduantage might slip, which could serue to strengthen their Estate, by finding the Persian worke beyond the sea. But vvhen *Xenophon's* Army had reuealed the baseness of those effeminate Asiaticques, and rehearsed the many victories which they themselves had gotten, vpon teames of extreame disaduantage; then was all Greece filled with desire of vnder-taking vpon this huge vncleady Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the layne forces

forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to Susa, whereof one handfull had opened the passage to Babylon, and further, finding no power that was able to giue them resistance, in all that long journey of foure and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty five furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about foure thousand two hundred fourescore and one, a very painfull march of one yeare and three moneths. Neuertheless the ciuill distraction wherewith Greece was miserably torne, & especially that hote fire of the Theban Warre, which, kindled with Persian gold, brake forth sodainly into a great flame, drew backe out of Asia the power of the Lacedæmonians, to the defence of their own Estate; leauing it questionable, whether *Agessilaus*, hauing both the fame, and far greater forces, could haue wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two yeares, which he spent in Asia, his deedes procured more commendation of magnanimity and faire behauiour, than of stout courage, and great, or profitable atchieuements. For how highly focuer it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other warres, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being onely a few incursions into the Countries lying neere the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophons* own iourney, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous reitrait of *Canon* the Briton with fixe thousand men from Aquileia to his own Country, through all the breadth of Italy, and length of France, in despite of the Emperor *Theodosius*, being rather like it than equall. But of *Agessilaus* and his wars in Asia and Greece, we shall speake more in due place.

S. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the warre in Asia.

Thimbro receiuing *Xenophons* men, began to take in Townes, and to entertaine all such as were willing to reuolt from the Persian, who were many, and some of them such, as had bene highly beholding to the King; who seeme to haue had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to liue vnder the gouernment of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Master did loue him. The managing of the warre begun by *Thimbro*, was for his oppressions taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a Spartan, who behaued himselfe as a good man of Warre, and a wise Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countries of Asia was diuided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, vvhich did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes fauour the greater, and hauing the chiefe command in those warres against the Greekes; *Dercyllidas* who did beare a priuate hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischieuous nature, and would not be forry to see his Corriuall thoroughly beaten, though to the Kings losse) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes* and forthwith entred *Æolis*, which was vnder the iurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Prouince in few dayes, he brought into his owne power.

That Country of *Æolis* had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gaue easie successe to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a Dardanian had bin Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death his wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein she behaued her selfe so well, that she not onely was beloued of the people vnder her gouernment: but enlarged her Territory, by the conquest of certaine Townes adioyning; and sundry times gaue assistance to *Pharnabazus* in his warres against the Mylians and Persians. For she had in pay some Companies of Greekes, whose valour by her good vsage did her great seruice. But somewhat before the arriual of *Dercyllidas* in those parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called *Midias*, whom she trusted and loued much, being blinded with ambition, found meanes to stifle her, and kill her soone of seuentene yeares old; which done, he seized vpon twp of her principall Townes, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to haue bene admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers vvith presents to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to make him Gouerhour in the place of *Mania*. His presents were not onely reiected by *Pharnabazus*, but renouge of his foule treason threatned, whereby the wicked villaine was driuen into teares of almost vnder desperation. In the meane time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Townes of *Mania*, that held against *Midias*, did quickly open their Gates. One onely Towne stood out foure dayes (against the

will of the Citizens, who were couetous of liberty) the Gouerhour struing in vaine to haue kept it to the vse of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, Gergethe and Scepsis, which the Traitor held, who fearing all men, as being loued of none, sent Embassadors to *Dercyllidas*, desiring leaue to speake with him, and pledges for his security: vpon the deliuey of which he issued out of Scepsis, and comming into the Camp, made offer to ioyne with the Greekes vpon such conditions, as might seeme reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to let the Citizens freely at liberty. And presently vpon these words they marched toward Scepsis. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vaine to strue against the Army, and the Townes-men, who were all of one minde; he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*, who remaining but a few houres in the City, did a sacrifice to *Minerva*, & then leading away the Garrison of *Midias*, he left the City free, and departed toward Gergethe. *Midias* did not forsake his Company, but followed him, earnestly intreating that he might be suffered to retaine Gergethe: but comming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened; for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I must here likewise doe a sacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traitor, not daring to make deniall, caused his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, tendred pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serue vnder his Ensignes. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were seized vpon, as belonging to one that had bene subiect to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemy to the Greekes: and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might finde any place to hide his detested head. *Dercyllidas*, hauing in eight dayes taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in Bythinia, to which end he tooke Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of Warre. That Winter, and the Summer ensuing, the truce being recontinued, held; in which time, besides the wasting of Bythinia, the neck of Land ioyning Cherronea to the Main, was fortified, being foure or five miles in breadth; by which meanes eleuen Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wilde Thracians, and made fit and able to victual the Camp. Likewise the City of Atarne was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with provision. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from Sparta, to diuert the warre into Caria, where was the seate of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not vnease to recouer all the Townes of Ionia; *Pharax* the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yearly Office) being appointed to ioyne with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity, yet was he not in his owne danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus* hauing respect to the Kings seruice, came to assist his priuate enemy *Tissaphernes*, and so passing into Caria, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards Ionia, hoping to finde the Townes ill manned for resistance. As these Persians were desirous to keepe the warre from their owne doores, so was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the Ionians from the spoile and danger of the war, by transferring it into Caria. For which cause he passed the Riuer of *Meander*, and not looking to haue bin so soon encountered, marched carelesly through the Country: when on the very sodaine the whole Army of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discovered, consisting of Persians, Carians, & some Mercenary Greekes, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battaile. The oddes was too apparant, both in numbers of men, and in readinesse, as also in aduantage of ground: for the Persian had a great multitude of Horse, the Greeke very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plaine. Therefore all the Ionians, together with the Islanders and others, of such places as bordered vpon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselves to present flight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wise. Onely *Dercyllidas* with his Peloponnesians regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight: which must needs haue brought them to destruction, if the counsaile of *Pharnabazus* had been followed, who perceiuing the opportunity of so great a victory, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, began to consider what strange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed, and thinking that all the Greekes were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to craue parley; the conclusion of which was, That a truce should be made, to last vntill *Tissaphernes* might receiue answer from the King, & *Dercyllidas* from

Sparta, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were on the one part, That all the Greeks in Asia might enjoy their own liberty and lawes; but contrariwise on the other side, That the Lacedæmonians should depart Asia, & leaue the Towns to the Kings pleasure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it serued to free the Greeks from the present danger, and to gaine time vnto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to auoide the Warre by procrastination, which he durst not aduenture to finish by triall of a battaile.

§. III.

How the Lacedæmonians tooke reuenge vpon the Eleans for old displeasure. The discontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceined against the State of Sparta.

IN the meane season the Lacedæmonians, who found none able to withstand them in Greece, began to call the Eleans to account for some disgraces receiued by them during the late Warres, when leisure was wanting to the requital of such petty iniuries. These Eleans being Presidents of the Olympique games, had set a fine vpon the City of Sparta, for Non-payment of which, they forbad them to come to the solemnity; and publicly whipt one of them, that was of note, for presuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindred *Agis* King of Sparta, from doing sacrifice to *Iupiter*; and in all points vsed great contempt toward the Spartans, who now had no businesse that could hinder them from taking reuenge: and therefore sent a peremptory message to the Eleans, commanding them to set at liberty the Cities which they held in subiection. This was the vsuall pretence which they made the ground of all their Warres: though little they cared for the liberty of such Townes, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than mere Vassals of the Lacedæmonians. In their late Warres with Athens, the strong opposition which they found, caused this goodly Title of liberty to worke very slowly: but hauing now to doe with a State of great spirit and small force, it gaue present successe to their desires. Two yeares together they sent an Army into the Country of the Eleans: the first yeare an Earth-quake (held in those times a prodigious signe, and which did alwayes forbid the prosecution of any enterprise in hand) caused them to retire: the second yeare, all the Townes of the Eleans did hastily reuolt, and the City it selfe was driuen to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subiects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to haue their owne wals throwne downe. Only the Presidentship of the Olympian games was left vnto them, which, it was not to be doubted that they would in time comming vse modestly, finding themselves to stand at the mercy of Sparta. In this expedition all the Greeks were assistant to the Lacedæmonians, excepting the Corinthians & Bœotians, whose aide hauing bin of as much importance in the late Peloponnesian War, as the force of Sparta it selfe, they could not smother their dislike of their vnequall diuision following the victory; which gaue to Sparta the command of all Greece; to Thebes & Corinth, only security against Athens, but such a security as was worse than the danger. For when the equall greatnes of two mighty Estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutrall Common-weals to adhere to either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to reuenge iniuries, they had by mortall hatred prosecuted the Warre to extremity, leauing the one City naked of power and friends, the other mightily encreased in both; it was then (if not necessary to obey the greatnes which themselves had made, yet) foolish and dangerous to prouoke it. Neuertheless, it was not the purpose of the Spartans to take occasion of any quarrell, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victory or composition made some good end with the Persian, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§. IV.

§. IV.

The passage of Agesilaus into Asia. His warre with Tissaphernes. How Tissaphernes was put to death; and the warre diuerted into another Province, through perswasion and gifts of Tithraustes his successour. How carelesse the Persian Lieutenants were of the Kings good.

Agesilaus newly made King of Sparta, was desirous to haue the honour of the victory, which not without cause, he expected vpon those of Asia; and therefore procuring a great Army to ioine with that of *Dyracillidas*, he took his way in great pomp to Aulis in Bœotia, a Haven, lying opposite to the Island of Eubœa; in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all Greece to the war against Troy, many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon* he meant also to doe sacrifice in Aulis, which the Thebans, Lords of that Country, would not permit, but saying, that the performance of such ceremonies in that place, belonged vnto their Officers; they were so vnable to conceale their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw downe his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then conuenient time for *Agesilaus* to entangle himselfe and his Country in a new warre; therefore waiting better opportunity of reuenge, he quietly swallowed the contumely, and followed his maine intendment. Hauing landed his men at Ephesus, he was entertained by *Tissaphernes* with a Treaty of peace, wherein *Agesilaus* peremptorily requiring that the Persian should restore to liberty all the Greek Towns in Asia, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make Truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tissaphernes* had sought, only to win time of making prouision for the warre, and getting supply of men and mony from *Artaxerxes*; whilest *Agesilaus* was busie in settling the estates of his confederate Cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from war was at the comming downe of these forces which *Artaxerxes* had sent: at what time *Agesilaus* receiued a plaine message from *Tissaphernes*, that either he must forth-with depart out of Asia, or make good his abode by strong hand. *Agesilaus* returning word, that he was glad to heare that his enemies had by periury deserued vengeance from Heauen, prepared to inuade them; and sending word to all the Towns which lay between him and Caria, that they should prouide victuals & other necessaries for his Army, did easily make *Tissaphernes* belecue, that his intent was to inuade that Prouince wherein *Tissaphernes* dwelt, and which was vsit for Horse, in which part of his forces the Persian had most confidence. Therefore *Tissaphernes* bestowing all his Companies of foot in Caria, entred with his horse into the plains of *Meander*, hoping thereby to stop the passage of a heauie foot-Army, not suffering them to passe into that Country which was fittest for their seruice. But the Greekes left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into Phrygia, where they tooke great spoyle without resistance, till such time as the Horse-men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a small skirmish hauing the better of the Greeks, were the occasion that *Agesilaus* returned to Ephesus. Although in this last fight only twelue men were lost, yet *Agesilaus* perceiuing by that triall how hard it would be to preuaile, and hold the mastery of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, tooke all possible care to encrease that part of his forces. By which meanes hauing enabled himselfe, whilest winter lasted, he entred vpon the Country of *Tissaphernes*, as soone as the season of the yeare would permit, and not only tooke a great booty, but finding the Horse-men of *Tissaphernes* in the plaine of *Meander*, without assistance of their infantry, he gaue them battaile, and had a great victory, taking their Campe in which he found great riches. The blame of this losse fell heauie vpon *Tissaphernes*, who either vpon cowardise had absented himselfe from the battaile, or following some other businesse, was then at Sardis. For which cause his Master hauing him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which he much desired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the Greekes, were taken out of the way, he sent into those parts *Tithraustes* a Persian, to cut off the head of *Tissaphernes*, and succeed him in the government. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heauen, when by periury he could aduance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last through too much ouer-wcening of his owne wisdom, euen in that part of cunning, wherein he thought himselfe most perfect; for supposing

posing, that by his great skill in subtile negotiation he should one way or other circum-
uent the Greeks, and make them weary of Asia; he did not seeke to finish the warre, and
according to his Masters wish, bring all things speedily to quiet, but rather to tempo-
rize, till he might finde some opportunity of making such end as best might stand with
the Kings honour and his owne. Wherein it seemes that he much mistooke his Princes
disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in
his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly haue taken it, if he could haue found
such meanes whereby the danger it selfe might haue beene auoided: as not louing to
haue warre, whilest by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtaine peace. And
this appeared well by the course which *Tithraustes* took at his first possession of the low-
Countries. For he sent Embassadors to *Agessilaus*, in very friendly sort, letting him know,
that the man who had been Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and
that it was the Kings pleasure to let the Greeks enioy their owne lawes and liberty, vpon
condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Army be forth-
with dismissed. The answer to this proposition, was by *Agessilaus* referred to the Coun-
cell of Sparta; in the meane season he was content to transferre the warre into the Pro-
uince of *Pharnabazus*, at the request of *Tithraustes*, who bought his departure with thir-
ty Talents.

This was a strange manner of Warre, both on the offense and on the defense part.
For *Agessilaus* hauing entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was conten-
ted to forbear his feuerall Provinces, at the entreaty of the Lieutenants: & those Lieu-
tenants being employed by the King to maintaine his Estates against all enemies (where-
in if they failed, they knew that their heads might easily be taken from their shoulders)
were little offended at any losse that fell on their next Neighbour-Princes, which were
subiect likewise to the same Crowne of Persia, so long as their owne gouernment could
be preferred free from waste and danger. The cause of this disorder on the Persian side,
I can ascribe to nothing so deseruedly, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein
Eunuches, Concubines, and ministers of pleasure, were able by partiall construction to
countenance, or disgrace, the actions of such as had the managing of things abroad, and
to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so vsuall that it might be called a rule) to
reward or punish the Prouinciall Gouernour, according to the benefit or losse, which
the Country giuen in charge vnto each of them, receiued, during the time of his rule.
Whereby it came to passe, that as euery one was desirous to make his owne Territory
yeeld a large increase to the Kings treasure; so no man was carefull to assist his border-
ers, if losse or danger might thereby grow to himselfe and his; but sat still as an idle
beholder, whence perhaps by ioyning their forces, it had not bin vnease to recompence
the spoile of one Country, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater
miseries.

§. V.

The warre and Treaty betwene Agessilaus and Pharnabazus.

Agessilaus hauing thus compounded with *Tithraustes*, entred Phrygia, burning and
wasting the Country without resistance. He tooke the Palace of *Pharnabazus*,
and by his Lieutenant draue him out of his Campe. These actions, together
with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious
than profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of strength, which might haue en-
creased his power, and giuen assurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased
fame and high reputation, by which he drew vnto him somethat were discontented and
stood vpon bad termes with the great King; whom he lost againe as easily, by means
of some slight injury done to them by his vnder-Captaines. *Pharnabazus* did not en-
close himselfe in any Towne for feare of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as neer
as he could safely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make
some good end by composition, which he found not vnease to doe. For the pleasures,
by him formerly done to the State of Sparta, in the times of their most necessity, had
been so great, that when he (obtaining parley) did set before their eyes his bounty to-
wards them, and his loss, which had been such, that besides many other hazzards of his
person, he had for the rescue of their fleet when it was driuen to run a-shore at Abydus, aduen-

aduentured to ride into the Seas as farre as he could finde any ground, & fight on horse-
backe against the Athenians) together with his faith which had neuer beene violated in
word or deed: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwife than by telling
him, That hauing warre with his Master, they were enforced, against their will, to offend
him. *Agessilaus* did make a faire offer to him, that if he would reuolt from the King to
them; they would maintaine him against the Persian, and establish him free Prince of
the Country wherein he was at that time onely Deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnaba-
zus* told him plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make war against
them, he would not faile to doe the best that he could as their enemy, if the charge were
taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and
betake himselfe to their alliance. The issue of this parlie was, That the Army should no
longer abide in Phrygia, nor againe returne into it, whilest employment could be found
elsewhere. The excuse made by *Agessilaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those
parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not inuaded for want of
more necessary businesse elsewhere; but because his Country would yeeld great booty,
& for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the Lacedæmonians changed an honou-
rable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their vnthankfulnesse with
full reuenge.

§. VI.

*The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hyred with gold
from the Persian.*

IN the meane while *Tithraustes*, perceiuing that *Agessilaus* meant nothing lesse
than to returne into Greece, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in Asia, tooke a vwise
counsel, vvhetherby the City of Sparta was not onely driuen to looke to her owne,
and gine ouer her great hopes of subuerting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that
had been gotten by many late victories, and saw her Dominion restrained vnto the nar-
row bounds of her owne Territory. He sent into Greece fifty talents of silver, to be im-
ploied in raising war against the Lacedæmonians; which treasure was, by the subtile pra-
uice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed among the principal men
of the Thebans, Argiues, & Corinthians, that all those Estates hauing formerly borne se-
cret hate to that of Sparta, were now desirous of nothing so much as of open war. And
lest this great heate of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercise, begin
to faine, & vanish away in idle words, occasion was found out to trust the Lacedæmo-
nians into Armes, that they themselves might seem Authors of the quarrell. Some land
there was in the tenure of the Locrians, to which the Thebans had in former time laid
claim; but the Phocians either hauing the better title, or finding the greater fauour, had it
adiudged vnto them, and receiued yearly money for it. This money the Locrians were ei-
ther hired or perswaded to pay now to the Thebans, who readily accepted it. The Pho-
cians not meaning so to lose their Rent, made a distresse by strong hand, recovering a
great deale more than their own; which the Thebans (as in protection of their new Te-
nants) requited with an inuasion made vpon Phocis, waiting that Country in the maner
of open war. Such were the beginnings of professed hostility between Thebes & Sparta;
& the first breaking out of their close enmity, that had long time, though hardly, bin con-
cealed. For when the Phocian Embassadors came to Sparta, complaining of the violence
done by the Thebans, & requesting succour, they had very fauourable audience, & ready
consent to their suit; it being the maner of the Lacedæmonians, to deferre the acknow-
ledgement of iniuries receiued, vntil occasion of reuenge were offered, & then to discouer
their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunity to worke
their own wills, hauing no other war to disturbe them in Greece; & hearing out of Asia
no news, that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they sent *Lyfander* to raise all the
Counties about Phocis, & with such forces as he could leuie, to attend the coming
of *Pausanias* King of Sparta (for Sparta, as hath bin shewed before, had two Kings) who
should follow him with the strength of Peloponnesus. *Lyfander* did as he was appoint-
ed; & being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the Orchomenians to reuolt from
Thebes. *Pausanias* likewise raised all Peloponnesus, except the Corinthians, (who refu-
sed to assist him in that enterprife) meaning to ioyne with *Lyfander*, & make a speedy end
of

of the warre. The consideration of so great a danger, approaching so swiftly, caused the Thebans to seeke what help they could abroad, for as much as their owne strength was far too little to make resistance against such mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the Lacedæmonians were otherwise affected in heart than they durst utter in countenance; but the good wishes of such people were little available, considering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should do as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiversation, the Corinthians did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the Spartans, to the no great benefit of Thebes. Wherefore it was thought the safest course, to procure the assistance of some Estate that might presently declare it selfe on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, and make their party strong. To this end they sent Embassadors to Athens, excusing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompenced with friendship lately shewne in their refusal of assisting *Pausanias*, when he came in behalfe of the thirty Tyrants, against the good Citizens of Athens. In regard of which, and for their owne Honour sake, they requested them of aide in the present warre, offering to doe the best that they could for the restoring of Athens to her former Estate & Dignity. *Thrasybulus* and his Friends, who persecuted by the thirty, had been well entertained at Thebes, procured now the City to make a large requitall of the courtesie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of Athens should not only refuse to aide the Lacedæmonians in this Warre; but that it should assist the Thebans, and engage it selfe in their cause. Whilest *Pausanias* lay still, waiting the arrivall of his Confederates, *Lyfander* being desirous to do somewhat that might aduance the businesse in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where though *Pausanias* did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the Towne, and was slaine in fight by the Thebans, who came hastily to therescue. As this victory did encourage the Thebans, so the coming of *Pausanias* with his great Army did againe amaze them, with presentation of extreame danger; but their spirits were soon reuiued by the strong succour which was brought from Athens, in consideration of which, and of the late battaile, *Pausanias* durst not hazard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slaine, by composition, departed out of their Territory; for which, either cowardise or indiscretion, he was at his return to Sparta condemned as a Traitor, and driuen to flie into Tegea, where he ended his daies in banishment.

§. VII.

How Agesilaus was called out of Asia to helpe his Country. A victory of the Spartans. Conon the Athenian, assisted by Pharnabazus, ouercomes the Lacedæmonian Fleet; recouers the mastery of the Seas; and rebuilds the walls of Athens.

THis good successe, & the confederacy made with Athens, gaue such reputation to the Thebans, that the Argiues, Corinthians, Eubœans, Locrians, and Acarnanes, did forthwith side with them, and raising a strong Army, determined to giue battaile to the Lacedæmonians as neere as they might, to their owne doors. Considering that the force of Sparta it selfe, was not great, but grew more and more by the adiunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of Sparta perceiving the danger, sent for *Agesilaus*, who readily obeyed them, & promising his friends in Asia to returne speedily to their assistance, passed the Streights of Hellespont into Europe. In the mean time the Cities of the new league had giuen battaile to the Lacedæmonians, & the remainder of their Associates; but with ill successe. For when the right wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the Argiues & Thebans returning from the chase in some disorder, were broken & defeated by the Lacedæmonians, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten, by forcing the left wing of the Lacedæmonians, and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The reporters of this battaile meeting *Agesilaus* at Amphipolis, were by him sent ouer into Asia, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort vnto his friend, who had since his departure seen the Spartan Fleet beaten, and *Lyfander* the Admirall slaine. The same man, whose endeuour had brought the Athenians into order, by aduancing the Sea-forces of the Lacedæmonians with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power

power of Athens grew strong at Sea, when the City was despoiled of her old reputation, & scarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it imported the King his Master, to haue the Greeks diuided into such factions, as might vtterly disable them from vndertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himselfe, during these broiles, to take such order, that he should not need any more, to seeke peace by entreaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who vnproouoked had sold his loue for thirty Talents. To which purpose he furnished *Conon* the Athenian with eight ships, who had escaped, when the Fleet of Athens was surprized by *Lyfander* at *Ægos-Potamos*, giuing him the command of a great Nauy, wherewith he required the losse receiued at *Ægos-Potamos*, by repaying the Lacedæmonians with the like destruction of their Fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victory *Conon* sailed to Athens, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victory, so strong a Nauie, and so much Gold, as encouraged the Athenians to rebuild their Walls, and thinke more hopefully vpon recouering the Signiory which they had lost.

§. VIII.

Of sundry small victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians lose all in Asia; The Athenians recouer some part of their old Dominion.

NEuertheless the Lacedæmonians, by many victories at Land, maintained for some yeares the honour of their Estate, endangered very greatly by this losse at Sea. For *Agesilaus* obtained the better with his horse-men from the Theffalians, who were accounted the best riders in Greece: He wasted Bœotia, and fought a great battaile at *Coronea* against the Thebans, and their Allies, whom hee ouer-threw; and by his Marshall *Gylis* forraged the Country of *Locris*: which done, hee returned home.

The gain of these victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by many losses, much defaced. For the Thebans did in the battell of *Coronea* vanquish the *Orchomenians*, who stood opposite vnto them, & retired vnbroken to *Mount Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Agesilaus* charged them in the returne from the pursuite. Likewise *Gylis* was slaine with a great part of his Army by the *Locrians*; and some other exploits by the Lacedæmonians performed against the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equall damage receiued in the parts adioyning; many Towns being easily taken, & as easily recouered. The variety of which enterfeats was such, that the Thebans themselves were drawn by the losse of the haue of *Corinth*, to sue for peace, but could not get audience, till such time as the newes came of a great victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, General of the Athenian forces at *Lechæum*; whereupon the Theban Embassadors being sent for, and willed to doe their message, required only in scorn, to haue a safe conduct giuen them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the Warre was made for a while only by incursions, wherein the *Achæans*, Confederates of *Sparta*, felt most losse, their whole state being endangered by the *Acarnanians*, who held with the contrary side, vntill *Agesilaus* repayed these inuaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought vpon their owne Lands, which did so afflict the *Acarnanes*, that they were driuen to sue for peace. But the affairs at Sea were of most consequence, vpon which the successe of all depended. For when the Towns of Asia perceived, that the Lacedæmonians were not only intangled in an hard war at home, but almost disabled to passe the Seas, hauing lost their Fleet at *Cnidus*, they soon gaue care to *Pharnabazus*, who promised to allow that they should vse their own lawes, if they would expell the Spartan Gouernours. Only the City of *Abydus* did stand firme, wherein *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his best to contain all the Townes about *Hellespont*, in the alliance of the Lacedæmonians; which he could not do, because the Athenian Fleet vnder *Thrasybulus* took in *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Ile of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgement of Athens.

S. IX.

The base conditions offered vnto the Persian by the Lacedæmonian. Of sundry fights and other passages in the warre. The peace of Antalcidas.

ABout this time the Spartans began to perceiue how vnease a thing it would be, to maintaine the warre against men as good as themselves, assisted with the treasures of Persia: wherefore they craued peace of *Artaxerxes*, most basely offering, not only to renounce the Greeks inhabiting Asia, and to leaue them to the Kings disposition, but withall to set the Ilanders, & euery Town in Greece, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute liberty, whereby they said that all the principall Estates of their Country would be so weakened, that no one, nor all of them should be able to stir against the great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Country being so broken and rent into many small peeces, could neither haue disquieted the Persian, by an offensive warre, nor haue made any good defence against him, but would haue left it easie for him in continuance of time, to haue taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himselfe Master of all. The Spartans were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with enuie, that perceiuing how the dominion of the Seas was like to return to Athens, they chose rather to giue all from themselves and others, and make all a-like weak, than to permit that any of their owne Nation should grow stronger than themselves, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other Estates of Greece, who had in the Kings behalfe ioyned together against the Lacedæmonians, did by their seuerall Embassadors oppose themselves vnto it; & for that it was thought safest for *Artaxerxes*, rather to weaken the Lacedæmonians yet more, than by interposing himselfe to bring friends and foes on the sudden to an equality. Especially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* had sent as his Lieutenant into the low Countries, did seek to repay the harme done by *Agesslaus* in those parts: which his intent appearing plaine, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off; *Thimbro* was sent into Asia to make warre vpon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the warre being scattered about, all the Iles and Townes on the firme Land, grew almost to the manner of Piracy and Robbery, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance. *Thimbro* was slaine by *Struthas*, & in his place *Dipbridus* was sent, who demeaned himselfe more warily. *Dercyllidus* was remoued from his charge at Abydus, because he had not impeached *Thrasibulus* in his enterprises about Hellespont; *Anaxibius*, who succeeded him, was surprised & slaine in a skirmish by *Iphicrates* the Athenian. *Thrasibulus*, departing from Lesbos toward Rhodes, was slaine by the way at Aspendus. The city of Rhodes had long before ioyned with the Lacedæmonians, who erected there (as was their manner) an Aristocratic, or the Government of a few the principall Citizens; whereas contrariwise the Athenians were accustomed to put the Soueraignty into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselves, by erecting in the town of their Confederates a government like vnto their own: which doing (where more especiall cause did not hinder) caused the Nobility to fauour Sparta, & the Commons to encline to Athens. The people of *Agina* roused vpon the coast of Attica, which caused the Athenians to land an Army in *Agina*, & besiege their Towne: but this siege being raised by the assistance of the Lacedæmonian fleet, the Ilanders began a new to molest Attica, which caused the Athenians to man their ships again, that returned beaten, hauing lost foure of thirteen. The losse of these ships was fowen recompensed by a victory which *Chabrias* the Athenian Generall had in *Agina*, whereupon the Ilanders were faine to keepe home; and leaue to the Athenians the Seas free. It may well seem strange that the City of Athens, hauing but newly raised her wals; hauing not by any fortunate & important battell secured her estate from dangers by land, but only depending vpon the assistance of such Confederates, as carried vnto different ends, had often discovered themselves irresolute in the common cause; would send a Fleet & an Army to Cyprus, in defence of *Euagoras*, when the mastery of the Seas was so ill assured, that an Iland lying in the cie of *Pyræus*, had ability to vex the coast of Attica. But as the ouer-weening of that City did cause it vually to embrace more than it could compass; so the infolency & shamelesse iniustice of the people, had now bred in the chiefe Commanders, a desire to keepe themselves farre out of sight, and to seek employments at such distance

distance as might secure them from the eies of the enuious, & from publike iudgements, out of which, few or none escaped. For which cause *Timotheus* did passe away much part of his time in the Ile of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Country well could haue spared: with which he returned not when the businesse in *Cyprus* came to an end, but sought new aduentures in *Egypt*; whereby arose neither thanks to himselfe, nor profit to his City, though honour both to him and it. The Athenians being thus carelesse of things at hand, had a notable blow giuen vnto them, shortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, euen within their owne Hauens. For *Teleutius*, a Lacedæmonian, being made Gouverneur of *Agina*, conceived a strong hope of surprizing the Nauie of Athens, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking a right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in harbour, whose Mariners were asleepe in their Cabbins, or drinking in Tavernes. Wherefore he sailed by night into the mouth of the Port, which entring at the breake of day, hee found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, and few or none left aboard to make resistance: by which meanes hee tooke many ships laden with merchandizes, many fisher-men, passengers, and other Vessels, also three or foure Gallies; hauing funke or broken, and made vsueruiceable, as many of the rest as the time would suffer. About this time *Pharnabazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters giuen to him in marriage, with whom he liued about the Court; and many Officers that fauoured the Lacedæmonians were placed in the lower Asia; by whose assistance the Fleet of Sparta grew victorious about *Hellespont*; in such wise, that perhaps they should not haue needed the peace, which they themselves procured by *Antalcidas*, from the great King, the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giuing freedom to all the Cities of Greece, and diuiding the Country into as many seuerall States as were petty Boroughes in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* hauing bought his owne peace with money, did likewise by his money become Arbitrator and decider of Controuersies betwene the Greeks, disposing of their businesse in such wise as stood best with his owne good. The tenor of *Artaxerxes* his decree was, That all Asia and *Cyprus* should be his owne; the Iles of *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus* be subject to Athens; all other Greeke Towns, as well the little as the great, be set at liberty; and that whosoever should refuse this peace, vpon them the approuers of it should make warre, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The Athenians were so discouraged by their losses at Sea; the Lacedæmonians by reuolt of their Confederates, and the necessity of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miseries of the warre, whereof they saw no end, that all (excepting the Thebans) did consent vnto these Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the Lacedæmonians taking vpon themselves the execution, did not onely compell the Argiues to depart out of *Corinth* (which vnder pretence of defending they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the Thebans to leaue *Boeotia* free, of which Prouince Thebes had alwaies held the government: the Thebans themselves being also comprehended vnder the name of the *Boeotians*; but caused the *Mantineans* to throw downe their owne City, and to dwell in Villages; alleging that they had formerly beene accustomed so to doe, though purposing indeed to chastise them, as hauing beene ill affected to Sparta in the late Warre. By these courtesies the Lacedæmonians did hope that all the small Townes in Greece would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their warres, as Authors of their liberty; and that the great Cities hauing lost all their dependants, would be vnable to make opposition.

§. X.

The warre which the Lacedæmonians made vpon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treason; and Olynthus by famine.

Hilest the Warres, which ended without either victory or profit, consumed the riches and power of Greece, the Citie of Olynthus in *Thrace* was growne so mighty, that shee did not onely command her Neighbour Townes, but vvas also become terrible to places farre remooued, and to Sparta it selfe. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the Olynthians,

Olynthians, vvho following the vsuall pretence of the *Lacedemonians*, to set at libertie the places ouer which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almost now driuen him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of *Acanthus* and of *Apollonia*, being neereft vnto the danger of those inroaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedemonians* with their feare, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too strong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time should giue it reputation, which onely it wanted: wherefore they requested assistance, but in such termes as did sound of compulsion, protesting that either they must warre vpon *Olynthus*, or become subiect vnto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hastie leuie of men, two thousand being presently sent away, with promise to be seconded by a greater Armie. Whilest these two thousand gaue such beginning to the warre, as agreed with their small number, the body of the Armie following them, surprized the Cittadell of *Thebes*, which was betrayed into the hand of *Phæbidus* the *Lacedemonian*, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the slauerie of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made between them, vvhich caused the *Lacedemonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phæbidus* were more worthy of reward or of punishment. In conclusion, profit so farre ouer-weighed honestie, that the deede vvvas approoued, many principall Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driuen into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the gouernment of the Citie: by whose authoritie, and the force of the Garrison, the *Thebans* vvvere compelled to serue the *Lacedemonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This assistance of power hauing strengthened the *Lacedemonians*, caused them to entertaine the greater forces about *Olynthus*, vvhich (notwithstanding the losse of one great battaile, & some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it selfe vnto their obedience.

§. X I.

How the Thebans recovered their libertie, driving out the Lacedemonian Garrison.

After this *Olynthian* Warre, which endured almost three yeares, it seemed that no Estate in *Greece* was able to make head against that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a meanes to shake off their yoke, and gaue both example and meanes to others to do the like. One of the banisht men found by conference with a Scribe of the *Theban* Magistrates, comming to *Athens*, that the tyrannie vvherewith his Countrey vvvas oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for feare of it vvvere fledde from home. Whereupon a plot was layd betweene these two, that soone found very good successe, being managed thus. Seuen of the banished men forsooke *Athens* priuily, and entred by night into the fields of *Thebes*, vvhere spending the next day secretly, they came late in the euening to the Gates like husband-men returned from worke, and so passed vndiscovered vnto the house of *Charon*, vvhom *Phyllidus* the Scribe had drawne into the conspiracie. The day following, a solemne feast being then held in the Citie, *Phyllidus* promised the Gouvernours, who were insolent & lustfull men, that he would conueigh vnto them that night the most beautifull Dames of the Towne, with whom they should take their pleasure. Hauing cheared them with such hope, and plentie of good wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they vrged) came that he could not make good his promise, vnlesse they vvould dismisse their followers, because the Gentlewomen, who attended without a Chamber, vvould not endure that any of the seruants should see their faces. Vpon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place; vvho taking aduantage of the Gouvernours loose behauiour, slew them all vpon the sodaine with Daggers, which they brought hidden vnder their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselves to come to the Gouvernours vpon businesse, they got admittance, and likewise slew those which were of the *Lacedemonian* faction. By the like deuice they brake into the prison, slew the Gaoler, and set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captaine of the Castle hearing the sodaine Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be stronger than indeede they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was

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a practice to discouer such as would be forward vpon occasion of mouling. But as soon as day-light revealed the plaine truth, all the people tooke armes & besieged the Castle, sending hastily to *Athens* for succour. The Garrison also sent for aide vnto the Towne adioyning, whence a few broken troupes comming to the rescue, were defeated on the way by the horse-men of *Thebes*. On the other side the banished *Thebans* did not only make speed to assist their Countrey-men, but procured some *Athenians* to ioine with them, & thereby came so strong into the Citie, that the Castle was yekled, more through feare than any necessitie, vpon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which composition the Captaine at his returne to *Sparta* was put to death. When the newes of the doings at *Thebes*, and the successe arrived at *Sparta*, an Armie was raised forth-with, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recouering of that Citie, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had bin taken from the *Lacedemonians*, and not a Towne perfidiously vsurped by them, restored to her own liberty. *Cleobrotus*, one of the Kings, was sent on this expedition, vvho hauing wearied his followers with a toilefome Winters iourney, returned home without any good or harme done; leaping *Sphodrias*, with part of his Armie, at *Thebes*, to infect the *Thebans*; who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt vpon the Hauens of *Athens*, which failing to take, he wasted the Countrey adioyning, and draue away Cattell, causing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the War, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how they might possibly with-draw themselves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battaile of Leuctra, to the battaile of Mantinea.

§. I.

How Thebes and Athens ioined together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battaile of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatnesse.

THE *Lacedemonians* were men of great resolution, and of much grauitie in all their proceedings, but one dishonourable rule that held, That all respects withstanding the commoditie of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrine, euen by the best & wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate: but vvhen it was put in execution by insufficient ouer-weening men, it fel-dome failed to bring vpon them in stead of profit vniustly expected, both shame and losse. And so it befell them in these enterprises of *Phæbidus*, vpon the Castle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* vpon the *Piræus*. For, howsoeuer *Agesilans* did spoyle the Countrey about *Thebes*, in which he spent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, vvho by the good successe of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The *Athenians* likewise began to looke abroad, sayling to the Isle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and hauing in some fights at Sea preuailed, began as in the *Peloponnesian* Warre, to surround *Peloponnesus* with a Nauie; afflicting to the *Lacedemonians*, that had not the *Thebans* by their insolencie wearied their friends, and caused them to seeke for peace, it had bin very likely that the end of this warre, should haue soone come to a good ende, which neuerthelesse, being prosecuted by the *Thebans* (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the City of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiuing how *Thebes* encroached euery day vpon her weake Neighbours, not sparing such as had bin dependants vpon *Athens*, and finding themselves, whilest engaged in such a war, ynable to relieue their complaining friends, resolved to settle the affaires of

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Greece,

Greece, by renewing that forme of peace which *Amalcidas* had brought from the *Persian*. Wherefore they sent Messengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily signifying, That it was their intent to finish the Warre; to which purpose they willed the *Thebans* to send Embassadors along with them to *Sparta*, vvho readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treaty of peace: which came to passe, being so wrought by the courageous wisdome of *Epaminondas*, vvho vvnderstood farre better than his Countymen, vvhat was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* did soone agree; but vvhen the *Thebans* offered to sweare to the Articles in the name of the *Boeotians*; *Agessilaus* required them to sweare in their own name, and to leaue the *Boeotians* free, vvhom they had lately reduced vvnder their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made answer, That the City of *Sparta* should giue example to *Thebes* by setting the *Laconians* free, for that the Signorie of *Boeotia* did by as good right appertaine to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was vvell and truly spoken; but was heard vvith no patience: For *Agessilaus* bearing a vehement hatred vvnto those of *Thebes*, by vvhom he was drawn backe out of *Asia* into *Greece*, and disappointed of all the glory vvvhich he had hoped to atchieue by the *Persian* war, did now passionately vvgethat point of setting the *Boeotians* at libertie; & finding it as oblatinely refused, he dashed the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the same time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta* lay in *Phocia*, vvho received command from the Gouernours of *Sparta* forthvvith to enter vvpon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power; vvvhich he did, and vvvas there slain at *Leuctra*, and vvwith him the flower of his Armie. This battale of *Leuctra*, being one of the most famous that euer vvvere fought between the *Greekes*, vvvas not so notable for any circumstance fore-going it, or for the managing of the fight it self, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*, but especially, for that after this battell (betwene vvvhich and the conclusion of the generall peace there passed but twentie daies) the *Lacedemonians* were neuer able to recouer the strength and reputation vvvhich had formerly made them redoubted farre and neere; vvvhich as contrariwise the *Thebans*, vvvhose greatest ambition had in former times confined it selfe vvnto the little Region of *Boeotia*, did now begin to vvndertake the leading and command of many People and Estates, in such vvise, that soone after they brought an Armie of threescore and ten thousand strong vvnto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much do the afflictions of an hard warre, vvvaliantly endured, aduance the affaires of the distressed, and guide them into the vvway of Conquest, by stiffening that resolution vvwith a manly temper, vvvhich wealth & ease had through luxurie, retchlesnes, and many other vices or vanities, made rustie and effeminate.

S. II.

How the Athenians tooke vvpon them to maintaine the peace of Greece. New troubles hence arising. *Epaminondas* invadeth and wasteth the Territorie of *Lacedamon*.

THe *Athenians*; refusing to take aduantage of this ouerthrow fallen vvpon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedemonians*; did neuertheless finely giue them to vvnderstand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might vvell be laid away. For taking vvpon themselves the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, vvvhich *Agessilaus* (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left vvnprefect, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at *Athens*, vvvhich the generall libertie of all Townes, as vvwell small as great, was ratified, vvnder the stile of the *Athenians*, and their Associates. Herevvpon began fresh garboiles. The *Mantineans*, claiming power by this decree to order their affaires at their own pleasure, did (as it vvvas) in despiight of the *Spartans*, vvvhich had enforced them to raze their town, reedifie it, and allie themselves vvwith such of the *Arcadians* as stood vvwith affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, vvvere distracted vvwith factions, some desiring to hold good correspondency vvwith the *Lacedemonians*, some to vvweaken & keepe them low, yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedemonians* durst not giue impeachment to the *Mantineans*, nor take vvpon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till such time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called in forraine helpe. Then vvvas an Armie sent from *Sparta*, as it vvvas in defence of the people of *Tegæa*, against the *Mantineans*, but indeed against them both. *Agessilaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time subdued the

the *Phocians*, and vvwere become head of the *Boeotians*, *Acarmanians*, *Enchaens*, and many others; vvwith the power of vvvhich Countries they entred *Peloponnesus* in fauour of the *Arcadians*, vvvhich vvvhich had, vvpon expectation of their coming, abstained from giuing battaile to *Agessilaus*. The Armie of the *Spartans*, being dismissed, and *Epaminondas* toyned vvwith the *Arcadians*, the Region of *Laconia* vvvas invaded & spoyled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could haue found belife it any had foretold it. Almost 600. yeares vvwere spent, since the *Dorians*, vvnder the posteritie of *Hercules*, had seized vvpon *Laconia*, in all vvvhich time the found of an enemies trumpet vvvas not heard in that Countie: Ten yeares vvwere not fully past, since all *Greece* vvvas at the deuotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region vvvhich neither *Xerxes* vvwith his huge Armie could once looke vvpon, nor the mighty forces of *Athens*, and other enemye States had dared to set foot on, vvwas by stealth, vvwas all on a light fire, the vvvery smoke vvwhereof the vvwomen of *Sparta* vvwere alarmed to behold. At vvvhich indignitie notwithstanding, the *Lacedemonians* did not issue out of *Sparta* to fight, but sought how to preserve the Towne, setting at libertie as many of their *Heilotes* or *Slaves* as vvwere vvwithing to beare Armes in defence of the State, & somewhat pittifully entreated the *Athenians* to giue them succour. From *Corinth* & some Townes of *Peloponnesus* they received speedie assistance; the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaminondas* returned vvwithout battell, hauing re-built the Citie of *Messene*, and peopled it anew by calling home the ancient inhabitants, vvvhom the *Lacedemonians* many ages before had chased away to other Countries, possessing their Territories themselves.

S. III.

The Composition betwene *Athens* and *Sparta* for command in warre against the *Thebans*, vvvhich vvvhich invadeth and spoyle *Peloponnesus*. The vvunfortunate presumption of the *Arcadians*.

THis iournie therefore vtterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*; in such vvise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, vvvhich vvvas to be trusted, nor any manner of precedence: but sending Embassadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities vvvhich held league vvwith it, vvnto *Athens*, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselves might be Generals by Land. This had beene a composition vvwell agreeing vvwith the situation and qualitie of those two Cities; but it vvvas rejected, because the Mariners and others that vvwere to be employed at Sea, vvwere men of no marke or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot, vvvhich of the Land Armie vvvas compounded, vvvhich being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, vvwere to haue serued vvnder the *Lacedemonians*. Wherefore it vvvas agreed that the Authority should be diuided by time, the *Athenians* ruling siue daies, the *Lacedemonians* other siue, and so successiuevvly that each of them should haue command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vvaine ambition vvvas more regarded than the common profit; vvvhich must of necessitie be vvvery slowly aduanced, vvwhere consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second inuasion of *Peloponnesus*, vvwherein the *Thebans* found their enemies so vvunable to impeach them, that hauing fortified *Isthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they vvwere driven out of their strength by *Epaminondas*, vvvhich vvvhich foraged the Country vvwithout resistance. But as the Articles of this league betwene *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by diuiding the conduct in such manner, disable the societie, and make it insufficient to those ends for vvvhich it vvvas concluded; so the example of it vvrought their good, by filling the enemies heads vvwith the like vanitie. For the *Arcadians* considering their owne numbers vvvhich they brought into the field, and hauing found by many trials that their people vvwere not inferior to others in strength of body, in courage, or in good Souldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the government, vvwith their friends the *Thebans*; and not alvvwaies continue followers of others, by increasing vvvhich their greatnesse they should strengthen their owne yoke. Herevvpon they began to demean themselves vvvery insolently, vvwhereby they grew hateful to their Neighbors, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For a motion of generall peace hauing bin made (vvvhich tooke not effect, because the Citie of *Messene* vvvas not abandoned to the *Lacedemonians*) the next enterprize of the *Spartans* & their friends vvvas vvpon these *Arcadians*, vvvhich vvvhich relying too much vvpon their owne vvworth,

were ouerthrowne in a great battaile, their calamitie being as pleasing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

S. IIII.

The great growth of the Theban Estate. Embassages of the Greekes to the Persian, with the reasons why he most fauoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitlesse issue of the Embassages.

THE Thebans especially reioyced at the Arcadians misfortune, considering, that without their aide, the successe of all enterprises proued so ill; whereas they themselves had by their owne power accomplished very well whatsoever they tooke in hand, and were become not onely victorious ouer the *Lacedemonians*, but patrons ouer the *Theffalonians*, and moderatours of the great quarrels that had risen in *Macedonia*; where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleased them best, they carried *Philip* the Sonne of *Amyntus*, and Father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hostage vnto *Thebes*. Hauing therefore obtained such reputation, that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all *Greece*, they sought meanes of alliance with the *Persian* king, to whom they sent Embassadours the great and famous Captaine *Pelopidas*, whose reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant vnto the *Thebans* all that they desired, whereof two especiall points were, That *Messene* should remaine free from the *Lacedemonians*, and that the *Athenians* should forbear to send their ships of Warre to Sea; only the latter of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to further aduice. The other States of *Greece* did also send their Embassadours at the same time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the King hauing found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to maintaine a sure partie in *Greece*, did vpon many weightie considerations resolute, to binde the *Thebans* firmly vnto him; iustly expecting, that their greatnesse should be on that side his owne securitie. The *Athenians* had beene ancient enemies to his Crowne; and hauing turned the profit of their victories vpon the *Persian* to the purchase of a great Estate in *Greece*, maintained their Signorie in such puissant manner, that (sundry grievous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible warre, wherein the *Lacedemonians* being followed by most of the *Greekes*, and supplied with treasure, and all sorts of aide by *Darius Nothus*; were not able to vanquish them, till their owne indiscretion brought them on their knees. The *Lacedemonians* being victorious ouer *Athens*, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they vnderooke the conquest of *Asia*, from vvhich though by the commotion raised in *Greece* with *Persian* gold, they were called backe, yet hauing renewed their power, and settled things in *Greece*, it was not vnlikely, that they should vpon the next aduantage haue pursued the same enterprife, had not they beene impeached by this *Theban* Warre. But the *Thebans* contrariwise had alwayes discovered a good affection to the Crowne of *Persia*. They had sided with *Xerxes* in his inuasion of *Greece*; vvith *Darius* and the *Lacedemonians* against *Athens*: And finally, hauing offered much contumely to *Agesslaus* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Besides all these their good deseruings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore vnlikely to looke abroad; vvhereupon if perchance they should haue any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good hauentownes, which they could not seize vpon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giuing liberty to all Cities that had at any time beene free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condescend vnto the requests of *Pelopidas*, as farre forth as he might without giuing open defiance to the rest of *Greece*; and by that meane he purchased his owne quiet, being neuer afterward molested by that Nation in the lower *Asia*. The ill meanes which the *Greekes* had to disturbe *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficiall to the Estate of *Persia* shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Prouinces. For had then the affaires of *Greece* beene so composed, that any one Citie might without impeachment of the rest haue transported an Armie, to assist the reuolting *Satraps*, or *Vice-royes* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Mysia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phenicia*; humane reason can hardly find the meanes, by which the Empire could haue beene preferred from that ruine, which the diuine Counsell had deferred vnto the dayes of *Alexander*. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthy Prouinces, wanting

ting a timbody of good and hardy Souldiers, was in short space discussed, and vanisht like a mist, vvithout effect: these effeminate *Asiatiques* wearied quickly with the troubles and dangers incident to war, forsaking the common cause, and each man struing to be the first, that by treason to his company should both redeeme the former treason to his Prince, and purchase vvithall his owne promotion with encrease of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I haue rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; but for that it was like a sudden storme, rashly commenced, idly followed, and foolishly layed downe, hauing made a great noise vvithout effect, and hauing small reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole reigne of *Artaxerxes*, from the warre of *Cyrus*, to the inuasion of *Egypt*, I finde nothing (this insurrection, and a fruitlesse journey against the *Cadusians* excepted) worthy of any mention; much lesse of digression from the course of the businesse in *Greece*. All, or the most of his time passed away so quietly, that he enioyed the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could afford vnto so absolute a Lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were onely or chiefly Domesticall; growing out of the hatred which *Sarystatis* the Queene-Mother bare vnto his wife *Statira*, and to such as had beene the greatest enemies to her sonne *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: vpon whom, when by poyson and mischieuous practises she had satisfied her feminine appetite of reuenge, she thenceforth she wholly applied her selfe to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the lewd desire of marrying his owne Daughter, and filling him vvith the perfwasion, which Princes, not endued vvith an especiall grace, doe readily entertaine: That his owne will was the supreme law of his subiect, and the rule by which all things were to be measured and adiudged to be good or euill. In this imaginarie happinesse *Pelopidas*, and the other Embassadours of *Greece*, both found and left him; but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of his Treatie vvith them, being altogether to his owne aduantage, did seeme to promise, if not the perpetuities, a long endurance of the same felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a full securitie of danger from *Greece*, whence onely could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternitie laied by mortall men in this transitory world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either shaken from heauen, or made vaine and vnprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full heighth, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Estates of *Greece* that had sent Embassadours to the *Persian*. For whereas it had beene concluded, that all Townes, as well the little as the great, should be set at liberty, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common peace, whotherby should become the Iudges of all controuersies that might arise, and Leaders in warre of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the kings letters being solemnly published at *Thebes*; in the presence of the Embassadours, drawne thither from all parts of *Greece*; when an oath was required for obseruation of the forme of peace therein set downe, a dilatorie answer was made by the Embassadours, who said, that they were sent to heare the articles; not to sweare vnto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driuen to send vnto each of the Cities to require the Oath; But in vaine. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refused it, saying, That they did not neede it; others tooke courage by their example to doe the like, disappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation vvith *Artaxerxes* gaue neither addition nor confirmation of greatnesse, but left them as it found them to relye vpon their own swords.

S. V.

How all Greece was diuided, betweene the Athenians and Lacedemonians, on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults rising in Arcadia.

THE condition of things in *Greece* at that time did stand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each vpon enuie of the others greatnesse drawne all their followers into a cruell intestine warre, by which the whole Countrey, and especially the Estate of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conioyn their forces against the *Thebans*, who sought to make themselves Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, & *Acbaians*, followed the party of these ancient gouerning Cities; either for the old reputation of them, & benefits receiued, or in dislike

dislike of those, who by strong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authority they could not suddenly aspire without some iniurie and much enuie. The Citie of Thebes abounding with men, whom necessity had made warlike; & many victories in few yeares had filled with great spirits; and being so mighty in dependants, that she had reduced all the continent of Greece without Peloponnesus (the Region of Attica, and very little part beside excepted) vnder such acknowledgement, as wanted not much of meet: Vassallage, did hope to bring all Peloponnesus to the like obedience, wherein already she had set good footing by her coniunction with the States of Argos, and of Arcadia: The Argives had bene alwayes bad Neighbours to the Spartans, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre vnder them in valour, hauing bene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of losing all: which caused them to suspect & enuie nothing more than the greatnesse and honour of Sparta, taking truce with her when she was at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole force against them; but firmly ioyning with her enemies whensoever they found her entangled in a difficult Warre. As the Argives were, in hatred of Sparta, sure friends of Thebes, so the Arcadians, transported with a great opinion of their owne worthinesse, had formerly renounced and prouoked against them their old Confederates & Leaders, the Lacedemonians, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the Thebans. In which regard it was thought conuenient by Epaminondas, & the State of Thebes, to send an Armie into Peloponnesus, before such time as these waivering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the Thebans, they had made peace with Athens; which was very strange, & seemed no lesse to the Athenians themselves, who holding a firme league with Sparta at the same time when the Arcadians treated with them, did neuertheless accept this new Confederacy, not relinquishing the old, because they found that howsoever these Arcadians were enemies to the Lacedemonians, they should hereby be drawn somewhat further from their alliance with Thebes, which without them was unlikely to inuade Peloponnesus with a strong Armie. But this did rather hasten, than by any means stay, the coming of Epaminondas, who finding the way somewhat more cleare for him (because the Citie of Corinth, which lay vpon the Isthmus, and had bene aduerser to Thebes, was now, by miseries of this grievous warre, driuen to become Neutrall) tooke occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the Arcadians, to visit Peloponnesus with an Armie, consisting of all the power of Thebes. A great tumult had risen in Arcadia about consecrated money, which many principall men among them had laid hands on, vnder pretence of employing it to publike vses. In compounding the differences growne vpon this occasion such as had least wil to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captaine of some Theban Souldiers, lying in Tegea, to take prisoners many of their Countymen, as people desirous of innouation. This was done: but the uproare thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the Arcadians, who had in great numbers taken Armes, with much a-doe scarce pacified. When complaint of the Captaines proceedings came to Thebes, Epaminondas turned all the blame vpon them, who had made the peace with Athens, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them, to iudge of their fidelity, by the assistance which they should giue him, in that warre, which he intended to make in Peloponnesus. These Lordly words did greatly amaze the Arcadians; who needing not the aide of so mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to be made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before sought meanes to settle the affaires of their Countrey, by drawing things to some good conclusion of peace, did now forth-with send to Athens for helpe, & withall dispatched some of the principall among them as Embassadors to Sparta, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of Peloponnesus, now ready to be inuaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the Lacedemonians, who feared nothing more than the coming of Epaminondas, against whom they well knew, that all their forces, and best provisions, would be no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatiues, they (who had bene accustomed vnto such a supremacie, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerfull Citie of Athens, till other hope of securing their owne Estate could not be thought vpon) did now very gently yeelde to the Arcadians, that

the command of the Army in chiefe, should be giuen, for the time, to that Citie, in whose Territorie it lay.

S. V I.

A terrible inuasion of Peloponnesus by Epaminondas.

Certaine it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firme consent, and vniforme care of the common safetie. For, beside the great forces raised out of the other parts of Greece, the Argives and Messenians, prepared with all their strength to ioyne with Epaminondas; who hauing lien a while at Neemea, to intercept the Athenians, receiued there intelligence, that the Armie coming from Athens would passe by Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to Tegea, which Citie, and the most of all Arcadia besides, forthwith declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the Thebans, would be vpon such of the Arcadians as had revolted; which caused the Lacedemonian Captaines to fortifie Mantinea with all diligence, and to send for Agesilaus to Sparta, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men which remained in the Towne, they might be strong enough to abide Epaminondas there. But Epaminondas held so good espiall vpon his Enemies, that had not an vnknowne fellow brought hasty aduertisement of his purpose to Agesilaus, who was then well onward in the way to Mantinea, the Citie of Sparta had suddenly bene taken. For thither with all speede and secrecie did the Thebans march, who had surely carried the Citie, notwithstanding any defence that could haue bene made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that Agesilaus in all flying haste got into it with his Companies, whom the Armie of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arriuall of the Lacedemonians and their friends, as it cut off all hope from Epaminondas of taking Sparta, so it presented him with a faire aduantage vpon Mantinea. It was the time of Haruest, which made it very likely, that the Mantinians, finding the warre to be carried from their towne into another quarter, would vse the commoditie of that vacation, by fetching in their come, and turning out their cattell into their fields, whilest no enemy was neere that might empeach them. Wherefore he turned away from Sparta to Mantinea, sending his horse-men before him, to seize vpon all that might be found without the Citie. The Mantinians (according to the expectation of Epaminondas) were scattered abroad in the Countrey; farre more intent vpon their haruest-businesse, than vpon the warre, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselves out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattell, being vnable to recover the Towne, were in a desperate case; and the Towne it selfe in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy should haue taken all their prouision of victuals, with so many of the people as had not ouer-deerly bene redeemed, by that Citie returning to societie with Thebes. But at the same time, the Athenians coming to the succour of their Confederates, whom they thought to haue found at Mantinea, were very earnestly entreated by the Citizens to rescue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any courageous aduerture to deliuer those who otherwise were giuen as lost. The Thebans were knowne at that time to be the best Souldiers of all the Greekes, and the commendation of good horsemanship had alwayes bene giuen to the Thessalians, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations, yet the regard of honour so wrought vpon the Athenians, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this warre, vpon no necessitie of her owne, but onely in desire of relieuing her distressed friends, they issued forth of Mantinea, not abiding so long as to refresh themselves, or their horses with meate; and giuing a lustie charge vpon the enemy, who as brauely receiued them, after a long and hot fight, they remained masters of the field, giuing by this victory a safe and easie retrait to all that were without the wals. The whole power of the Boeotians arriued in the place soone after this battaile, whom the Lacedemonians and their Assistants were not farre behinde.

S. V I I.

The great battaile of Mantinea. The honourable death of Epaminondas, with his commendation.

Epaminondas, considering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprizing *Sparta* and *Mantinea*, hauing failed, the impression of terrour which his name had wrought in the *Peloponnesians*, would soone vanish, vnlesse by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first growth, and leaue some memorable character of his expedition; resolved to giue them battaile, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtfull affections of his own Associates, and to leaue the *Spartans* as weake in spirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subiection. Hauing therefore warned his men to prepare for that battaile, wherein victory should be rewarded with Lordship of all *Greece*; and finding the alacritie of his Souldiers to be such as promised the accomplishment of his owne desire; he made shew of declining the enemy, and intrenching himselfe in a place of more aduantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heate of their valour, and afterward strike their senses with amazement, when he should come vpon them vnexpected. This opinion deceived him not. For with very much tumult, as in so great and sodaine a danger, the enemy ran to Armes, necessity enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that dayes seruice vrging them to doe as well as they might. The *Theban* Armie consisted of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Lacedemonians* and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantineans* (because the war was in their Countrey) stood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedemonians*: the *Athenians* had the left wing; the *Acheans*, *Eleans*, and others of lesse account, filled the body of the Armie. The *Thebans* stood in the left wing of their owne battaile, opposite to the *Lacedemonians*, hauing by them the *Arcadians*, the *Enbæans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Meffenians*, and *Thessalians* with others, compounding the maine battaile; the *Argines* held the right wing, the horse-men on each part were placed in the flanks, onely a troupe of the *Eleans* were in reare. Before the footmen could ioyn, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* preuailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the *Athenians*: who not yeelding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were ouer-laid with numbers, and so beaten vpon by *Thessalian* slings, that they were driuen to forsake the place, and leaue their infanterie naked. But this retrait was the lesse disgracefull, because they kept themselves together, and did not fall backe vpon their owne foot-men; but finding the *Theban* horse to haue giuen them ouer, and withall discovering some Companies of foot, which had bene sent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their battaile in the reare, they brake vpon them, routed them, and hewed them all in peeces. In the meane season the battaile of the *Athenians* had not onely to doe with the *Argines*, but was hardly pressed by the *Theban* Horsemen, in such wise that it began to open, and was ready to turne backe, when the *Elean* Squadron of Horse came vnto the reliefe of it, and restored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the *Lacedemonians* and *Thebans* meete, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour, so that equall courage and equall losse on both sides made the hope and appearance of victory to either equally doubtfull. vnlesse perhaps the *Lacedemonians* being very firme abiders, might seeme the more likely to preuaile, as hauing borne the first brunt and furie of the onset, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by Discipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few yeares, cannot be thought to haue gotten a habite so sure and generall. But *Epaminondas* perceiuing the obstinate stiffenesse of the Enemies to be such, as neither the bad successe of their owne horse, nor all the force of the *Boeotian* Armie, could abate so farre, as to make them giue one foote of ground: taking a choise Companie of the most able men, whom he cast into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the aduantage of that figure against a Squadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their rankes, & cleaue the whole battaile in despite of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who

who may iustly be said to haue carried the victory, seeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the battaile was fought, hauing driuen the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alleaged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the victory was partly theirs, the slaughter of those Mercenaries vpon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behinde their Armie, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a Ceremonie regardable onely among the *Greekes*, and serued meerely for ostentation, shewing that by the fight they had obtained somewhat, which the Enemy could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the *Thebans* arrived at the generall immediate end of battaile; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is expessed from them, who forsake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for triall of their abilitie and prowesse. This was the last worke of the incomparable vertue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the *Lacedemonian* Squadron, and forced it to giue backe in disaray, was furiously charged on the sodaine, by a desperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiuing many wounds, he neuertheless with a singular courage maintained the fight, vsing against the Enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his owne body; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he receiued so violent a stroake with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leauing the yron and a peece of the truncheon in his breast. Hereupon he sunke downe, and was soone conueighed out of the fight by his friends; hauing by his fall somewhat animated the *Spartans* (who faine would haue got his body,) but much more inflamed with reuengefull indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heauie mischance, did with great slaughter compell their disordered enemies to leaue the field, though long they followed not the chafe, being wearied more with the sadnesse of this disaister, than with all the trauaile of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Physitians, That when the head of the Dart should be drawn out of his body, he must needes dye. Hearing this, he called for his shield, which to haue lost, was held a great dishonour: It was brought vnto him. He bad them tell him which part had the victory; answer was made, that the *Boeotians* had won the field. Then said he, It is faire time for me to dye, and withall sent for *Isidas*, and *Diophantes*, two principall men of Warre, that were both slaine; which being told him, He aduised the *Thebans* to make Peace, whilst with aduantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a Generall. Herewithall he willed, that the head of the weapon should be drawne out of his body; comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of issue, by telling them, that the victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinea* were two faire Daughters, in whom his memory should liue.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthiest man that euer was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Countrey: for he equalled all others in the severall vertues, which in each of them were singular. His Iustice, and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wisedome, and high Magnanimity, were no way inferiour to his Militarie vertue; in euery part whereof he so excelled, that he could not properly be called a Warriour, a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an Industrious, and a Prouident Captaine. Neither was his priuate Conuersation vnanswerable to those high parts, which gaue him praise abroad. For he was Graue, and yet very Affable and Curteous; resolute in publique businesse, but in his owne particular easie, and of much mildenesse: a louer of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, witty & pleasant in speech, farre from insolence, Master of his own affections, and furnished with all qualities that might win and keepe loue. To these Graces were added great abilitie of body, much Eloquence, & very deepe knowledge in all parts of Philosophy and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, rested not in the sweetnesse of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gaue vnto *Thebes*, which had euer more been an vnderling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adioyning, and the highest command in *Greece*.

§. VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battaile of Mantinea. The voyage of Agesilaus into Egypt. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made betwene him and Pompey the Roman.

THis battaile of *Mantinea* was the greatest that had euer bin fought in that Country between the Naturals; and the last. For at *Marathon*, and *Platea*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gaue rather a great faue, than a hard triall to the *Grecian* valour, neither were the practice of Armes and Art Militarie, so perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted which were vnder taken against forraine enemies, prouing for the most part vnfortunate. But in this last fight all *Greece* was interested, which neuer had more able Souldiers, and braue Commanders, nor euer contended for victory with greater care of the successe, or more obstinate resolution. All which notwithstanding the issue being such as hath bin related, it was found best for euery particular Estate, that a generall peace should be established, euery one retaining what he presently had, & none being forced to depend vpon another. The *Messenians* were by name comprised in this new league, which caused the *Lacedemonians* not to enter into it. Their standing out hindred not the rest from proceeding to conclusion, considering that *Sparta* was now too weake to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to shew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it selfe in execution. This peace, as it gaue some breath and refreshing to all the Country, so to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leisure to seeke after wealth by forraine employment in *Egypt*, whither *Agesilaus* was sent with some small forces to assist, or indeede, as a Mercenarie, to serue vnder *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his warre vpon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded vnder *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, went now as a voluntary, with such forces as he could raise, by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the same seruice. These *Egyptian* Kings descended from *Amyrtæus* of *Sais*, who rebelled against *Darius*; *Nosbus*, hauing retained the Country, notwithstanding all intestine dissensions, and forraine inuasions, during three Generations of their owne race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the *Greekes*, that by their helpe (easily procured with gold) they conceiued great hope, not onely to assure themselves, but to become Lords of the Prouinces adioyning, which were held by the *Persian*. What the issue of this great enterprise might haue beene, had it not fallen by Domestick rebellion, it is vncertaine. But very likely it is, that the rebellion it self had soone come to nothing, if *Agesilaus* had not produced a false Traitor, ioyning with *Nectanebus*, who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebelle with that Armie which the mony of *Tachos* had waged. This fallthood *Agesilaus* excused, as tending to the good of his own Country; though it seeme rather, that he grudged because the King tooke vpon himselfe the Conduct of the Armie, vsing his seruice onely as Lieutenant, who had made full accompt of being appointed the General. Howsoeuer it came to passe, *Tachos* being shamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had reposed his chiefe confidence, fled vnto the *Persian*, vvhv vpon his submission gaue him gentle entertainment; and *Nectanebus* (who seemes to haue bene the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his stead. At the same time the Citizens of *Mendes* had set vp another King, to whom all, or most of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Agesilaus* fighting with him in places of aduantage, preuailed so farre, that he left *Nectanebus* in quiet possession of the Kingdome; who in recompence of his treason to the former King *Tachos*, and good seruice done to himselfe, rewarded him with two hundred and thirtie Talents of siluer, with which bootie sailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant, and a good Leader in Warre, free from couetousnesse, and not reproached with any blemish of lust; which praises are the lesse admirable in him, for that the discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endue euery one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent streame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe, of these good qualities. He was neuertheless very arrogant, peruerse, vniust and vaine-glorious, measuring all things by his owne will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses, whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him

him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Persia* should be ouerthrowne, with which conceit being transported, & finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans* & their Allies, he did euer after bear such hatred vnto *Thebes*, as compelled that Estate by mere necessity to grow war-like, and able, to the viter dishonour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable losse of all her former greatnesse. The commendations giuen to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, haue caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance against *Pompey* the Great; whose actions (the solemne grauity of carriage excepted) are very disproportionate. Yet we may truly say, That as *Pompey* made great warres vnder sundry Climates, and in all the Prouinces of the Roman Empire, exceeding in the multitude of imployments all that were before him; so *Agesilaus* had at one time or other, some quarrell with euery Towne in *Greece*, had made a Warre in *Asia*, and medled in the businesse of the *Egyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predecessours: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* neuer tooke. Herein also they were very like; Each of them was the last great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his Country by his owne Lordly wilfulness. We may therefore well say, *Similia magis* *maius quam paria*; The resemblance was neerer than the equality. Indeed the freedome of *Rome* was lost with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæsar*, whom he had enforced to take Armes, yet the Roman Empire stood, the forme of Government only being changed: But the liberty of *Greece*, or of *Sparta* it selfe, was not forfeited vnto the *Thebans*, whom *Agesilaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious Warre; yet the

Signiory, and ancient renowne of
Sparta was presently lost;
and the freedome of
all *Greece*

being wounded in this *Theban* warre, and after much blood lost,
ill healed by the peace ensuing, did very soon, vpon the
death of *Agesilaus*, giue vp the Ghost, & the Lord-
ship of the whole Country was seized by
Philip king of *Macedon*, whose
actions are now on foot,
and more
to be regarded than the Contemporary
passages of things, in any
other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertii.

Ttc

THE



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM THE
reigne of PHILIP OF MACEDON, to the
establishing of that Kingdome in the race of
ANTIGONVS.

THE FOURTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip the Father of Alexander the Great,
King of Macedon.

§. I.

What Kings reigned in Macedon before Philip.



He Greekes, of whom we haue already made large discourse, not as yet wearied with intestine War, nor made wise by their vain contention for superiority, do still as in former times, continue the inuasion and vastation of each other.

Against *Xerxes*, the greatest Monarch of that part of the World, they defended their liberty, with as happy success as euer Nation had, & with no less honor, than hath euer bin acquired by deeds of Armes. And hauing had a triall and experience, more than fortunate, against those Nations, they so little regarded what might come from them, who had so often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as whatsoeuer could be spared from their owne distraction at home, they transported over the Hellespont, as sufficient, to entertaine and busie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with euerie man of mark in the world, that they vnderfall, and perishe, by the hands and harmes which they least feare; so fared it at this time with the Greekes. For of *Philip* of Macedon (of whom we are now to speak) they had so little regard, as they grew euen then more violent in denouncing each other, when the fast-growing greatnesse of such a Neighbour-King, should, in regard of their owne safeties, haue serued them for a strong argument of vniou and accord. But the glory of their Persian victories, wherewith they were pampered and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the power & purposes of the Macedonians, because those Kings & States, which late neerer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntus*, the father of *Philip*, so much weakened them, & won vpon them, that they were not (as the Grecians perswaded themselves) in any one age, likely to recover

recover their owne, much lesse to worke any wonders against their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philosophy to consider; That all great alterations are storme-like, suddaine, and violent; and that it is then ouer-late to repaire the decayed and broken banks, when great riuers are once swollen, fast-running, and enraged. No, the Greekes did rather employ themselves, in breaking downe those defences, which stood between them and this inuasion, than seek to rampare and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the leuell of reason they might haue found to haue liuen vnder it. It was therefore well concluded by *Orosius*: *Græcie Cinitates imperare singula cupiunt, imperium omnes perdidit*; The Cities of Greece lost their command, by straining each of them to command all.

10 The Kingdome of Macedon, so called of *Macedon*, the sonne of *Osiris*, or, as other Authors affirme, of *Imper* and *Asira*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth Greece; It hath to the East, the Aegean Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the Thracians and Illyrians; and on the South and South-west, by Thessaly and Epirus.

Their Kings were of the family of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, & by Nation Argiues; who are listed as followeth. About some fixe yeares after the translation of the Assyrian Empire, *Arbaces* then gouerning Media; *Caranus* of Argos, commanded by an Oracle, to leade a Colony into Macedon, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that Country, the weather being raynie and tempestuous, he espied a great heard of Goats, which fled the storme as fast as they could, hasting them to their knowne place of couert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to minde, that he had also by another Oracle bene directed, to follow the first troupe of beasts, that should either leade him, or sic before him; He pursued these Goats to the Gates of Edessa, and being vndiscovered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darknesse of the aire, he entred their City without resistance, and possesst it. Soone after this, by the ouerthrow of *Cisseus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the rest of Macedon, and held it eight and twenty yeares. *Caranus* succeeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelue yeares. *Tyrinus* followed *Caranus*, and reigned eight and twenty yeares.

Perdiccas the first, the sonne of *Tyrinus*, gouerned one and fifty yeares: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. *Solmus*, *Plinius*, *Iustine*, *En-Sol. l. vi. s. 14.* *sebius*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochennus*, and others affirme, that hee appointed a place of buriall for himselfe, and for all the Kings of Macedon his Successours, at *Egea*: assuring them, that the Kingdome should so long continue in his Line & Race, as they continued to lay vp their bodies in that Sepulchre, wherin it is said, that because *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the posterity of the *Temenides* failed in him: a thing rather deuised after the effect, as I conceiue, than foretold by *Perdiccas*.

Argæus succeeded vnto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twenty yeares.

40 *Philip* the first, his Successour, reigned eight and twenty yeares.

Europus followed *Philip*, and gouerned fixe and twenty yeares: in whose infancy the Illyrians inuaded Macedon, and hauing obtained a great victory, they pursued the same, to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the Macedonians, gathering new forces, and resoluing either to recover their former losse; or to lose at once both their Kingdome & their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the field, & returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not bee beaten (their King being present) or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to abandon their naturall Lord, being an infant, and no way (but by the hands of his seruants) able to defend himselfe from destruction. The like is reported by *Aimonius* of *Clotarius* the son of *Fredegunda*.

50 *Alcetas* succeeded *Europus*, and ruled nine and twenty yeares.

Amyntus the first, succeeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fifty yeares; He liued at such time as *Darius Hystaspes*, after his vnprosperous returne out of Scythia, sent *Megabazus* with an Army into Europe, who in *Xerxes* name required *Amyntus* to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yeelding vnto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadors, as you haue heard before, were, for their insolent behauiour towards the Macedonian Ladies, slaine by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the sonne of *Amyntus*, and his Successour.

Alexander surnamed the Rich, the sonne of *Amyntus*, gouerned Macedon three and forty

forty yeares. He did not onely appease the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the slaughter of the Persian Embassadors, by giuing *Gyges* his Sister; to *Babares* of the bloud of Persia, but by that match he grew so great in *Xerxes* grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of Olympus and Hemus, to be vnto to the Kingdome of Macedon. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the Greekes. For *Xerxes* being returned into Asia, and *Mardonius* made Generall of the Persian Army; *Alexander* acquainted the Greekes with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sons, *Perdiccas*, *Archelaus*, and *Philip*.

Her. lib. 8.
Plat. Eu. lib.
Iust. Cr.

Perdiccas the second, the sonne of *Alexander*, liued in the time of the Peloponnesian Warre, and reigned in all eight and twenty yeares. The Warres which he made were not much remarkable: the Story of them is found here and there by pieces in *Thucydides* his first sixe bookes. He left behind him two sons; *Perdiccas*, who was very young, and *Archelaus*, who was base borne.

Perdiccas the third, being deliuered to the custody and care of *Archelaus*, was at seuen years of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false Guardian: who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* the mother of the young King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily, fell therinto by misadventure. But *Archelaus* stayed not here: for hauing thus dispatched his brother, he slew both his Vncle *Alcetas* the sonne of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the son of this *Alcetas*, his Cosen Germaine, and enioyed the Kingdome of Macedon himselfe foure and twenty yeares.

Plat. in Gorg.
Arist. in Pol. 5.

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though he made himselfe King by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he fought by all means to draw *Socrates* vnto him, and that he greatly loued and honoured *Eurypides* the Tragedian. He had two sons, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*.

Archelaus the second succeeded his father, and hauing reigned seuen yeares, he was slaine in hunting, either by chance, or of purpose by *Cratæus*.

Orestes his younger sonne was committed to the education of *Æropus*, of the royall bloud of Macedon, & had the same measure which *Archelaus* had measured to his Pupil, for *Æropus* murdered him and vsurped the Kingdome, which he held some sixe yeares: so the same who denied passage to *Agésilæus* King of Sparta, who desired after his returne from the Asian expedition, to passe by the way of Macedon into Greece.

Diod. Poly. 7.
Iust. in Demet.

This Vsürper left three sons, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his father *Æropus*, and hauing reigned one year, he was driuen out by *Amyntus* the son of *Philip*, the son of the first *Perdiccas*, the son of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preferred, when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his Brother *Perdiccas*, his Vncle *Alcetas*, and his son *Alexander*. This *Amyntus* reigned (though very vnquietly) foure & twenty yeares; for he was not only infested by *Pausanias*, assisted by the Thracians, and by his brother *Argæus*; incouraged by the Illyrians; and by the said *Argæus*, for two years dispossessed of Macedon: but on the other side, the Olynthians, his Neighbours neer the Ægean Sea, made themselves for a while Masters of Pella, the chiefe City of Macedon.

Amyntus the second had by his Wife *Eurydice* the Illyrian, three Sonnes; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the Great; and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*: Hee had also by his second Wife *Gyges*, three Sons, *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward slaine by their brother *Philip*: He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomy*, surnamed *Alorites*, of the City Alorus, wherein he was borne.

Alexander the second reigned not much aboue one yeare, in which time he was invaded by *Pausanias*, the sonne of *Æropus*, but defended by *Isphicrates* the Athenian, while he was at that time about Amphipolis. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great sum of mony) to leaue his youngest brother *Philip* in Hostage with the Illyrians, who had subiectd his father *Amyntus* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander* being inuited by the Aleuadæ against *Alexander* the tyrant of Pheres in Theffaly, hauing redeemed his brother *Philip*; to draw the Thebans to his assistance, entred into Confederacy with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same Country, with whom hee also left *Philip* with diuers other principall persons for the gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his mother falling in loue with her Sonne-in-law, who had married her Daughter

Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practised the death of *Alexander* her sonne, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which *Ptolomy Alorites* did put in execution: by meanes whereof he held Macedon for three yeares, but was soon after slaine by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodore* hath it otherwise of *Philip* being made pledge; and saith, That *Amyntus* his Father deliuered him for hostage to the Illyrians, by whom he was conueyed to Thebes, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his father was yet liuing) was first ingaged to the Thebans, and deliuered for hostage a second time by *Alexander* his brother.

Perdiccas the third, after hee had slaine *Alorites* his base brother, gouerned Macedon 10 foue yeares, and was then slaine in a battaile against the Illyrians, according to *Diodorus*; but *Isidore* affirmeth, that he perished by the practice of *Eurydice* his mother, as *Alexander* did.

§. II.

The beginning of Philips reigne; and how he deliuered Macedon from the troubles wherein he found it entangled.

Philip the second, the youngest sonne of *Amyntus*: by *Eurydice*, hauing beene instructed in all knowledge requisite vnto the gouernment of a Kingdome, in that excellent education which he had vnder *Epaminondus*, making an escape from Thebes, returned into Macedon, in the first yeare of the hundred and fifti Olympiad, which was after the building of Rome three hundred fourescore and thirteen yeares: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was enuironed, hee tooke on him, not as a King (for *Perdiccas* left a sonne, though but an infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of Warre. Yet his fruitfull ambition soone over-grew his modesty, and hee was easily perswaded by the people to accept both the Title of King, and withall, the absolute Rule of the Kingdome. And to say the truth, The necessity of the State of Macedon at that time required a King both 30 prudent & active. For, besides the incursions of the Illyrians and Pannonians, the King of Thrace did set vp in opposition *Pausanias*; the Athenians, *Argæus*; sonnes of the late Vsürper *Æropus*: each of these labouring to place in Macedon a King of their owne Election. These heauie burdens when *Philip* could not well beare, hee bought off the weightiest by mony, and by faire promises vnloaded himselfe of so many of the rest, as hee ranne vnder the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with foure thousand Macedonians, beside these that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the Pannonians were destroying all before them in Macedon; and that the Athenians with a Fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land vnder *Mantias*, did beate vpon him on all sides and quarters of 40 his Country: Yet after he had practised the men of warre of Pannonia; and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the King of Thrace from *Pausanias*, he forthwith made head against the Athenians his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he preuented their recovery of Amphipolis, a city on the frontier of Macedon: and did then pursue *Argæus* the sonne of *Æropus*, set against him by the Athenians, and followed him so hard at the heeles, in his retreat from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the battaile: which *Argæus* lost, hauing the greatest part of his Army slaine in the place. Those of the Athenians, and others which remained vnbroken, tooke the aduantage of a strong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet auoiding thereby the present fury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquishers life and liberty to returne into Attica. Whereupon a peace was concluded betweene him and the Atheni- 50 ans for that present, and for this clemency hee was greatly renowned and honoured by all the Greekes.

§. III.

The good succeffe which Philip had in many enterprises.

Now had *Philip* leasure to looke Northward; and to attend the Illyrians and Pæonians, his irreconcilable enemies and borderers: both which he inuaded with

so prosperous successe, as he slew *Bardillis*, King of the Illyrians, with seuen thousand of his Nation, & therby recouered all those places which the Illyrians held in Macedon: and withall, vpon the death of the King of Pannonia, he pierc't that country, and after a maine victory obtained, he enforc't them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) he hasted speedily towards *Larissa*, vpon the riuier *Peneus* in Thessaly, of which Towne he soon made himselfe master; & therby he got good footing in that Country, whereof he made vse in time following. Now although he resolved either to subdue the Thessalians, or to make them his owne against all others, because the horse-men of that Country were the best, and most feared in that part of Europe; yet he thought it most for his safety to close vp the entrances out of Thrace, least while he inuaded Thessaly and Greece towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or ouer-run Macedon, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous Riuer of *Strimon*, which parteth Thrace from Macedon, and won it. He also recouered *Pydna*; and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the city of *Crenides* (sometime *Datus*), and called it after his name *Philippi*: to the people whereof *Saint Paul* afterward directed one of his Epistles. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the aduancement of *Philips* affaires, he drew yearly a thousand talents, which make fixe hundred thousand French Crownes.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the Thracian shores of the Athenian Garrisons, to which he had giuen a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entered into league with his fathers malicious enemies the *Olynthians*; whom the better to fasten vnto him, he gaue them the City of *Pydna* with the Territory, meaning nothing lesse than that they should enioy it, or their owne Estate, many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground vpon the Greekes, he tooke the faire occasion to deliuer the City of *Pheres* in Thessaly, from the tyrants *Lycophron* & *Tisiphonus*: who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who vsurped vpon the liberty of that State, they themselues (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for euer after fasten the Thessalians vnto him, and, to his exceeding great aduantage, binde them to his seruice.

S. IV.

Of the Phocian Warre which first drew Philip into Greece.

ABout this time, to wit, in the second yeare of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, eight yeares after the battaile of *Mantinæa*, and about the eighth yeare of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, beganne that Warre, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concur towards the execution of eternall prouidence, and of euery great alteration in the World there is some preceding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned, so did this reuengefull hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, conceiued against the *Phocians*, not onely teach *Philip* how he might with halfe a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the *Greeks* themselues, beating downe their own defences, to giue him an easie passage; & beating themselues, to giue him victory without perill, left nothing vnperformed towards their owne slavery, sauing the title and imposition. Of this Warre the *Thebans* (made ouer-proud by their victory at *Leuctres*) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the generall Estates of Greece; in which, at that time, they swayed most, they caused both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Phocians* to bee condemned in greater summes of mony than they could well beare; the one for surprizing the Castle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing vp a peece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being resolved not to obey this Ediēt, were secretly set on and encouraged by the *Lacedæmonians*: and for refusall were exposed as Sacrilegers, and accursed to all their Neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to inuade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perswaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captaine of their owne, cast the same dice of hazzard that *Cæsar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance.

chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an vngracious quarrell, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolved to sacke the Temple it selfe. For seeing that for the ploughing of a peece of *Apollō's* ground, they had so much offended their Neighbour-God, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worfe could not befall them than already was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to preuaile against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the Warre, was ten thousand talents, which in those daies serued them to wage a great many men; and such was their successe in the beginning of the war, as they won three great battailes against the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* cast himselfe head-long ouer the Rocks.

In the meane while the cities of *Cheronefus*, both to defend themselues against their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroched vpon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendered themselues to the Athenians. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Methone* lost one of his eyes. It is said, That hee that shot him, did purposely direct his arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shaft therof: *After Philippo; After to Philip*: for so he was called that gaue him the wound. This City he euenced with the foile.

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was busied on the border of Thrace, and the *Thessalians* engaged in the holy war, entered Thessaly with new forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Army, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped so to entertaine the *Thessalians* at home, as they should not find leasure to inuade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the second time called into Thessaly; but both the *Thessalians*, and *Macedonians*, (*Philip* being present) were vtterly ouerthrowne by *Onomarchus*; and great numbers of both Nations lost. From Thessaly, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards *Bœotia*, and with the same victorious Army brake the forces of the *Bœotians*, and tooke from them their City of *Coronea*. But *Philip* impatient of his late misaduenture, after he had re-enforced his Army, returned with all speed into Thessaly, there to find againe the honour which he lately lost: and was the second time encountred by *Onomarchus*; who brought into the field twenty thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Army ouerturned, fixe thousand slaine, and three thousand taken: of which number himselfe being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled, were in part receiued by the Athenian Gallies, which sailed alongst the coast, commanded by *Chares*; but the greatest number of those that tooke the Sea, were therein deuoured ere they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now againe driuen out of Thessaly, and *Pheres* made free as before.

S. V.

Of the Olynthian Warre. The ambitious practices of Philip.

FROM hence *Philip* resolved to inuade *Phocis* it selfe, but the Athenians did not fauour his entrance into those parts; and therefore with the helpe of the *Lacedæmonians*, they retrencht his passage at the Streits of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon he returned into Macedon, and after the taking of *Micyberne*, *Torone*, and other Towns, he quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very strong, and had euermore both braued and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is said, that *Philip* hauing put to death *Archelaus* his halfe brother (for *Amyntas* had three sons by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other sonnes by *Gygæa*: but *Philips* elder brothers by the same Mother being dead, he determined to rid himselfe also of the rest) the two yonger held themselves within *Olynthus*; & that the receiuing of them by the *Olynthians* was the cause of the war, *Iustine* affirmeth. But iust quarrels are ballanced by iust Princes, for to this King all things were lawfull that might serue his turne; all his affections, & passions, how diuers soeuer in other men, were in his ambition swallowed vp, and therinto conuerted.

For he neither forbore the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelity; hee esteemed no place strong where his Asse loaden with gold might enter: Nor any City or State vnconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other mens sorrow and subiection. And because he thought it vain to practise the winning of Olynthus, til he had inclosed all the power they had within their owne Walls, he entred their Territory, and by the aduantage of a well-compounded and trained Army, he gaue them two ouerthrowes ere he fate down before the City it selfe: which done, hee bought *Euthicrates* and *Lasthenes* from their people, and from the seruice of their Country and Common-weale, by whose treason hee entred the Towne, slew his brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the inhabitants for slaues by the drumme. By the spoile of this place he greatly enriched himselfe, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For so was he aduised by the Oracle in the beginning of his vndertaking, *That he should make his assaults with silver speares*: Whereupon *Horace* well and truly said,

Hor. cxi. m.
Od. 16.

Diffidit Vrbium
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit amulos
Reges numeribus.

By gifts the Macedon claue Gates asunder,
And Kings enuying his estate brought vnder.

And it is true that he won more by corruption and fraud, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of Greece his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of Spaine:) So when in the contention between the Competitors, for the kingdome of Thrace, he was chosen the Arbitratour, he came not to the Counsell accompanied with Piety and Iustice, but with a powerfull Army, and hauing beaten and slaine both Kings, gaue sentence for himselfe, and made the Kingdome his owne.

§. VI.

How Philip ended the Phocian warre.

THe warre still continued betwene the Phocians, and the Associates of the holy warre, the Boeotians, finding themselves vnable to subsist without some present aide; sent vnto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yeelded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men, as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure themselves; but yet to inable them to continue the warre, and to waste the strength of Greece. They also sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirty talents, which makes a hundred & fourescore thousand crownes: but when with these supplies they had stil the worst against the Phocians, who held from them three of the strongest Cities within Beotia it selfe, they then besought *Philip* of Macedon that he would assist them in person, to whom they would giue an entrance into their Territory, and in all things obey his Commandements in war.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himselfe in state to giue the law to both, & so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with speedy pace towards Beotia, where being arriued, *Phaltecus* who commanded the Phocian Army, fearing to flock with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and withdrew himselfe with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into Peloponnesus, leaving the Phocians to the mercy of the Conquerour, and for conclusion he had the glory of that war called *Sacred*, which the Grecians with so many mutuall slaughters had continued for ten years; and, besides the glory, he posselt himself of Orchomene, Coronea, & Corfia, in the country of the Boeotians, who inuited him to be victorious ouer themselves. He brought the Phocians into seruitude, & wasted their Cities, and gaue them but their Villages to inhabite, reseruing vnto himselfe the yearly tribute of threescore talents, which make fixe & thirty thousand French Crownes. He also hereby (besides the fame of piety for seruice of the gods) obtained the same double voice in the Councell of the Amphictyones.

phictyones which the Phocians had, with the superintendency of the Pythian games, forfeited by the Corinthians, by being partakers in the Phocian sacriledge.

§. VII.

How Philip with ill success attempted vpon Perinthus, Byzantium and the Scythians.

Philip, after his triumphant returne into Macedon, by the Lieutenant of his Army *Permenio*, slaughtered many thousands of the Illyrians and Dardarians, and brought the Thracians to pay him the tenth part of all their reuenues. But his next enterprise against the Perinthians stayed his fury. Perinthus was a City of Thrace, seated vpon Propontis, in the mid-way between Sestos and Byzantium, a place of great strength, and a people resolute to defend their liberty against *Philip*, where the Athenians encouraged and assisted them. *Philip* fate downe before it with a puissant Army, made many faire breaches, gaue many furious assaults, built many ouer-topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repelled with equall violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continuall assaults to vncary them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the Persian with men and mony, & succoured from Byzantium which stood vpon the same Sea-coast, but they were relieved from Athens, Chio, and Rhodes, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatsoeuer was wanting to their necessity. But because those of Byzantium, by reason of their neighbourhood, and easie passage by water, gaue them often and ready helpe; *Philip* removed the one halfe of his Army and besieged it, leauing fiftene thousand foot before Perinthus, to force it if they could; But to be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that vndertake diuers enterprises at one time) and returned into Macedon with no lesse dishonour than losse: whereupon hee made an Overture of peace with the Athenians, and greatly desired it, to which though *Phocion* perswaded them in all he could, & that by the occasion offered they might greatly aduantage their conditions: Yet *Demosthenes* with his eloquence preuailed in the refusall. In the meane while, *Philip* hauing digested his late affront, and supplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred and threescore and ten Merchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his sonne *Alexander*, led them into Scythia; but he was also vnprosperous in this enterprise: For the Triballi, a people of Moesia, set on him in his return, vounded him, and tooke from him the greatest part of the spoiles, which he had gathered.

§. VIII.

How Philip ouerthrowing the Greekes in the battaile of Cheronæa, was chosen Capitaine-Generall of Greece. The death of Philip.

AMong these Northern Nations (part of which he suppress, and part quieted) he spent some eight years; and in the ninth yeare, after the end of the holy Warre, he was by his great aduantage inuited againe by the Grecians to their assistance. For the Citizens of Amphissa hauing disobeyed the decree of the Amphictyones, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reason that the Thebans & Locrians gaue countenance and aide to the Amphissonians, the rest were not of themselves able to constrain them, they besought *Philip* to come in person to their assistance. Now you must thinke that *Philip* was not long in resolving vpon this enterprise; hee needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe backe; nor other dissuasion than a mastering power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Army forthwith to march: the same being compounded of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred Phocis, wan Plataea, and brought into subiection all that Region.

The rest, & especially the Athenians, although they had good cause to fear that a great part of this storme would fall on themselves, yet were they dissuaded by *Demosthenes* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (hauing drawne the Thebans to ioine with them) to leaue the enioying of their estates

estates and their freedom to the chance of one battaile, than to hold either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratours eloquence cost them dear. It is true that he could far more easily minde them of the vertue of their Ancestors, than make them such as they were. He might repeat vnto them (with words mouing passion) the wonders they wrought at Marathon, but he could not transforme the Macedonians into Persians, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Aristides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had payed with the greatest ingratitude that euer Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the strength of a contrary faction he was at this time in disgrace, and not employed, in so much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates incountred, although he thousand of the Athenians did abide the killing, and the like number well-neere of the Thebans died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that side to hold vp the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the Macedonians, encouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gaue to *Philip* so shining a victory that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despite of all the Nations interiacent) into Persia, India, and Egypt; so it cut to the ground, and gaue end and date to all the Grecian glory: Yea their liberty (saith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion won with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for euer lost.

Now this aduised King (neuer passionate to his disadvantage) to the end he might obaine the Soueraignty ouer all Greece, and be acknowledged for their Captaine-Generall against the Persians, without any further hazzard or trouble, was content to let go those Athenians that were taken at this battell of *Cheronea*, as he also forbore to attempt any thing against their City: but in Thebes (which lately by the vertue of *Epa-minondas* triumphed ouer the rest) he lodged a Garrison of Macedonians. And being soone after (according vnto the long desire which he had nourished of this Soueraignty) by the generall States at Corinth, stiled the first Commander of all the Grecians, & contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Army of great strength, and vnder the Commandement of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, transported the same ouer the Hellespont into Asia, to begin the warre. Of his enterprise against Persia, he fought the successe from the Oracle at Delphos, from whence he receiued such another conuertible riddle, as *Cresus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discern and withstand the flatteries of our owne appetites, so did *Philips* ambitious desire to inuade Persia, abuse his iudgement, so farre, that the death, wherewith himselfe was threatened, he vnderstood to be deliuered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to inuade. Before his purposed departure into Asia, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of Epirus, to which feast and pastimes thereat appointed, he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the principall persons of the Grecian Cities, from whom he receiued much honour and many rich presents: but this was indeed the feast of his Funerall. For hauing refused to doe iustice to one *Pausanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly fauoured by *Philip*) had first made drunke, and then left to bee carnally abused by diuers base persons: this *Pausanias* grew into so great a detestation of the Kings partiality in so foule a fact, as when *Philip* was passing towards the Theater, hee drew a sword from vnder his long garment and wounded him to death, when hee had liued fixe and forty years, and reigned fife and twenty. *Isidore* reports it, that *Olympias* encouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband, which after his death he boldly auowed, by the honour she did vnto *Pausanias*, in crowning his dead body, in consecrating his sword vnto *Apollo*, by building for him a monument, and other like Graces.

§.IX.

What good foundations of *Alexanders* greatnesse were laid by *Philip*. Of his laudable qualities, and issue.

Now although hee were then taken from the World, when hee had mastred all opposition on that side of the Sea, and had seene the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripenesse and perfection; yet hee was here-

herein happy that he liued to see his son *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himselfe bin an eye-witnesse of his resolution, and singular valour in this last battaile.

The foundation of whose future greatnesse he had laid so soundly for him, with so plaiged a patterne of the buildings which himselfe meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was farre more easie to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings vnto *Philip*, though lesse famous. For, besides the recovery of Macedon it selfe, in competition between him and the sonnes of *Arropus*, the one assisted by the Thracians, the other by the Athenians, and besides the re-gaining of many places posselt by the Illyrians, the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the ouerthrow of Olynthus, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritime Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedome, and the subiection of that famous Nation of Greece, which for so many Ages had defended it selfe against the greatest Kings of the World, and won vpon them; He left vnto his sonne, and had bred vp for him, so many choice Commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and iudgement in the Warre, were no lesse worthy of Crownes, than himselfe was that wore a Crowne: For it was said of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, vngratefull to so great vertue, inpiouly murdered). That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternall fame, without the King; but the King, without *Parmenio* neuer did any thing worthy of renowne: as for the rest of his Capitaines, though content to obey the Sonne of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themselves.

Of this Prince it is hard to iudge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature & his excellent Education had enriched him with vertues. For, besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Affections, he had this fauour of Piety, that he rather laboured to satisfie those that were grieved, than to suppress them. Whereof (among many other) we finde a good example in his dealing with *Aradion*, and *Nicanor*, whom, when for their euill speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death; He answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them, that gaue him ill language, or in himselfe: Secondly, that it was in euery mans owne power to be well spoken off; and this was shortly prooued, for after *Philip* relieued their necessities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told those that had perswaded him to vse violence, that he was a better Physician for euill speech than they were.

His Epistles to *Alexander* his sonne are remembered to *Cicero*, and *Celsus*, and by *Dionysius*, and *Chrysostome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyaenus*, and *Frontinus*, his wife sayings by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his owne right, all the time of his reigne, yet was he not the true and next Heire thereof, for, *Amyntas* the sonne of his brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the protection during his infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his Daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a Daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philips* base sonne *Arideus*, her Vncle by the Mothers-side: both which *Olympias*, *Philips* first Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Arideus*, by extreme torments; *Eurydice* she strangled.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the Daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the Molossians (of the race of *Achilles*); *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*, *Cleopatra* was married to her Vncle *Alexander*, King of Epirus, and was after her brother *Alexanders* death slaine at *Sardis*, by the commandement of *Antigonus*.

By *Andanata*, an Illyrian, his second Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before.

By *Nicasipolis*, the Sister of *Isan*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, he had *Thessalonica*, whom *Cassander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but she was afterward by her Father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Neece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him, *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, caused to be rosted to death in a copper Pan. Others lay this murder to *Alexander* himselfe. By the same *Cleopatra* he had likewise a Daughter, called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers brest.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no issue. He had also two Concubines, *Arfinoe*, whom after he had gotten with child, he married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptoleme* King of Egypt, called the sonne of *Lagus*, but esteemed the sonne of *Philip*: by *Philotima*, his second Concubine, a pub-

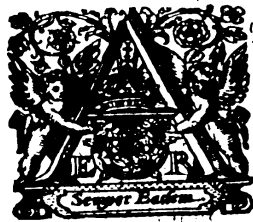
a publike Dancer, he had *Aridemus*, of vvhom vve shall haue much occasion to speake hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of Alexander the Great.

§. I.

A briefe rehearfall of Alexanders doings, before he invaded Asia.



Alexander, afterward called the Great, succeeded vnto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no lesse valiant by Nature, than by Education, vvell instructed, and enriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his reigne ouer the Macedonians foure hundred and seuentene yeares after Rome vvas built, and after his owne birth twenty yeares. The strange dreames of *Philip* his father, and that one of the gods in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as foolish tales; but that the Temple of *Diana* (a vvorke the most magnificent of the World) vvas burnt vpon the day of his birth, & that so strange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three severall victories, obtained by the Macedonians, it was very remarkeable, & might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and fore-shewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Vpon the change of the King, the Neighbor-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppressed, began to consult about the recovery of their former liberty, and to adventure it by force of Armes. *Alexanders* young-years gaue them hope of preuailing, & his suspected seuerity increased courage in those, who could better resolute to die, than to liue slavishly. But *Alexander* gaue no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily haue endangered the health of his Estate. For after reuenge taken vpon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew vpon his Tombe, & the celebration of his Funerals, he first fastened vnto him his own Nation, by freeing them from all exactions & bodily slavery, other than their seruice in his Wars; and vsed such kindly austeritie towards those that condemned his young yeares, and such clemency to the rest that perswaded themselves of the cruelty of his disposition, as all affections being passed at home, he made a present iourney into Peloponnesus, & so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Councell of the States of Greece, he was according to the great desire of his heart, elected Captain-Generall against the Persians, vpon which war *Philip* had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same title of Generall Commander) but had transported vnder the leading of *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*, a part of his Army, to recover some places on Asia-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the Persian occupied all *Alexanders* affections; those faire marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now shot at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts & imaginations were either grievous or hateful. But a contrary wind arising, for he receiueth aduertisement that the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedaemonians, had vnited themselves against him, and, by assistance from the Persian, hoped for the recovery of their former freedom. Hereto they vvere perswaded by *Demosthenes*, himselfe being thereto perswaded by the gold of Persia: the deuice he vsed was more subtille than profitable; for he caused it to be bruited that *Alexander* was slaine in a battaile against the Triballes, & brought into the assembly a Companion whom he had corrupted to affirme, That himselfe was present and wounded in the battaile. There is indeed a certaine Doctrine of Policy (as Policy is now a-dayes defined by falshood & knauery) that deuised rumors & lies, if they serue the turn, but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true that common people are sometime mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarms in the Wars; but in all that I haue obserued, I haue found the successe as ridiculous as the inuention. For as those that find themselves at one time abused by such like bruits, do at other times neglect their duties, when they are vpon true reports, and

in occasions perillous, summoned to assemble, so doe all men in generall condemne the Venders of such trumpery, and for them, fear vpon necessary occasions to entertaine the truth is false. This labour vnlooked for, and losse of time, was not onely very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate Persians, against which he had directed it, towards the manly & famous Grecians, of whose assistance he thought himselfe assured, his present vndertaking was greatly disordered. But that cannot endure to serue against the winde, shall hardly attaine the Port which he purpoeth to recover: and it no lesse becommeth the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewaile them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these Reuolters, as that himselfe, with the Army that followed him, brought them the first newes of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the Athenians, as they were the first that moued, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadors to pacifie the King, and to be receiued again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resolving; for the Persians perswaded him to pardon the Grecians. Wise men are not easily drawne from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King euer brought to effect any great affaire, who hath intangled himselfe in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certaine end.

And hauing now quietted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of Macedon, to wit, the Thracians, Triballes, Prones, Getes, Agrians, and other saluage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not much other of his Predecessours, but euen *Philip* his Father: with all which, after diuers overthrowes giuen them, he made peace, or else brought them into subiection. Notwithstanding this good successe, he could not yet finde the way out of Europe. There is nothing more naturall to man than liberty; the Greekes had enioyed it ouer-long, and loth too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once againe. The Thebans, who had in their Citadell a Garrison of a thousand Macedons, attempt to force it; *Alexander* hasteneth to their succour, and presents himselfe with thirty thousand foot, all old souldiers, & three thousand horse, before the City, & gaue the Inhabitants some daies to resolve, being euen heart-sicke with the desire of passing into Asia. So vnwilling, indeed, he was to draw blood of the Grecians, by whom he hoped to serue himselfe elsewhere, that he offered the Thebans remission, if they would onely deliuer into his hands *Phanix* and *Prothyes*, the stirrers vp of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean Sea) in stead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should haue made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be deliuered vnto them; as if Thebes alone, then layed in the balance of Fortune with the Kingdome of Macedon, and many other Provinces, could eyther haue euened the scale or swaied it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacy. For while the Thebans oppose the Army assailable, they are charged at the back by the Macedonian Garrison, their City taken and razed to the ground, sixe thousand slaine, and thirty thousand sold for slaves, at the price of foure hundred and forty talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other Grecian Cities.

Many Arguments were vsed by *Cleandrus* one of the prisoners, to perswade *Alexander* to forbear the destruction of Thebes. He prayed the King to beleue that they were rather misse-led by giuing hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of *Alexanders* death, they rebelled but against his Successour. He also besought the King to remember, that his father *Philip* had his education in that City, yea that his Ancestour *Heracles* was borne therein; but all perswasions were fruitlesse; the times wherein offences are committed, doe greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at liberty *Timoclea*, the sister of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the liberty of Greece against his father *Philip*. This noble woman being taken by a Thracian, and by him ravished, he threatened to take her life vnlesse she would confesse her treasure: she led that Thracian to a Well, and told him that she had therein cast it: and when the Thracian stooped to looke into the Well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now because the Athenians had receiued into their city so many of the Thebans, as had escaped

escaped and fled vnto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but vpon condition to deliuer into his hands both their *Orators* which perswaded this second *readie* and their *Captaines*; yet in the end it being a torment vnto him to receive the enterprize of *Persia*, he was content that the *Orators* should remaine, and accepted of the banishment of the *Captaines*, wherein he was exceeding ill aduised, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the resistance against him vnprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Gracians* brooke themselves to the seruice of the *Persians*, vvhom after a few dayes he inuaded.

S. II.

How Alexander passing into Asia, fought with the Persians vpon the River of Granicus.

When all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the first of the Spring did passe the *Hellepont*, and being ready to disimbarke, he threw a Dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waste in their own Territorie, or to burne, or deface thole buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possesse. He landed his Armie, consisting of two and thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all old Souldiers, neere vnto *Troy*, vvhich he offered a solemne sacrifice vpon *Achilles* Tombe, his maternall Ancestor.

But before he left his own coast, he put to death without any offence giuen him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinsmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly aduanced, not sparing such of his own as he suspected. He also took with him many of his tributarie Princes, of whose fidelity he doubted; thinking by vniust cruelty to assure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fel out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended vnto him, though agreeing very well with the iustice of God; for all that he had planted, was soone after withered, & rooted vp; those, whom he most trusted, were the most traiterous, his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercilesse sword as his owne, and all manner of confusion followed his dead body to the graue, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexanders* landing on *Asia* side was brought to *Darius*, he so much scorned the Armie of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himselfe, as hauing stiled him his seruant on a letter which he wrote vnto him, reprehending his disloyaltie and audacitie (for *Darius* intituled himselfe King of Kings, and the Kinlin of the gods) he gaue order withall to his Lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* aliue, whip him with rods, and then conuey him to his presence: that they should sinke his ships, and send the *Macedons* taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into *Ethiopia*, or some other vnhealthfull part of *Africa*.

In this sort did this glorious king, confident in the glittering, but heartlesse, multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished *Macedonians*: But the ill destinies of men beare them to the ground, by what strong confidence soeuer armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, & brought in one heape into the field, gaue rather an exceeding aduantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at all. For besides that they were men vtterly vnacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their king were wont to preuaile against those of lesse courage than themselves, men that tooke more care how to embroder with gold and siluer their vpper garments, as if they attended the inuasion but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to arme themselves with yron and Steele against the sharpe pikes, swords and darts of the hardie *Macedonians*; I say, besides all these, euen the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which euery one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled euery of them with the care of their owne safetie, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horses, in running away. The *Macedonians*, as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselves with the gold and iewels of *Persia*, both which they needed; so the *Persians*, who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the kings who had power to constraine them in assembling themselves for his seruice; but their owne fears and cowardise, which in time of danger had more power over them, they

they only then obeyed, when their rebellion against so seruile a passion did iustly and violently require it. For, saith *Vegetius*: *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles prelium capit, ita formidat impetum; nam sciendum est in pugna usum amplius prodesse, quam vires*. As the well-practised Squallier desires to come to battaile, so the raw one fears it: for we must understand, that in fight it more awailes to haue beene accustomed vnto the like, than onely to haue valour strength. What manner of men the *Persians* were, *Alexander* discovered in the first encounter, before which time it is said, by those that write his Story, That it was hard to iudge, whether his daring to vndertake the conquest of an Empire so well peopled, with a handfull of men, or the successe he had, were more to be wondered at. For at the River of *Granicus*, which seuereth the Territorie of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Persians* sought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and banke of the River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime vp vnto, and scale from the Leuel of the water. Great resistance (saith *Curtius*) was made by the *Persians*, yet in the end *Alexander* preuailed. But it seemes to me, that the victory then gotten was exceeding easie; and that the twenty thousand *Persian* foot-men, said to be slaine, were rather kil'd in the backe, in running away, than hurt in the bosomes by resisting. For had those twenty thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horsemen, or after *Plutarch*, two thousand and five hundred horse-men, dyed with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not haue bought their liues at so small a rate, as with the losse of foure and thirtie of all sorts of his own. And if it were also true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountered two of the *Persian* Commanders, *Spithridates* and *Rhufaces*, and that the *Persian* horse-men fought with great furie, though in the end scattered; and lastly, how those *Gracians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themselves in one body vpon a peece of ground of aduantage, did (after mercy was refused them) fight it out to the last; how doth it then resemble truth, that such resistance hauing beene made, yet of *Alexanders* Armie there fell but twelue Foot-men, and two and twenty Horse-men?

S. III.

Adiession concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battaile of Granicke.

The winning of this passage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought such terrour vpon all those of the lesser *Asia*, as he obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, some one or two Townes excepted. For in all inuasions, where the Nations inuaded haue once beene beaten vpon a great aduantage of the place, as in defence of Riuers, Streights, and Mountaines; they will soone haue perswaded themselves, that such an enemy vpon equall tearmes and euen ground, can hardly be resisted. It was therefore *Machianels* counsell, That he which is resolute to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced; that Armies of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the naturall difficultie of the wayes. One passage or other is commonly left vnguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the Country be distracted; and yet lightly some one place will be found that is defended very weakely. How often haue the *Alpes* giuen way to Armies, breaking into *Italy*: Yea, where shall we find that euer they kept out an inuadour? Yet are they such as (to speake briefly) assist with all difficulties those that trauaile ouer them; but they giue no security to those that lye behinde them: for they are of too large extent. The townes of *Lombardie* perswaded themselves that they might enioy their quiet, when the *Walke* Nation of the *Switzers* had vnderaken to hinder *Francis* the French king from descending into the Dutchie of *Milan*; but whilest these Patrons of *Milan*, whom their own dwelling in those Mountaines had made fittest of all other for such a seruice, were busied in custodie of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lombardie*, to so much the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the lesse they had expected his arrival. What shall we say of those Mountaines, which locke vp whole Regions in such sort, as they leaue but one gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and those of *Thermopyle*, haue seldome beene attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable; but how seldome (if euer) haue they beene attempted in vaine? *Xerxes*, and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of

Thermopylae; *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Ellis* wide open; how strongly soeuer they had bin locked and barred, yet were those Countries open enough to a fleet that should enter on the backe-side. The defence of *Rivers* how hard a thing it is, we find examples in all histories that beare good witness. The deepest haue many Fords; the swiftest and broadest may be passed by Boates, in case it be found a matter of difficultie to make a bridge. He that hath men now to defend all the length of his owne banke, hath also enow to beare his enemy; and may therefore doe better to let him come ouer, to his losse, than by struuing in vaine to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his owne disadvantage, till the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, hauing their means of safeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of such as are too good for them. Certainly, if a River were sufficient defence against an Armie, the Isle of *Mona*, now called *Anglesey*, which is diuided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea, had bene safe enough against the *Romans*, inuading it vnder conduct of *Iulius Agricola*. But he wanting, & not meaning to spend the time in making vessels to transport his forces, did assay the fords. Whereby he so amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like prouision by Sea, that surely beleeuing nothing could be hard or inuincible to men, which came so minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeelded the Island. Yet the *Britaines* were men stout enough, the *Persians* were very dastards.

It was therefore wisely done of *Alexander*, to passe the River of *Granike* in face of the 10 enemy, not marching higher to seeke an easier way, nor labouring to conuey his men ouer it by some safer means. For, hauing beaten them vpon their owne ground, he did thereby cut off no lesse of their reputation, than of their strength, leauing no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such vnable Protectors.

Soone after this victory he recouered *Sardis*, *Ephesus*, the Cities of the *Trallians* and *Magnesians*, which were rendred vnto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrey, he receiued with great grace, suffering them to be gouerned by their owne lawes. For he obserued it well; *Nouum Imperium inchoantibus vtilis clementia fama*; It is commodious vnto such as lay the foundations of a new Soueraignty, to haue the same of being mercifull. He then by *Parmenio* wan *Miletus*, and by force mastered *Halicarnassus*, 30 which because it resisted obstinately, he razed to the ground. From whence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queene, who had bene cast out of all that she held (except the Citie of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenant, presented her selfe vnto him, and adopted him her son and successeur; which *Alexander* accepted in so gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdome to her disposing. He then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, and obtained all the Sea coasts, and subiecting vnto him *Pisidia*, he directed himselfe towards *Darius* (who was said to be aduanced towards him with a marvellous Armie) by the way of *Phrygia*: For all the Prouince of *Asia* the lesse, bordering vpon the Sea, his first victory layed vnder his feet.

While he gaue order for the gouernment and setting of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they sent *Cleander* to raise some new Capitaines in *Peloponnesus*, and marching towards the 40 North, he entred *Celenus* seated on the River *Alexander*, which was abandoned vnto him, the Castle onely holding out, which also after forty dayes was giuen vp: for so long time he gaue them to attend succour from *Darius*. From *Celenus* he past on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a City called *Gordium*, the Regall-seate, in former times, of King *Midas*. In this City it was that he found the *Gordian* knot, which when he knew not how to vndoe, he cut it a sunder with his sword. For there was an ancient propheticke did promise to him that could vntie it, the Lordship of all *Asia*, whereupon *Alexander*, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himselfe the fulfilling of the propheticke, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the lesse towards the east, he tooke care to 50 cleare the Sea-coast on his backe, and to thrust the *Persians* out of the Islands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Cos*: the charge whereof he committed vnto two of his Capitaines, giuing them such order as he thought to be most conuenient for that seruice; and deliuering vnto them fiftie Talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his first spoyle gotten, he sent threescore Talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Macedon*. From *Celenus* he removed to *Ancira*, now called *Anguori*, standing on the same River of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there he mustered his Armie, and then

then entred *Paphlagonia*, whose people submitted themselves vnto him, and obtained freedom of tribute: where he left *Catus* Gouvernor with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arriued.

Here he vnderstood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to passe on towards him; for of this onely Capitaine he had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders he had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath vnderaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weales, the erection of Monarchies, the conquest of kingdomes and Empires, guided handfuls of men against multitudes of equal boddy strength, contriued victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, conuerted the fearefull passions of his own followers into magnanimitie; and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits haue bin stirred vp in sundry Ages of the world, and in diuers parts thereof, to erect and cast downe againe, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States, to the same certaine ends, which the infinite Spirit of the *Vniuersall*, piercing, mouing, and gouerning all things, hath ordained. Certainly the things that this king did were marvellous, and would hardly haue bin vnderaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to haue inuaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would haue contented himselfe with some part thereof, and not haue discovered the River of *Indus*: as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherewith he ran ouer so large a portion of the World, in so short a 10 space, may iustly be imputed vnto this, that he was neuer encountered by an equall spirit, concurring with equall power against him. Hereby it came to passe that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, than desert places, and the meere length of tedious iournies could make, were like the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge bulke. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, discover as braue a spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no lesse exquisitely, though the effects were lesse materiall, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would finde the exact pattern of a noble Commander, must looke vpon such as *Epaminondas*, that encour- 30 tring worthy Capitaines, and those better followed than themselves, haue by their singular vertue ouer-topped their valiant enemies, and still preuailed ouer those, that would not haue yeelded one foot to any other. Such as these are, doe seldom liue to obtaine great Empires. For it is a vvorke of more labour and longer time, to master the equall forces of one hardy & well-ordered State, than to tread down and vterly subdue a multitude of seruile Nations, compounding the body of a grosse vnweildy Empire. Wherefore these *Parmo Potentes*, men that with little haue done much vpon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choise examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactnesse and greatnesse concurring so seldom, that I can find no instance of both in one, saue on- 40 ly that braue Roman, *Cesar*.

Hauing thus farre digressed, it is now time that we returne vnto our Easterne Conqueror, who is traouiling hastily towards *Cilicia*, with a desire to recouer the Streights thereof before *Darius* should arriue there. But first making a dispatch into *Greece*, he sent to those Cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the *Persian* Targets which he had recovered in his first battaile; vpon which, by certaine inscriptions, he made them partakers of his victory. Herein he well aduised himselfe; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gaires in the Warres, as he doth of the spoiles, shall neuer be long followed of those of the better sort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and haue more of wealth than of reputation, do as often satisfie themselves with the purchase of glory, as the weak in fortune, and strong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and siluer.

The Gouvernor of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexander* comming on, left some Companies to keepe the Streights, which were indeede very defensible; and withall, as *Curtius* noteth, he began ouerlate to prise and put in execution the Counsell of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Warres aduised him to waste all the prouisions for Men and Horse, that could not be lodged in strong places, & alwayes to giue ground to the Inuader, till he found some such notable aduantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of victory. For the fury of an inuading Army is best broken, by delaies, change

of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes reposing themselves in beds, and more often on the cold ground. These and the like suddaine alterations bring many diseases vpon all Nations out of their owne Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while: from meat and sleepe, and refusing to giue or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horse, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance haue saued his owne life, and his estate. For it was one of the greatest encouragements giuen by *Alexander*, to the *Macedonians*; in the third and last fatall battaile, that they were to fight with all the strength of *Perseus* once.

Xenxes, when he inuaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost onely his men; but *Darius* being inuaded by the *Greekes*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, lost his kingdome. *Pericles* though the *Lacedamonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawne to hazard a battaile: for the inuaded ought euermore to fight vpon the aduantage of time and place. Because we reade Histories to informe our vnderstanding by the examples therein found, wee will giue some instances of those that haue perished by aduenturing in their own countries, to charge an inuading Armie. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brinke of their destruction.

Pompey was well aduised for a while, when he gaue *Cesar* ground, but when by the importunity of his Captaines he aduentured to fight at *Pharsalia*, he lost the battaile, lost the freedome of *Rome*, and his owne life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a battaile with the *French* to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound iudgement, that those Counsels which promise suretie in all things, are honourable enough.

The Constable of *France* made frustrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fifth, when he inuaded *Prouence*, by vvashting the Countrey, and forbearing to fight; so did the Duke of *Alma* wearie the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolue the boisterous Armie of the Prince of *Orange* in the low-Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrarie to the aduice of their Generall, would needs fight a battaile with the *Bourgonians*, inuading their Countrey, and could not be perswaded to linger the time, and stay their aduantage; but they lost eight and twenty thousand vpon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* set vpon king *Edward* at *Chesie*; and King *John* (when the *English* were well-neere tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit haue beene wasted to nothing) constrained the blacke Prince with great furie, neere *Poitiers*, to ioyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable successe these two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fifth of *France* made another kind of *Pabian*-Warfare; and though the *English* burnt and wasted many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbear blowes, and followed, his aduice, which told him, That the *English* could neuer get his inheritance by smoake; and it is reported by *Belloy* and *Herrant*, that King *Edward* was vvont to say of this *Charles*, that he wan from him the Dutchie of *Guien* without cuer putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short-liued, and the charge of things is committed vnto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any sound aduice. The course which *Memnon* had propounded, must in all appearance of reason haue brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexity, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more shamefull to returne, or dangerous to proceede. For had *Cappadocia* & *Paphlagonia* bin wasted whilest *Alexander* was farre off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* been defended by *Arseus*, Gouernor of that Prouince, with the best of his forces: hunger would not haue suffered the enemy, to stay the triall of all meanes that might be thought vpon, of forcing that passage; or if the place could not haue bin maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leisure haue bin so thoroughly spoiled, that the heart of his Armie should haue beene broken, by seeking out miseries by painfull trauaile.

But *Arseus* leauing a small number to defend the Streights, tooke the best of his Armie with him, to waste and spoile the Countrey; or rather, as may seeme, to find himselfe some worke, by pretence of which he might honestly run further away from *Alexander*. He should rather haue aduentured his person in custody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps haue saued the Prouince; and in the meane time, all that was in the fields, would

would haue beene conueighed into strong Townes. So should his Armie, if it were driuen from the place of aduantage, haue found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himselfe with his horse-men haue had the lesse worke in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gaue the *Cilicians* cause to wish for *Alexanders* comming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all formes of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arseus* made all haste to ioyne himselfe with *Darius*, burning downe all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, began to grow circumspect, and to thinke that surely their Generall, who gaue as lost the Countrey behind their backs, had exposed themselves vnto certaine death, as men that were good for nothing else but to dull the *Macedonian* swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countrey (which honour they saw that *Arseus* himselfe could well forbear) they speedily followed the foot-steps of their Generall, gleaning after his Haruest. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardise of his Enemies, and the whole Prouince that had beene alienated from the *Persian* side by their indiscretion.

6. I I I I.

Of the vnnarlike Armie leuied by *Darius* against *Alexander*. The vnadvised courses which *Darius* took in this Expedition. He is vanquished at *Issus*; where his Mother, wife, and Children are made prisoners. Of some things following the battaile of *Issus*.

IN the meane season *Darius* approached, who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Armie of more than two hundred and ninetie thousand Souldiers, out of diuers Nations, *Iustine* musters them at three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; *Plutarch* at sixe hundred thousand.

The manner of his comming on, as *Curtius* describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to set out his glorie and riches, than to prouide for his own safety, perswading himselfe, as it seemed, to beat *Alexander* with pompe and sumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire, which the *Persians* worshipped, attended by their Priests, and after them three hundred and threescore and fiue young-men, answering the number of the daies of the yeare, couered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Iupiter* drawne with white Horses, with their Riders clothed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horse of the *Sunne*: Next after these follow ten sumptuous Chariots, in-laid and garnished with siluer and gold; and then the Vantguard of their horse, compounded of twelue severall Nations, which the better to auoid confusion, did hardly vnderstand each others language, and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serue very fitly to disorder all that followed them; in the taile of these Horses the Regiment of foot marched, with the *Persians* called immortall, because if any died, the number was presently supplied: & these were armed with chaines of gold, & their coates with the same mettall imbrodered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearle; baies, either to catch the hungrie *Macedonians* withall, or to perswade them that it were great inuilitie to cut and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said: *Sumptuosè inductus miles, seu virtute superiore malis non existimet, cum in praelijs oporteat fortitudine animi, & non vestimentis muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur*; Let no man thinke that hee exceedeth those in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of minde, and not by the apparrell they put on, that enemies are beaten. And it was perchance from the *Roman Papyrius* that this aduice was borrowed, who when he fought against the *Sannites* in that fatall battaile, wherein they all sware cyther to preuaile or dy, thirty thousand of them hauing apparelled themselves in white garments, with high crests and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aside all feare: *Nem enim cristas vulnera facere, & per pilla atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum; For these plumed crests would wound no body, and the *Romane* pile would bore holes in painted and gilded shields.*

To second this Court-like company, fifteene thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breed the more terrour) & these were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinsmen. Then came *Darius* himselfe,

himselfe, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold, these the *Macedonians* did not serue, but they serued their turnes of these, by changing their massie-bodies into thin portable and currant coyne. The head of this Chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, couered with an open-winged-Eagle of the same metall: The hinder part being raised high wheron *Darius* sate, had a couering of inestimable value. This Chariot of the king was followed with ten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plated with silver, and their heads guilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the *Macedonian* blood, for feare of marring their beautie. He had for the proper Guard of his own person, two hundred of the blood Royall; blood too Royall and precious to be spilt by any valorous aduenture, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdy fellows, like the *Switzers*, would haue done him more seruice) and these were backt with thirtie thousand foot-men, after whom againe were led foure hundred spare horses for the king, which if he had meant to haue vsed, he would haue marshalled somewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Reareward, the same being led by *Sisygambis* the kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horse-backe, with fiftene Wagons of the Kings children, and the wiues of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurses and Eunuchs, most sumptuously apparelled. By which it should seeme that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had bin *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troupe was far fitter to behold those sports than to be present at battailes. Betwene these and a company of slight-armed slaues, with a world of Vallers, was the kings treasure, charged on fixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proued, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this sort came the *May-game King* into the field, incumbered with a most vnnecessary traine of Strumpets, attended with troupes of diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled; and for the most part so effeminate, and so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but haue encouraged the nakedst Nation of the world against them. We finde it in daily experience, that all discourse of magnanimitie, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Libertie, and whatsoeuer else hath bin vvont to moue and incourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common-Souldier, in comparison of spoyle and riches. The rich ships are boarded vpon all disadvantages, the rich Townes are furiously assaulted, & the plentifull Countries willingly inuaded. Our *English* nation haue attempted many places in the *Indies*, and run vpon the *Spaniards* head-long, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Pistols; vvhich, had they bin put to it vpon the like disadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poore Country, they would haue turned their Peeeces and Pikes against their Commanders, contesting that they had bin brought without reason to the Butchery and slaughter. It is true that the warre is made vvillingly, and for the most part with good successe, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needie are alwaies aduenturous, so plenty is wont to slunne perill, and men that haue well to liue, do rather studie how to liue well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car on il ny a rien a gaigner que des coups, volontiers il ny vapas. Norman makes haste to the market, vvhen there is nothing to be bought but blowes.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his Soothsaiers, he vvould haue satisfied himselfe by the out-sides of the *Persians*, and neuer haue looked into the inrailes of Beasts for successe. For leauing the description of this second battell (which is indeed no-where wel described, neither for the confusion & hastie running away of the *Asians* could it be) we haue enough by the slaughter that was made of them, & by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to informe vs what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that three score thousand *Persian* footmen were slaine in this battaile, with ten thousand of their horsemen: Or (as *Curtius* saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horsemen, and besides this slaughter, fortie thousand taken prisoners, while of *Alexanders* Armie there miscarried but two hundred & foure score of all forts, of vvhich numbers *Arianus* and other Historians cut off almost the one halfe: I do verily beleue, that this small number rather died with the ouer-trauaile and paines-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes receiued from them. And surely if the *Persian* Nation (at this time degenerate & the basest of the World) had had any

any sauiour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers, they would neuer haue sold so good cheape, and at so vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the kings children; had their owne honour beene valued by them at nothing, and the kings safetie and his estate at lesse. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a banished *Gracian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had assembled of diuers Nations, richly attired, but poorely armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in passing by they would deuoure, than to the *Macedonians*, vvhom they meant to assaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in grosse squadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, vvell couered with Armour for defence, and furnished with weapons for offence of great aduantage, vvould make so little account of his delicate *Persians*, louing their ease and their palat, being withall ill armed and vvorse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertain (hauing so great abundance of treasure to do it withall) a sufficient number of the same *Gracians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equall courage, he would repent him ouerlate, as taught by the miserable successe liketo follow.

But this discourse was so vnpleasing to *Darius* (who had bin accustomed to nothing so much as to his owne praises, and to nothing so little as to heare truth,) as he commanded that this poore *Gracian* should be presently slaine: vvho while he vv as a sundring in the Tormentors hand, vsed this speech to the king, That *Alexander*, against vvhom he had giuen this good counsell, should assuredly reuenge his death, and lay deserved punishment vpon *Darius* for despising his aduice.

It vv as the saying of a Wise man: *Desperata eius Principis salus est, cuius aures ita formata sunt, ut aspera quauisilia, nec quicquam nisi iucundum accipiat*; That Princes safetie is in a desperate case, vvhoose eares indge all that is profitable to be too sharpe, and will entertaine nothing that is vnpleasant.

For libertie in counsell is the life and essence of counsell; *Libertas consilij est ciuium vita, & essentia, qua erepta consilium euanesceit*.

Darius did likewise value at nothing the Aduice giuen him by the *Gracian* Souldiers that serued him, vvho intreated him not to fight in the Streighes: But had they beene Counsellers and directors in that Warre, as they were vnderlings and commanded by others, they had vvith the helpe of a good troupe of horse-men bin able to haue opposed the furie of *Alexander*, vvithout any assistance of the *Persian* foot-men. For vvhen *Darius* vv as ouerthrowne vvith all his cowardly and confused rabble, those *Gracians*, vvnder their Capitaine *Amintas*, held firme, and marched away in order, in despite of the vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: vvve reade in Histories ancient and moderne, vvhat braue retraits haue bin made by them, though the rest of the Army in vvhich they haue serued, hath bin broken.

At the battaile of *Ranenna*, vvhere the Imperials vv ere beaten by the *French*, a Squadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off vnbroken and vndismayed; vvhom vvhen *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemures*, and Nephew to *Henry* the twelfth, charged, as holding the victorie not tennent by their escape, he vv as ouer-turned and slaine in the place. For it is truly said of those men, vvho, by being acquainted vvith dangers, feare them not; That, *Neglecto periculo imminentis mali opus ipsum quantumvv difficile aggradiuntur*; They goe about the businesse it selfe, how hard soeuer it be, not standing so consider of the danger, vvhich, the mischise hanging ouer their heads, may bring: and as truly of those that know the warres but by heare-say, *Quod valentes sunt & prauales ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis discunt*; They haue abilitie enough, and to spare, vvill dangers appeare, but vvhen perill indeed comes, they get them gone.

These *Gracians* also that made the retract, aduised *Darius* to retire his Army into the plaine of *Mesopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into those large fields and great Champions, he might haue inuironed the *Macedonians* on all sides vvith his multitude; and vvithall they counsellled him to diuide that his huge Armie into parts, not committing the vvhole to one stroke of Fortune, vvhereby he might haue fought many battailes, and haue brought no greater numbers at once than might haue beene vvell marshalled & conducted. But this counsell vv as so contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Persians*, as they perswaded *Darius* to inuiron the *Gracians* vvhich gaue the aduice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite vvildome of God doth not vvork at vvates by

by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates, by taking vnderstanding from the Gouvernours, so as they can neither giue nor discern of Complots. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* vpon a streightned piece of ground, nere vnto the Citie of *Iffus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the aduice of *Parmenio* staied there, as in a place of best advantage) was vtterly ouerthrowne, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Grecians* his followers had perswaded him to leaue in *Babylon*, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexander*'s presence, were entertained with all respect due vnto their birth, their Honours preserued, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored vnto them; and though *Darius*'s Wife was a most beautifull Lady, and his Daughters of excellent forme, yet *Alexander* mastred his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Aristotle*, but the Historian, that he embraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of *Persia* in effect, fell into captiuitie; at which time also *Darius*'s Treasure (not lost at *Iffus*) was seized, amounting to fixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of *Buddian* fixe hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himselfe leauing his brother dead, with diuers other of his chiefe Captaines, casting the Crowne from his head, hardly escaped.

After this ouerthrow giuen vnto *Darius*, all *Phenicia* (the Citie of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Gouvernour.

Aradus, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, maritime Cities of great importance, of which one *Strata* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him so fast that it trod on his heeles; for *Antigonus*, *Alexander*'s Lieutenant in *Asiathe* lesse, ouerthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately reuolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius*'s Admirall, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly leuied; the *Lacedemonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten; foure thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retreat at the last battaile, forsaking both the party of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to diuide Kingdomes.

Alexander to honour *Ephestion*, whom he loued most, gaue him power to dispose of the kingdom of *Zidon*. A man of a most poore estate, that laboured to sustain his life being of the Royall blood, was commended by the people vnto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the same houre.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wisht that he could beare his prosperity with the same moderation, & quietnesse of heart, that he had done his aduersitie; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a signe that he did but accompany, and could not gouerne his felicitie.

While he made some stay in those parts, he receiued a letter from *Darius*, importing the ranfome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing, in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had receiued an ouerthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more scornfull answer vpon the offer of peace, than they did before the trial of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast leafe; the one a resolute well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate, *Alexander* disclained the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word that he not onely directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himselfe.

S. V.

How *Alexander* besieged and won the Citie of *Tyre*.

Alexander comming nere to the Citie of *Tyre*, receiued from them the present of a golden Crowne, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he tooke very thankfully, returning them answer, That he desired to offer a sacrifice

sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protection of their Citie, from whom he was descended. But the *Tyrans* like not his companion within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old City, adioynning, now abandoned and desolate. To be short, *Alexander* resolved to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Island whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Main, yet with the labour of many hands, hauing great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Lybanus*, he filled the passage of the Sea betwene the Island and the Main, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea vpon a storme of winde, sometime by the *Tyrans* fired, and sometime torne asunder, yet with the helpe of his Nauie which arriued (during the siege) from *Cyprus*, he ouercame all difficulties and preuailed, after he had spent seuen moneths in that attempt. The *Tyrans* in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the City, in respect whereof, and of the great losse of men and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those, that escaped the first furie, to be hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and reserved for slaves (saith *Diodore*) thirteene thousand, *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thousand. Many more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that serued *Alexander*, conueyed great numbers away by shipping vnto their owne Citie.

Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Towne was taken: for one of the *Tyrans* had vowed, that this god meant to forsake the Citie, they bound him fast with a golden chaine to the Idoll of *Hercules*; but *Alexander*, like a gracious Prince, loosened him againe.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprize and a difficult, but great things are made greater, for *Nabuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled vp the channell, that lay betwene the Island and the Main.

The gouernement of this Territorie he gaue to *Philotas*, the Sonne of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant vnder *Parmenio*; *Ephesus* had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

S. VI.

How *Darius* offered conditions of peace to *Alexander*. *Alexander* wins *Gaza*; and deales graciously with the Iewes.

IN the meane while *Darius* sends againe to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and laieth the losse of the last battaile to the streightnesse of the place: he hoped to terrifie him, by threatening to encompass him in the plaine Countries, he bids him to consider, how impossible it was to passe the Riuer of *Emphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other fearefull things: for he that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enow of that nature to present vnto another. All the kingdomes betwene the Riuer of *Alys*, and the *Helle-spont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloued daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his owne, and that which victory and his own vertue had possesst him of; That he was to giue conditions, and not to receiue any, & that he hauing passed the Sea it selfe, disdained to thinke of resistance in transporting himself ouer Rivers. It is said, that *Parmenio*, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, That were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius*'s offers; to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and comming before *Gaza*, with a faithfull seruant to *Darius*, but the Gate against him, and defends the Towne with an obstinate resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* receiued a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a stone; He found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the sands of *Gaza*, that he was forc't to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first began to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis*, (whom *Iosephus* calleth *Babemefis*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who neuer gaue ground to the Assailants, he bored holes through his feete, and caused him to be drawne about the street, whilst he was yet aliue, who being so valiant

valiant a man as himselfe, disdained to aske him either life or remission of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his Ancestor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Hector*? It is true, that cruelty hath alwayes somewhat to couer her deformity.

Lib. vii. c. vi.

From *Gaza* (saith *Iosephus*) he led his Army towards *Ierusalem*, a Citie, for the antiquitie and great fame thereof, well knowne vnto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had sent for some supply thither, which *Iaddus* the high Priest, being subiect and sworne to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Jewes* therefore fearing his reuenge, and vnable to resist, committed the care of their estates and safetie to *Iaddus*, who, being taught by God, issued out of the Citie couered with his Pontificall Robes, to wit, an vpper garment of purple, embroidered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Priests and Leuites in their rich ornaments, & the people in white garments, in a manner so vnusuall, statelie and graue, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Iosephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Priest, as reuerencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it. Howsoeuer it was, I am of opinion, that he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the successe after the propheticke of *Daniel* had been read vnto him, wherein he saw himselfe, and the conquest of *Persia* so directly pointed at, as nothing thence forth could discourage him or feare him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Iosephus*) that in *Dia* a City of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the conquest of *Asia*, he saw in his sleepe such a person as *Iaddus*, and so apperrelled, professing one and the same God; by whom he was encouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand, with assurance of victorie. This apparition, formerly apprehended onely by the light of his fantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes, wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and imbodened, as contrarie to the practice of the *Phenicians*, (who hoped to haue sackt and destroyed *Ierusalem*) he gaue the *Jewes* all, and more than they desired, both of libertie and immunitie, with permission to liue vnder their owne lawes, and to exercise and inioy their owne Religion.

§. VII.

Alexander winnes Egypt: and makes a iournie to the Temple of Hammon.

From *Ierusalem* *Alexander* turned againe towards *Egypt*, and entred it, where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Astages*, received him and deliuered into his hand the Citie of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this we see that the king of *Persia*, who had more of affection than of iudgement, gaue to the valiantest man he had but the command of one Citie, and to the verticest coward the gouernment of all *Egypt*. When he had set things in order in *Egypt*, he began to trauaile after God-head, towards *Iupiter Hammon*; so foolish had prosperitie made him. He was to passe ouer the dangerous and drie lands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels backe was spent, he could not but haue perished, had not a maruellous shouere of raine fallen vpon him, when his Armie was in extreame despaire. All men that know *Egypt*, and haue written thereof, affirme, That it neuer rained there: but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, and he bringeth to passe what pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when he had lost his way in those vast deserts, that a flight of Crowes flew before the armie; who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the Armie was cast backe, guided them out those pathlesse lands to *Iupiters* Temple.

Arrian, l. 3.

Arrianus from the report of *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Lagns*, saies, That he was led by two Dragons, both which reports may be a-like true. But many of those wonders and things prodigious, are fained by those that haue written the storie of *Alexander*, as, That an Eagle lay howering directly ouer his head at the battell of *Issus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when he slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnassus*, fore-shewing the treason of *Aropus*, practised by *Darius* to haue slaine him; That from the yron barres of which the *Tyrrians* made their defensiu engines, when *Alexander* besieged them, there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The *Spaniards* in the conquest of the West *Indies* haue many such

pretty

pretty tales; telling how they haue bin assisted in battaile, by the presence of our Lady, & by Angels riding on white horses, with the like Romish miracles, which I think themselves do hardly beleue. The strangest thing that I haue read of in this kind being certainly true, was, That the night before the battaile at *Nouara*, all the Dogges which followed the French Army, ranne from them to the Switzers, leaping and fawning vpon them, as if they had bene bred and fed by them all their liues, and in the morning following, *Triulzi* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by these Imperiall Switzers vtterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idoll of *Iupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*, for he bounds it by the Arabian Troglo-dites on the South, between whom & the Territory of *Hammon*; the Region *Thebais*, or the superiour *Egypt*, with the Mountains of *Lybia*, & the Riuer of *Nilus*, are interiacent; and on the North he ioynes it to a Nation, called *Nassamones*, who bordering the Sea-shore, liue (saith he) vpon the spoyle of shipwracke: whereas the temple or groue of this Idoll hath no Sea neere it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; these *Nassamones* being due West from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*. *Ptol. Af. Tab. 3.*

When *Alexander* came neere the place, he sent some of his Parasites before him to practise the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might be giuen in all things, agreeable to his made ambition; who affected the title of *Iupiters* son. And so he was saluted, *Sonne of Iupiter*, by the Devils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some thinke) defectiue in the Greeke tongue; For whereas he meant to say *Opuidion*, he said *O pai dios*, that is; *O sonne of Iupiter*, in stead of, *O deare sonne*: for which Grammaticall error he was richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spred, that the great *Iupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his owne.

He had heard that *Persens* and *Hercules* had formerly consulted with this Oracle, The one, when he was imployed against *Gorgon*, The other against *Anteus* and *Bufris*; and seeing these men had deriued themselves from the gods; why might not he? By this it seemes, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fooles, though indeed he made himselfe one, by thinking to couer from the worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the beliefe of his Deity, he had practised the Priests to giue answer to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should be pleasing to *Iupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Son.

Whothis *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a Bosse carried in a Boat, or by a Ram, or a Rams-head, I see that many wise men haue troubled themselves to find out; but, as *Arrianus* speaks of *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater* (who liued, saith *St. Augustine*, in *Mesistime*) *Ea que de dijs veteres fabulis suis conscripserit, non sunt nimium curiosè peruestiganda; vix enim potest curiose scrutari in fabulis, quibus antiqui haec scripserunt* of their gods.

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Gospell began to be preached in the World, the Deuill in this and all other Idols became speechlesse. For, that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Caesar*, and in the time of *Traian* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witnesse.

There is found neere his Temple a Fountaine called *Fons solis* (though *Ptolomy* in his third African Table sets it farther off) that at mid-night is as hot as boyling water, and at Noone as cold as any yce: to which I cannot but giue credit, because I haue heard of some other Wells of like nature, and because it is reported by *S. Augustine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others; and indeede our Bathes in England are much warmer in the night, than in the day.

§. VIII.

How *Alexander* marching against *Darius*, was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemy.

From the Temple of *Hammon* hee returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher *Psammones*, who, belike vnderstanding that hee affected the title of *Iupiters* Sonne, told him that God was the Father-King of all men in generall; and refining the pride of this haughty King, brought him to say, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that he acknowledged none for his children saue good men.

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Arist. Pol. l. 5.

He gaue the charge of the seuerall Prouinces of Egypt to seuerall Gouvernours, following the rule of his Master *Aristotle*, That a great Dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one: whom therein the Romane Emperors also followed, not daring to commit the government of Egypt to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank & degree. He then gaue order for the founding of Alexandria vpon the Wester-most branch of Nilus. And hauing now settled (as he could) the estate of Egypt, with the Kingdoms of the lesser Asia, Phoenicia, and Syria, (which being but the pawns of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy victory would readily haue redeemed,) he led his Army towards Euphrates, which passage though the same was committed to *Mazæus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without resistance past it. From thence he marched towards Tigris, a Riuer for the swiftnesse therof called by the Persians The Arrow. Here, as *Curtius*, and Reason it selfe tells vs, might *Darius* easily haue repelled the inuading Macedonian: for the violent course of the streame was such, as it draue before it many waighy stones, and those that moued not but lay in the bottome, were so round & well polished by continuall rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing; nor the Macedonian foot-men to wade the riuer, otherwise than by ioyning their hands and enterlacing their armes together, making one waighy and entire body to resist the swift passage and furious race of the streame. Besides this notable helpe, the Channell was so deep towards the Easterne shore, where *Darius* should haue made head, as the footmen were inforced to lift their Bowes, and Arrowes, and Darts ouer their heads to keep them from being moistned, and made vnersuiceable by the Waters. But it was truely and vnderstandingly said of *Homer*,

*Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq; Deorumq;.*

The mindes of men are euer so affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the world, by the surfeit of misgovernment haue bene subiect to many gricuous, and sometimes mortall diseases: So had the Empire of Persia at this time brought it selfe into a burning and consuming Feauer, and thereby become frantick and without vnderstanding, foreshewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Easterne shores of Tigris, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place, where *Mazæus* (who had charge to defend the passage both of Euphrates and it) presented himselfe to the Macedonians, followed with certaine companies of Horse-men, as if with vneuen forces he durst haue charged them on euen ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them, he forsooke the aduantage which no valour of his enemies could easily haue overcome. But it is commonly seene, that fearfull and cowardly men doe euer follow those waies and counsels, whereof the opportunity is already lost.

It is true that he set all provisions a fire wherewith the Macedonians might serue themselves ouer Tigris, thinking thereby greatly to haue distressed them; but the execution of good counsell is fruitlesse, when vnreasonable. For now was *Alexander* so well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Those things also which he sought to waste, *Alexander* being now in sight, were by his Horse-men saued and recovered. This, *Mazæus* might haue done some daies before at good leisure, or at this time with so great a strength of Horse-men, as the Macedonians durst not haue pursued them, leauing the strength of their foot out of sight, and far behind.

§. IX.

The new provisions of Darius. Accidents foregoing the battaile of Arbela.

Darius, vpon *Alexanders* first returne out of Egypt, had assembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the Arians, Scythians, Indians, and other Nations arrived; Nations (saith *Curtius*) that rather serued to make vp the names of men, than to make resistance. *Arrianus* hath

numbered them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse foure hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephants. *Curtius* who musters the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thousand foote, and nere fifty thousand horse, comes (I thinke) neerer to the true number; and yet seeing hee had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassalls, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all sorts some three or foure hundred thousand, with which he hoped in those faire plaines of Assyria, to haue ouer-borne the few numbers of the inuading Army. But it is a Rule in the Philosophy of the War;

In omni praelio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium solent prestare regem. In every battaile skill and practice doe more towards the victory, than multitude and rude audacity.

While *Alexander* gaue rest to his Army after the passage ouer Tigris, there happened an Eclipse of the Moone, of which the Macedonians, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwaies are) tooke it for a certaine preface of their ouerthrow and destruction, in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that disdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Iupiter*, they should all perish; For he not only inforced them to make warre against Worlds of enemies, but against Riuers, Mountaines, and the Heauens themselves.

Hereupon *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a halt, and to quiet the mindes of the multitude, he called before him the Egyptian Astrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be assured that this defection of the Moon was a certaine preface of good successe; for, that it was naturall they neuer imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, so as a sorry Almanack-maker had been no small foole in those daies.

Of this kind of superstitious obseruation *Caesar* made good vse, when he fought against *Arius* and the Germans: for they being perswaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they should certainly lose the battaile, *Caesar* forced them to abide it, though they durst not giue it; wherein hauing their minds already beaten by their owne superstition, and being resolutely charged by the Romanes, the whole Army in effect perished.

These Egyptians gaue no other reason than this, That the Grecians were vnder the aspect of the Sun, the Persians of the Moone; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the state of Persia was now in danger of falling, and their glory being obscured. This iudgment of the Egyptian Priests being noyed through all the Army, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though deuised since, was well obserued then: *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducit; Let not a Captaine leade his Army to the fight, when it is possessed with matter of terror.*

It is truely obserued by *Curtius*, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, wee finde it in all stories, and often in our owne, that by such inuentions, deuised tales, dreames, and prophesies, the people of this Land haue bene carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their owne losse and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew neere the Persian Army, certaine letters were surprized, written by *Darius* to the Grecians, perswading them for great summes of mony, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these by the aduice of *Parmenio* he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his faire Wife, oppressed with sorrow, and wearied with trauell, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no lesse to bewaile than *Darius*, who vpon the first bruit, suspected that some dishonourable violence had bene offered her; but being satisfied by an Eunuch of his owne that attended her, of *Alexanders* Kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortall Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the Persian Empire, then it would please them to conferre on so iust and continent an enemy as *Alexander*, to whom he once again before the last trial by battell offered these conditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliuer vp & resigne all Asia the lesse, & with Egypt, all those Kingdoms between the Phoenician Sea, & the Riuer of Euphrates; That he would pay him for the ranfome of his Mother, and his other Daughters 30.

thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof, he would leaue his son *Oechus* in hostage: To this they fought to perswade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had. *Alexander* causing the Embassadors to be remoued, aduised with his Counsell, but heard no man speak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perswaded him to accept of these faire conditions. He told him, that the Empire between *Euphrates* & *Hellepont* was a faire addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the Persian prisoners was a great cumber, & the treasure offered for them of far better vse than their persons, with diuers other arguments; all which *Alexander* reiected. And yet it is probable that if he had followed his aduice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might haue liued as famous for vertue as for fortune, and left himselfe a Successor of able age to haue enioyed his estate, which afterward, indeed, he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himselfe: who to assure themselves of what they had vsurped vpon his issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few yeares after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so farre into the East, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a iust & prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, aduised and gratefull: and being taught new lessons by abundance of prosperity, became a loue of wine, of his owne flattery, and of extreame cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath obserued, the raine of one vniust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the Persian Embassadors stay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoever he had bestowed on the wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his own naturall clemency and magnanimity, without all respect to their Master, but thanks to an enemy was improper; that he made no warres against aduersity, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summes of money to perswade his friends to attempt vpon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet he could not (were it otherwise & faithfull) resolute in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made the Warre against him, not as a King with Royall and ouert-force, but as a Traitor by secret & base practice; That for the Territory offered him, it was already his own, and if *Darius* could beat him back againe ouer *Euphrates*, which he had already past, he would then beleue that he offered him somewhat in his owne power: Otherwise he propounded to himselfe for the reward of the War which he had made, all those Kingdomes as yet in *Darius* possession; wherein, whether he were abused by his owne hopes or no, the battaile which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion, he told them, that he came into Asia to giue, & not to receive; That the Heauens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if *Darius* could be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superior, he might perchance be perswaded to giue him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

§. X.

The battaile of Arbela: and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.

With this answer the Embassadors returne; *Darius* prepares to fight, & sends *Mazius* to defend a passage, which he neuer dared yet so much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his Captaines, *Parmenio* perswades him to force *Darius* his Campe by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not moue terror in the *Macedonians*, being but few. *Alexander* disdaines to steale the victory, and resolues to bring with him the day-light, to witnesse his valour. But it was the successe, that made good *Alexanders* resolution, though the counsell giuen by *Parmenio* was more found: For it is a ground in Warre, *Si pauci necessarij cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare*. Notwithstanding vpon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers & trenches himselfe vpon a ground of aduantage, which the Persian had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for feare of surprize had stood with his Army in armour all the day, and forborne sleepe all the night; *Alexander* gaue his men rest and store of foode; for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre, *In pugna Milites validius resistunt, si cibo potuque refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinsecus*

magna pugnare, quam feram externis: Souldiers doe the better stand to it in fight, if they haue their bellies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than Steele without.

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arrianus*, were forty thousand foot, and seuen thousand horse; these besike were of the European Army: for he had besides both Syrians, Indians, Egyptians, & Arabians, that followed him out of those Regions. He vsed but a short speech to his Souldiers to intourage them; and I thinke that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former battailes vpon the Riuer of Granick and in Cilicia, the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria victoria parat, animum, victoribus auget, & aduersarijs auferit*; One victory begets another, and puts courage into those that haue already had the better, taking spirit away from those that haue been beaten.

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this battaile, fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell vs of many charges and re-charges; That the victory inclined sometime to the Persians, sometime to the *Macedonians*; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being ouertaken, who led the left wing; That *Alexanders* Rear-guard was broken, and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valourous encounters on both sides, Fortune herselfe was long vnresolued on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But, in conclusion, *Curtius* belieues vs in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible daies work, saying, That *Ephesius*, *Perdiccas* and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* findes not a third part of this number slaine; of the Persians there fell forty thousand (saith *Curtius*) thirty thousand according to *Arrianus*: Ninety thousand, if we beleue *Diodorus*. But what can we iudge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battailes, the Persians vpon the first charge ranne away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued: For if of these foure or five hundred thousand Asians brought into the field by *Darius*, euery man had cast but a Dart, or a Stone, the *Macedonians* could not haue bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as fixe or seuen hundred men in three notorious battailes. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* vpon the bankes of *Euphrates*, & had armed but fifty or threescore thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had beene impossible for *Alexander* to haue past that riuer so easily, much lesse the riuer of *Tigris*. But as a man whose Empire God in his prouidence had determined, he abandoned all places of aduantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so farre into the bowels of his kingdom, as all hope & possibility of escape by retrait being taken from the *Macedonians*; they had presented vnto them the choice, either of death or victory; to which election *Darius* could no way constraîne his own, seeing they had many large Regions to run in to from those that inuaded them.

§. XI.

Of things following the battaile of Arbela. The sieiding of Babylon and Susa.

Darius after the rout of his Army recovered Arbela the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded vnto them that ranne after him his purpose of making a retrait into Media, perswading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of spoile & riches, would rather attempt Babylon, Susa, and other Cities, filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander soon after *Darius* his departure arriues at Arbela, which with a great masse of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred to him: for the feare which conducted *Darius*, tooke nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had beene twice beaten, should rather haue sent his treasure into Media, than brought it to Arbela, so neere the place where he abid the comming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might haue brought it after him at leisure; but being ouercome, he knew it vnpossible to driue Mules and Camels laden with gold from the pursuing Enemy, seeing himselfe, at the overthrow he had in Cilicia, cast the Crown from his head, to run away with the more speed. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable. *Et praterita magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi*; It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.

From Arbela *Alexander* tooke his way towards Babylon, where *Mazeus*, in whom *Darius* had most confidence, rendered himselfe, his Children and the City. Also the Capitaine of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streets with flowers, burnt frankincense vpon Altars of siluer as *Alexander* passed by, and delivered vnto him whatsoeuer was committed to his trust. The *Magi* (the Chaldean Astrologers) followed this Capitaine in great solemnity to entertaine their new King: after these came the Babylonian horsemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poore in warlike furniture. Betweene these (though not greatly to be feared) and himselfe, *Alexander* caused his Macedonian foot-men to march. When he entered the Castle, he admired the glory thereof, and the abundance of treasure therein found, amounting to fifty thousand talents of siluer vncoynd. The City it selfe I haue elsewhere described, with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the wonderful place of pleasure about two miles in Circuit, surrounded with a Wall of fourescore foor high; and on the top thereof being vnder-borne with Pillars) a Grove of beautifull and frumfull trees, which it is said that one of the Kings of Babylon caused to be buile, that the Queen and other Princeesses might walke priuately therein. In this City, rich in all things, but most of all in voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himselfe and the whole Army foure and thirty dayes, consuming that time in banquetting and in all sorts of effeminate exercise, which so much softened the minds of the Macedonians, not acquainted til now with the like delicacies, as the seuer discipline of war which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painfull trauaile, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed ouer them, who thereupon were stiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honour those Captains which were found by certain selected Iudges to haue deserved best in the late warre. For before this time the Macedonian companies consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing downe of the foot-bands in this latter age hath been the cause (saith the Marshall *Montluc*) that the title and charge of a Capitaine hath been bestowed on euery *Picque Ban* or Spurr-Cow; for when the Captaines of foot had a thousand Souldiers vnder one Ensigne, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honourable, and the Kings were lesse charged, and farre better serued. *K. Henry* the eight of England neuer gaue the commandement of any of his good ships, but to men of known valour, and of great estate, nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of quality Commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in Babylon, there came to him a great supply out of Europe, for *Antipater* sent him fixe thousand foote and five hundred horse out of Macedon; of Thracians three thousand foot, & the like number of horse; & out of Greece foure thousand and foure hundred horse, by which his Army was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of Babylon, could hardly be brought againe, *De 40 quitter la plume pour dormir sur la dure; To change from soft beds to hard boords.*

He left the Castle and City of Babylon, with the Territories about it, in charge with three of his owne Captaines, to wit, *Agathus*, *Minetus*, and *Appolidorus*; to supply all wants, at thousand talents: but to grace *Mazeus*, who rendered the City vnto him, he gaue him the title of his Lieutenant ouer all, and tooke with him *Bagistines* that gaue vp the Castle, and hauing distributed to euery Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left Babylon, and entred into the Prouince Satrapene: from thence he went on towards Susa in Persia, the same which *Ptolomy*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call Memnonia, situate on the River Euleus, a City sometime gouerned by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* also, Gouverneur of this famous City, gaue it vp to the Conqueror, with fifty thousand talents of siluer in 30 bullion, and twelue Elephants for the warre, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. In this sort did those Vassals of fortune, louers of the Kings prosperity, hot of his person, (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their own peace and safety with the Kings treasures. And herein was *Alexander* well aduised, that whatsoeuer titles he gaue to the Persians, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his owne Captaines, to wit, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, with other Cities and Prouinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet liuing) had beaten the Macedonians but in one battell, all the Nobility of Persia would haue returned vnto their naturall Lord. Those that are Traitors

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to their owne Kings, are neuer to be used alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertaine them, not euen to be trusted with the defence of any frontier Town, or Portresse of might, by the rendering whereof they may redeem their liberty and estates lost. Heres of the French had experience, when *Dou Pedro de Nasarria*, being banished out of Spain, was trusted with *Fontenelle*, in the yeare 1523.

While *Alexander* spoiled *Arbela*, *Mazeus* might haue furnished the King from Babylon, and while he stayed foure and thirty dayes at Babylon, *Abulites* might haue holpen him from Susa: & while he feasted there, *Tiradates* from Persepolis might haue relieved him, for the great masse of treasure was laid vp in that City. But who hath sought out and friended fearfull aduersity? It is certaine, that benefits binde not the ambitious; but the honesty for those that are but greedy of themselves, doe in all changes of fortune onely consult the conseruation of their owne greatnesse.

The gouernment of Susa, with the Castle & Treasure, he committed to his owne Macedonians, making *Abulites*, who rendered it vnto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazeus* and others, in giuing them titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand and old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and *Darius* mother and her children to repose themselves.

It is said, that *Charles* the first hauing promised *Charles* of Bourbon the gouernment of *Marcellis*, if he could haue forc't it, & whereof he made sure accompt, told some of his nearest Counsellors, that he meant nothing lesse than the performance of that promise; because hee should thereby haue lost the Duke (reuelted from his Master) very well wherewithall to haue recouered his fauour.

S. X. I I.

How Alexander came to Persepolis, and burnt it.

FROM Susa *Alexander* leadeth his Army toward Persepolis, and when he sought to passe those mountaines which sunder Susiana and Persia, he was soundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended against him those Streights, called *Pyle Persica*, or *Susida*, and after the losse of many Companies of his Macedonians, he was forced to sue himselfe by retreat, causing his Foot to march close together, and to couer themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountain top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a Lycian, liuing in that country, discovered vnto him, & came thereby suddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being inforced to fight vpon euery ground, was by *Alexander* broken, wherupon he fled to Persepolis; but (after that they of Persepolis had refused to receive him) he returned & gaue a second charge vpon the Macedonians, wherein he was slaine. In like maner did King *Francis* the first, in the year 1515, finde a way ouer the Alpes, the Switzers undertaking to defend all the passages, who, if their footman ship had not saved them vpon the Kings descent on the other side, they had been ill paid for their hard lodging on those Hills.

Foure thousand Greekes, saith *Curtius* (insigne numbers them but at eight hundred) hauing been taken prisoners by the Persians, presented themselves to *Alexander* now in sight of Persepolis. These had the barbarous Persians so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their Hands, Noses, Eares, and other Members, as they could no way haue bene knowne to their Countri-men, but by their voices; to each of these *Alexander* gaue three hundred Crowns, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to liue vpon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his false hearted Grandes, hearing of *Alexanders* approach, made him know that Persepolis was ready to receive him; & prayed him to double his space, because there was a determination in the people to spoyle the Kings treasure. This City was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants vpon *Alexanders* arriall; and they that staid followed the worst counsell; for all was left to the liberty of the Souldiers, to spoyle and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had bin layed in the ballance with Persepolis, would haue waighed it downe: Babylon indeed, and Susa, were very rich; but in Persepolis lay the bulke and maine store of the Persians. For after the spoyle that had been made of mony, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and siluer, and other Jewels, there remained to *Alexander* himselfe one hundred and twenty thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand Macedonians

Macedonians in Persepolis, which he had done in Susa, & gave the same formall honor to the Traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abuluz*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his owne. The body of his Army he left here for thirty dayes, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*; and with a thousand horse and certaine troupes of chosen foote, he would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of Persia, which the Snow had couered; a fruitlesse & too foolish enterprise, but as *Seneca* saies: *Non ille ire uult, sed non potest stare, Hec hath not a will to goe, but he is unable to stand still.* It is said, and spoken in his praise: That when his Souldiers cried out against him, because they could not endure the extreame frost, and make way: but with extreame difficulty, through the snow, that *Alexander* forsook his horse, & led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to shew how well himselfe can endure it? His walking on foote did no otherwise take off their wearinesse that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drinke did quench their thirst, that could lesse endure it. For mine owne little iudgement I shall rather commend that Captain, that makes carefull prouision for those that follow him, & that seeks wisely to preuent extreame necessity, than those witlesse arrogant fooks, that make the vaunt of hauing endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We finde in all the Warres that *Cesar* made, or the best of the Romane Commanders, that the prouision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Ca. 10* *ligni*, Admirall of France; *That who so will shape that Beast* (meaning Warre) *must begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to Persepolis, where those Historians, that were most amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drinke; That he smothered in carowling cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reuerend Throne of the greatest King, into the company and familiarity of base Harlots, he began to be despised both of his owne & all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was enflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle & City of Persepolis, to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the persuasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the Asians, to think hardly of him, & thereby alien their hearts: For they might well belecue that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing lesse than (after such vastation) to hold their possession. *Per violentiam crudelitas sequitur; Cruelty doth commonly follow drunkennesse:* For it so fell out soone after, and often, in *Alexander*.

§. XIII.

The Treason of Bessus against Darius. Darius his death.

About this time he receiued a new supply of Souldiers out of Cilicia, and goes on to finde *Darius* in Media. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Army, which he meant to haue increased in Bactria, had he not heard of *Alexanders* coming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which was numbered at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once againe to trie his fortune. Hetherfore calls together his Captaines and Commanders, and propounds vnto them his resolution, who being desperate of good successe vsed silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of Warre, who had sometime liued with *Philip* of Macedon, brake the yce, and protesting that he could neuer be beaten by any aduersity of the Kings, from the faith which he had euer ought him, with firme confidence, that all the rest were of the same condition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approued the Kings resolution. Two onely, and those the greatest, to wit, *Naburzanes* and *Bessus*, whereof the latter was Gouvernour of Bactria, had conspired against their Master; and therefore aduised the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the gods nor Fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburzanes* vsed, and

and in conclusion aduised the election of his fellow Traitor *Bessus*, with promise that the warres ended, the Empire should againe be restored to *Darius*. The King swollen with disdain prest towards *Naburzanes* to haue slain him, but *Bessus* & the Bactrians whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the meane while *Naburzanes* with-drew himselfe, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull seruant, perswaded him to be aduised, and serue the time, seeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that hee would at leass make shew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle disposition, willingly yelded vnto. *Bessus* makes his submission and attends the King, who remoues his Army. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of foure thousand Greeks, which had in all the former Battailles serued *Darius* with great fidelity, and alwayes made the retrait in spite of the Macedonians, offered himselfe to guard his person, protesting against the Treason of *Bessus*; but it was not his destiny to follow their aduice who from the beginning of the Warre gaue him faithfull counsell, but he enclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the Greekes with *Patron* their Captaine were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practised the diuision of his faithfull seruants. *Bessus* had drawne vnto him thirty thousand of the Army, promising them all those things, by which the louers of the World and themselves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safety, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly discovered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being ouercome with passion, as thinking himselfe vnable to make head against these vngratefull and vnnatural Traitors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithfull seruant to depart from him, and to provide for himselfe. In like sort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all saue a few of his Eunuchs; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His Persians being most base cowards, durst not undertake his defence against the Bactrians, notwithstanding that they had foure thousand Greeks to ioyne with him, who had been able to haue beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himselfe, no man follows. It had been farre more Man-like and King-like, to haue dyed in the head of those foure thousand Greeks, which offered him the disposition of their liues, (to which *Artabazus* perswaded him) than to haue lien bewailing himselfe on the ground, and suffering himselfe to be bound like a Slave by those ambitious Monsters that laid hand on him, whom neither the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honour he had giuen them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefites bestowed on them, could moue to pittie: no, nor his present aduersity, which aboue all things should haue moued them, could pierce their viperous and vngratefull hearts. Vaine it was indeed to hope it; for infidelity hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound & laid in a Cart, couered with Hides of Beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discovered; & to adde despight and derision to his aduersity, they fastned him with Chaines of Gold, and so drew him among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Naburzanes* perswaded themselves to redeem their liues and the Prouinces they held, either by deliuering him a prisoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themselves Kings by his slaughter, and then to defend themselves by force of Armes. But they failed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most iust, to pardon so strange villany, yea, though against a Prince purely Heathenish and an Idolater.

Alexander hauing knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards Bactria, and durst not abide his coming, hastened after him with a violent speede, and because he would not force his foot-men beyond their powers, he mounted on horse back certain selected companies of them, & best armed, & with sixe thousand other horse, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forsooke him, gaue knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* took, and how neere he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* againe doubled his pace, and his Vant-gard being discovered by *Bessus* his Reare, *Bessus* brought a Horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to saue himselfe. But the vnfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beasts that drew him, & slew two poore Seruants that attended his person. This done, they all fled that could, leauing the rest to the mercy of the Macedonian sword.

Polystratus

Polystratus a Macedonian, being by pursuite of the vanquished prest with thirst, as hee was refreshing himselfe with some water that he had discovered, espying a Cart with a Teame of wounded beasts breathing for life, and not able to moue, searched the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his owne blood: And by a Persian captiue which followed this *Polystratus*, he vnderstood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of his barbarous Tragedy. *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the liuing God can be comforted) that he cast not out his last sorrowes vnhheard, but that by this Macedonian, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traitors, which had dealt no lesse vnworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their reuenge to *Alexander* by this messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his owne honour, and for the safety of all that did, or should after weare Crownes. He also, hauing nothing else to present, rendered thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace vsed towards his Wife, Mother, & Children, desiring the immortal gods to submit vnto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking, impatient death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired water, which *Polystratus* presented him, after which he liued but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherewith to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

§. XIV.

How *Alexander* pursued *Bessus*, and tooke into his grace *Darius* his Captiues.

IT was now hoped by the Macedonians, that their trauels were neere an end, euery man preparing for his returne. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved; for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundlesse ambition. Many arguments he therefore vsed to draw on his Army farther into the East, but that which had most strength was, that *Bessus*, a most cruell Traitor to his Master *Darius*, hauing at his deuotion the Hyrcanians, and Bactrians, would in short time (if the Macedonians should returne) make himselfe Lord of the Persian Empire, and enioy the fruits of all their former traualles. In conclusion, he wan their consents to go on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certaine Regiments of foote, and *Amynas* with fixe thousand horse in Parthenia, he enters not without some opposition into Hyrcania; for the Mar-dons, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine passages for a while. He passeth the riuer of *Zioboris*, which taking beginning in Parthia, dissolues it selfe in the Caspian Sea: it runneth vnder the ledge of Mountains, which bound Parthia & Hyrcania, where hiding it selfe vnder-ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth again and followeth its former course. In *Zadracarta* or *Zeudracarta*, the same City which *Ptolomy* writes Hyrcania, the Metropolis of that Region, he rested fifteen dayes, banquetting and feasting therein.

Phrataphernes, one of *Darius* his greatest Commanders, with others of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their places and gouernments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* most highly for his approoued and constant faith to his Master *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand and fixe hundred Greeks, the remainder of all those that had serued *Darius*; he treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arriued, but in the end they render themselves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the Lacedæmonians, whom he imprisoned, their Leader hauing slaine himselfe. He was also wrought, (though to his great dishonour) to receive *Nabarzanes* that had ioyned with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

§. XV.

Of *Thalestris*, Queene of the Amazons; where, by way of digression, it is shewed, that such Amazons haue bene, and are.

HE it is said, that *Thalestris* or *Atinothea*, a Queene of the Amazons, came to visite him, and her suite was, (which she easily obtained) That she might accompany him till she were made with childe by him: which done (refusing to follow him into India) she returned into her owne Country.

Plutarch

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But, indeede, the letters of *Alexander* himselfe to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this Amazonian businesse, may iustly breed suspition of the whole matter as forged. Much more iustly may we suspect it as a vaine tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his bookes to *Lyfimachus* (then King of Thrace) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage; was laught at by the King for inserting such newes of the Amazons; and *Lyfimachus* himselfe had neuer heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander* tooke vpon him to write his acts, which to amplifie, he told how the King had fought single with an Elephant, and slaine it. The King hearing such stuffe, caught the booke; and threw it into the riuer of *Indus*; saying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inserting such fables, disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we beleue & know that there are Elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one; so may we giue credit vnto writers, making mention of such Amazons, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaues the matter vndetermined. Therefore I will here take leaue to make digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some moderne discoverers touching these warlike Women, because not onely *Strabo*, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether, or no, there were any such kinde of people. *Iulius Solinus* seates them in the North parts of Asia the lesse. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one, on the Riuer *Thermoodon*; the other, neere the Caspian Sea; *Quas* (saith he) *Sauromatidas* appellant; which the people call *Sauromatidas*. The former of these two had the Cimerians for their Neighbours; *Certum est* (saith *Vadianus*, who hath commented vpon *Mela*) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuisse; It is certaine that the Cimerians were the next Nations to the Amazons*. *Ptolomy* sets them farther into the Land North-wards, neere the Mountaines *Hippaci*, not farre from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in Asia it selfe toward India, *Solinus* and *Pliny* telvs; Where they gouerned a people called the *Pandæans*, or *Padeans*, so called after *Pandæa* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest deriue themselves. *Clandian* affirmes, That they commanded many Nations: For he speaks (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

*Medis lenibusq; Sabæis
Imperat hic sexus: Reginarumq; sub armis,
Barbarie pars magna iacet.*

*Claud. de cap.
Proserpine.*

ouer the Medes, and light Sabæans, reignes
This female sexe: and vnder armes of Queen,
Great part of the Barbarian Land remains.

Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (saith he) than those which kept the banks of *Thermoodon*, a riuer falling into the *Euxine* Sea, neere *Heraclium*.

Herodotus doth also make report of these Amazons, whom he telvs that the *Scythians* call *Gorgætes*, which is as much, as *Viricidas*, or Men-killers. And that they made incursion into Asia the lesse, sackt *Ephesus*, & burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manethon* & *Auentinus* report, which they performed forty yeares after *Troy* was taken. At the siege of *Troy* it selfe we read of *Penthesilea*, That she came to the succour of *Priamus*.

Æneid. 1. l. 3.

Am. Marcellinus giues the cause of their inhabiting vpon the Riuer of *Thermoodon*, speaking confidently of the wars they made with diuers Nations, & of their ouerthrow.

L. 2. c. 7.

Plutarch in the life of *Thesens*, out of *Philochorus*, *Hellenicus*, and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiope* Queene of the Amazons by *Hercules*, and by him giuen to *Thesens*, though some affirme, That *Thesens* himselfe got her by stealth, when she came to visit him aboard his ship. But in substance there is little difference; all confessing, That such Amazons there were. The same Author in the life of *Pompey* speaks of certaine companies of the Amazons, that came to aide the Albanians against the Romans, by whom after the battell, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken vp: and he saith farther, That these women entertaine the *Gelæ* and *Lclages* once a yeare, Nations inhabiting between them and the Albanians.

But

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of Amazons that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez* who hath written the nauigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the riuer of Amazons from Peru, in the yeare 1542. (vpon which riuer, for the diuers turnings, he is said to haue sailed fixe thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Councell of the Indies, That he both saw those women and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

It is also reported by *Vlrichus Schmidel*, that in the yeare 1542. when he sailed vpon the Riuer of Paragna and Parabol, that he came to a King of that Country, called *Scherues*, inhabiting vnder the Tropick of *Capricorne*, who gaue his Captaine *Ernando Rieffere*, a Crowne of siluer, which he had gotten in fight from a Queen of the Amazons in those parts.

Ed. Lopez, in his description of the Kingdome of *Congo*, makes relation of such Amazons, telling vs, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right breasts, and liue a-part from men, saue at one time of the yeare, when they feast & accompany them for one moneth. These (saith he) possesse a part of the Kingdome of *Momotapa* in Africa, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest Guards of this Emperour, all the East Indian Portugals know.

I haue produced these authorities in part, to iustifie mine owne relation of these Amazons, because that which was deliuered me for truth by an ancient Cacique of *Guiana*, how vpon the riuer of *Papamena* (since the Spanish discoueries called Amazons) that these women still liue and gouerne, was held for a vaine and vnp probable report.

§. X V I.

How Alexander fell into the Persian Luxury: and how he further pursued Bessus.

NOW as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Persepolis*: so at this time his prosperity had so much ouer-wrought his vertue, as he accounted clemency to be but basenesse, & the temperance which he had vsed all his life time, but a poore & deiected humour, rather becoming the instructors of his youth, than the condition and state of so mighty a King, as the World could not equall. For he perswaded himselfe that he now represented the greatnesse of the gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground & adore him; he ware the robes and garments of the Persians, & commanded that his Nobility should doe the like: he entertained in his Court & Camp, the same shamelesse rabble of Curtisians, and Sodomiticall Eunuchs, that *Darius* had done, & imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, & detested maners of the Persians, whom he had vanquished. So licentious is felicity, as notwithstanding that he was fully perswaded, that the gods whom he serued (detesting the vices of the inuaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himselfe, contrary to the Religion he profest (which how Idolatrous soeuer it were, could not be but fearful vnto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, & not by ignorance or education, a more foule and fearfull Monster than *Darius*, from whose tyranny he vaunted to haue deliuered so many Nations. Yea, those that were dearest and nearest vnto him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornfull discourse; That *Alexander* of Macedon was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the Macedonians were in the end of so many trauailes, more impouertised in their vertues, than enriched by their victories; & that it was hard to iudge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered were the baser slaues. Neither were these opinions so reserved, but that the noise of them came to his eares. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacifie the better sort, and those of whose iudgments he was most iealous; and making it knowne to the Army, that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a King, and called himselfe *Artaxerxes*, & that he had compounded a great Army of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, he had arguments enow to perswade them to goe on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themselves (so farre engaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoiles of so many Cities, as the whole Army seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much vnlike the warfare of the French) hauing commanded euery mans fardels to be brought into the market-place, he, together with his owne, caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but haue proued

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most dangerous vnto him, seeing the common-Souldiers had more interest in these things which they had bought with their painefull trauailes, and with their blood, than in the kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often obserued) his happy temeritie overcome all things. As he was in his way, newes came to him, that *Satibarzanes*, whom he had established in his former gouernment ouer the *Arrians*, was reuolted; whereupon leaving the way of *Bactria*, he sought him out; but the Rebelle, hearing of his coming, fled to *Bessus*, with two thousand Horse. He then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire, with the aduantage of a strong winde, won the passage ouer an high and vnaccessable Rocke, which was defended against him, with thirtene thousand foot. For the extremitie of the Flame and smoake, forced them from the place, otherwise inuincible. I saw in the third ciuill warre of *France*, certaine Castles in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rockes, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by certaine bundels of straw, let downe by any iron chaine, & a waighty stone in the middle, those that defended it, were so smothered, as they rendred themselves with their plate, mony, and other goods therein hidden. There were also some three yeeres before my arriual in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Countrey-people, vvhich did set the long dry grasse on fire to the Eastward of them, (the winde in those parts being alwayes East) so as notwithstanding their flying from the smoake, there was not any one that escaped. Sir *John Borrowes* also, with a hundred *English*, was in great danger of being lost at *Margarita*, in the *West-Indies*, by hauing the grasse fired behinde him; but the smoake being timefully discouered, he recouered the Sea-shore with the losse of fixetene of his men. I remember these things, but to giue caution to those that shall in times to come inuade any part of those Countries, that they alwayes, before they passe into the Land, burne downe the grasse and fedge to the East of them; they may otherwise, without any other enemy, than a handfull of straw set on fire, dye the death of hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hiu.

§. X V I I.

A Conspiracie against Alexander. The death of Philotas and Parmenio.

ALEXANDER was, after he parted hence, no where resisted, till he came into *Aria*, to the East of *Bactria*, where the chiefe Citie of that Prouince, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended against him, by the reuolt of *Satibarzanes*, but in the end he receiued the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Armie was re-enforced with a new supply of fixe thousand and fixe hundred foot, and neere fixe hundred Horse, out of *Greece*, *Theffalie*, and other places. His iourney out of *Persia* into these parts, is very confusedly described. For hauing (as all his Historians tell vs) a determination to find *Bessus* in *Bactria*, he leaues it at the very entrance, & takes the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obscure *Mardi*, vpon the *Caspian-Sea*, and thence ouer the Mountaine *Coronus* into *Aria*, and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the treason of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the sonne of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessarie, if not principall. This *Dimnus*, hauing (I know not vpon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loued, into the same treason. The Youth, although he was first bound by oath to secrecie, when he heard so foule a matter vttered, began to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to haue slaine him for security of his owne life. So, constrained by feare, he made shew as if he had bin won by perswasion; and by seeming at length to like well of the businesse, he was told more at large what they were, that had vnderaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of ranke, whose names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned vpon to *Nicomachus*. *Nicomachus* had no sooner freed himself from the company of this Traitor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his owne brother *Ceballinus* with the whole Historie: whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with least suspicion) should goe to the Court, and vtter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole businesse, desiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promised to do;

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but did not. Two dayes passed, and *Philotas* neuer brake with the King about the matter, but still excused himselfe to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldnesse bred suspition, and caused *Ceballinus* to addresse himselfe to another, one *Mitron*, Keeper of the Kings Armorie, who forth-with brought him to *Alexanders* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed betweene *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perswade himselfe that this concealment of the treason, argued his hand to haue bin in the businesse. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other question than this: *wherein haue I so offended thee, that thou shouldst thinke Philotas more worthy to be King than I? Dimnus* perceiuing when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himselfe, that he liued no longer, than to giue his last groane in the Kings presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspition, which his silence might iustly breede. His answer vvas, That vvhien the practise was reuealed vnto him by *Nicomachus*, he iudging it to be but friuolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithall, vntill he might haue better information. This error of his, (if it were onely an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious seruices of his Father *Parmenio*, of his brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himselfe, had freely pardoned and giuen him his hand for assurance, yet by the instigation of *Craterus*, he againe swallowed his Princely promise, & made his enemies his Iudges. *Curtius* giues a note of *Craterus* in this businesse; How he perswaded himselfe, that he could neuer find a better occasion to oppresse his priuate enemy, than by pretending pietie, and dutie towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath giuen a note as much better, as it is more generall in his *Philotas*:

See how these great men cloathe their priuate hate,
In these faire colours of the publike good,
And to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection stood:
And arm'd with power and Princes ieaousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest ranke of treacheries,
That no one action shall seeme innocent:
Yea valour, honour, bountie, shall be made
As accessaries vnto ends vnjust:
And euen the seruice of the State must lade
The needfullst vnder-taking with distrust;
So that base vilenesse, idle Luxurie,
Seeme safer farre, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were so, that the king following the aduice of *Craterus*, had resolu'd the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very euening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to binde him, he cryed out vpon the king in these words: O *Alexander*, the malice of mine Enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is farre more constant than the word of a King. Many circumstances were vriged against him by *Alexander* himselfe (for the kings of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeede, against the kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote vnto him concerning the title giuen him by *Iupiter Hammon*; He answered, That he could not but reioyce that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but withall grieue for those that should liue vnder such a one as would exceede the nature of man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firme perswasion vnto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in dispight. See what a strange Monster Flatterie is, that can perswade kings to kill those that doe not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude, to heare the kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vilde garments and bound like a Theefe; where he heard himselfe, and his absent Father the greatest Capitaine of the World, accused, his two other Brothers, *Hector* and *Micenor* hauing beene lost in the present Warre. He was so greatly opprest with griefe,

as for a while he could vtter nothing but teares, and sorrow had so wasted his spirits, as he sank vnder those that led him. In the end, the king asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the king to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might vnderstand him. But hereof the king made his aduantage, perswading the assembly, that he disdain'd the language of his owne Country, and so with-drawing himselfe, left him to his mercilesse enemies.

This proceeding of the kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the king, who had so sharply inuey'd against him, would not vouchsafe to heare his excuse. For not his enemies onely were emboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, hauing discovered the kings disposition and resolution, contending among themselves, which of them should exceede in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments, which he vsed in his owne defence, this was not the weakest; That when *Nicomachus*, desired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of marke and power were his partners in the conspiracie (as seeming vnwilling to aduenture himselfe with meane and base Companions) *Dimnus* named vnto him *Demetrius* of the kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and some others, but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly haue valued the party, and haue encouraged *Nicomachus*. Indee'de, as *Philotas* said well for himselfe, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to haue heartned *Nicomachus*, would haue named him, though he had neuer dealt vwith him in any such practise. And for more certaine prooffe, that he knew nothing of their intents that practis'd against the king, there vvas not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforc'd by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that aduersity being seldome able to beare her own burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as she rather desires to draw others (not alwayes deseruing it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoeuer it were, to auoide the extremity of resistlesse and vnnaturall torments, deuised by his profest enemies *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Ephestion*, and others, *Philotas* accused his owne selfe, being perswaded that they would haue slaine him forthwith. But he failed euen in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on flesh and blood, he was forced to deliuer, not what he knew, but whatsoeuer best pleased their eares, that were farre more mercilesse than death it selfe.

Of this kinde of iudiciall proceeding *S. Augustine* greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with Fountaines of teares. *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur: Cum queritur utrum sit nocens, cruciatur: Et innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimus pennis: non quia illud commississe detegitur, sed quia non commississe nescitur? what shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his own cause; and tormented whilest yet it is in question whether he be guilty; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certaintie; not because he is knowne to haue committed the offence, but because others doe not know that he hath not committed it?*

It had beene enough for *Alexanders* safety, if *Philotas* had beene put to death without torment, the rest would not much haue grieued thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Hemolans*, who afterward conspired against him, made the kings cruelty and delight in blood, the greatest motiue of his owne ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca*, speaking of *Alexander*, saith thus: *Crudelitas minime humanum malum est, indignum animi animi; ferua ista rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abiecto homine, in siluestre animal transire; Cruelty is not a humane vice; it is unworthy of so milde a spirit: It is euen a beastly rage to delight in blood and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage Monster.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedie, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confession that *Philotas* made, vvere to giue end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeede; For (saith he) in this case, they that speake truly, or they that deny falsly, cometo one and the same end. Now, vvhile the kings hands vvere yet wet in blood, he commanded that *Lynceles*, sonne-in-Law to *Antipater*, who had beene three yeares in prison, should be slaine: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accused: others there vvere that were suspected, because they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had answered for themselves that they knew no way so direct to winne the kings fauour, as by louing those whom the king fauoured; they vvere dismist. But *Parmenio* vvas yet liuing; *Parmenio*, vvhich had serued

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with great fidelitie as well *Philip of Macedon* the Kings Father, as himselfe; *Parmenio* that first opened the way into *Asia*; That had deprest *Astalus* the Kings enemy; that had alwayes, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no lesse prudent in counsell, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloued of the men of War, and, to say the truth, he that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore reuenge the death of his Sonne, though not vpon the King, for it was vnlikely that he would haue dishonoured his fidelity in his eldest age, hauing now liued threescore and ten yeares, yet vpon those that by the witchcraft of flattery had posset themselves of his affection; it was resolved that he should be dispatcht. *Polydamis* was employed in this businesse, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* trusted most, and loued best, who (to be short) finding him in *Media*, and hauing *Cleander* and other Murderers with him, slew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings letters. *Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, militis domig, clari viri, Multa sine Rege prospera, Rex sine illo nihil magna reigesserat; This was the end of Parmenio* (saith *Curtius*) who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King, without him did neuer effect any thing worthy of praise.

§. X V I I I.

How Alexander subdued the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, and other people. How *Bessus* was deliuered into his hands. How he fought with the *Scythians*.

When these things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Armie, and brought vnder his obedience the *Arafsians* or *Euergetians*; he made *Amenides* (sometime *Darius* his Secretarie) their Gouvernour, then he subdued the *Arachosians*, & left *Menon* to command ouer them. Here the Armie, sometimes led by *Parmenio*, findes him, consisting of twelue thousand *Macedons* & *Greeks*, with whom he past through some cold Regions with difficultie enough. At length he came to the foote of the Mountaine *Taurus* towards the East, where he built a Citie, which he honoured with his owne name, and peopled it with seuen thousand of his old *Macedons*, worne with age and with traualles of the warre. The *Arians*, who since he left them were reuolted, he subdued againe by the industry and valour of *Caranus* and *Eriginus*. And now he resolues to finde out the new king *Bessus* in *Bactria*. *Bessus*, hearing of his coming, prepares to passe ouer the great Riuer of *Oxus* which diuides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Astabazeth* is made Gouvernour of *Bactria* abandoned by *Bessus*; The *Macedonian* Armie suffereth for want of Water, inasmuch as when they came to the Riuer of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, than *Alexander* had lost in any one battaile against the *Persians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after object vnto him) he fought against women, not against men, and not against their persons, but their shadows. Hee found on the bankes of this great Riuer no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boates, bridges, or raffe, but was forc't to sew together the Hides that couered his carriages, and stuffe them with straw, and on them in fixe daies to passe ouer his Armie, which *Bessus* might easily haue distressed, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army far off. He had formerly complained against *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tigris*, and other passages, and yet now, when this traiterous slaue had styled himselfe a King, he durst not performe any thing worthy of a slaue. And therefore those that were nearest vnto him, and whom hee most trusted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dasaphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moued both by the care of their own safety, and by the memory of *Bessus* his Treason and cruelty against *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the chain closed about his necke like a mastiffe Dog, and so was dragged along to be presented to his enemy.

In the meane while *Alexander* was arrived at a certaine Town inhabited with *Greekes* of *Asiatum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before hee returned out of *Greece*, whose issues had well-neere forgotten their Country-language. These most cruelly after they had receiued him with great ioy he put to the sword, and destroyed their City. At this place he receiued *Bessus*, and hauing rewarded *Spitamenes* with the rest that deliuered him, he gaue the Traitor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his brother, to be tormented.

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But while he now thought himselfe secure, some twenty thousand Mountainers assaulted his Campe, in repelling whom he receiued a shot in the legge, the arrow head sticking in the flesh, so as he was carried in a Horse-Litter, sometime by the horsemen, sometime by the foote.

Soone after he came vnto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Peropidius* takes to be *Samarchand*, the regall Citie of the great *Tamerlaine*. It had in compasse threescore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* saith.) Here he receiued the Embassadors of the *Scythians* (called *Anians*) vvhio offered to serue him.

The *Bactrians* are shortly again with the *Sogdians* stirred to Rebellion, by the same *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately deliuered into his hands the Traitor *Bessus*. Many Citie were resolutely defended against him, all which, after victory, he defaced & rased, killing all therein. At one of these he receiued a blow on the necke, which stricke him to the ground, and much disabled him for many dayes after. In the meane while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, against whom he employed *Menedemus* with three thousand foote and eight hundred horse.

In the heate of these tumults *Alexander* marched on (if we may beleuee *Curtius* and others) till he came to the Riuer of *Tanais*, vpon whose banke he built another *Alexandria*, threescore furlongs in compasse, which he beautified with houses within fteuenteen daies after the wals built. The building of this Citie is said to haue bin occasion of a war betwene him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perswading himselfe, that this new Towne was fortified of purpose to keepe him vnder. I doe not well vnderstand, why the *Scythians*, offering war in such terrible manner, that *Alexander* was iudged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit sicknesse for very feare, should neuertheless make suit for peace: neither finde I the reason why *Alexander* (not intending the conquest of those Northern deserts, but onely the defence of his owne banke) should refuse to let them alone, with vvhom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet hercof is made a great matter; and a victory described, in pursuit of which the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* haue greatly mistaken this Riuer, which they call *Tanais*. For it was the Riuer of *Taxartes*, that runs betwene *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* past ouer, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarchand*. But *Tanais* which diuides *Asia* from *Europe*, is neere two thousand miles distant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and the way desert and ynkowne. So that *Alexander* had (before *Taxartes*) the great Riuer of *Volga* and many others to swim ouer, ere he could recover *Tanais*: vvhich (from the place where he was) he could hardly haue discovered with the Armie that followed him, if he had imployed all the time that he liued in *Asia* in that traualle.

Wherefore it is enough to beleuee, that the *Asiatique Scythians*, making some offer, to disturbe the erection of this new Citie, vvhich was like to giue some hinderance to their excursions, were driuen away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defenceless Armes, easily chased some ten or twelue miles, which is the substance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his iourne; like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life time he were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that wast Country, where he could finde nothing but trees and stones, nor other businesse than to set vp a monument.

Threescore of the *Macedons* are said to haue bin slaine, and one thousand one hundred hurt in this fight; which might easily be in passing a great Riuer, defended against them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeede it is hardly possible, to set down the numbers of such as perished in battell: yet *Cesar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath bene to inquisiue into the greatnesse of their own successe, that writers haue bene able to deliuer such particulars by credible report, I hold it not vnlawfull to set downe vvhath we finde especially when it serues to giue light to the businesse in hand. The small number vvhich the *Macedonians* lost; the omission of the number vvhich they slew (a thing not vvhich in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may set out the greatnes of *Alexander*) & the little booty that was gotten; doe make it probable, that this war was no better than the reputation of a few rousing *Tartars* (the like being yearly performed by the *Scythians*), without any

any boast) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit, by others.

While Alexander was assuring himselfe of those *Scythians* bordering vpon *Iaxartes*, he receiued the ill newes that *Menedemus* was slaine by *Spitamenes*, the Armie (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slaine; to wit, two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appease the rebellion, and to take reuenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haste he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*; *Alexander* kills, burns, & lyes waste all before him; not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leaving a new *Gouernour* in that Prouince.

To repaire this losse he receiued a great supply of nineteene thousand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which, & the old Armie, he returns towards the South, and passeth the Riuer of *Oxus*; on the South-side whereof he built fixe Townes neere each other for mutual succour. But he findes a new Rebell; called *Arimaxes*, (a *Sagidian*) followed with thirty thousand Souldiers, that defended against him a strong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had fought in vaine to win by faire words, he made choice of three hundred young men, & promised them talents to the first, nine to the second, and so in proportion to the rest; that could finde a way to creepe vp to the top thereof. This they performed with the losse of some two and thirty of their men, and then made a signe to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandment. *Hercules* he sent one *Cophes* to perswade *Arimaxes* to yeeld the place, who being showed by *Cophes* that the Armie of *Macedon* was already mounted vpon yeelded simply to *Alexanders* mercy, and was (with all his kinned) scouted and crucified to death; which punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keepe good watch in so dangerous a time. For the place, as seemes by the description, might easily haue bene defended against all the Armies of the World. But, what strength cannot doe, Mans wit, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected; Of which I will giue you an example in a place of our owne.

The Island of *Sarke*, ioyning to *Garnsey* and of that gouernement, was in *Queen Marys* time surprisid by the *French*, and could neuer haue bene recouered againe by strong hand, hauing castell and corne enough vpon the place to feed so many men as will time to defend it, and being euery way so inaccessible, that it might be held against the *Great Turske*; Yet by the industry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this sort regained. He anchored in the roade with one Ship of small burden, and pretending the death of his Merchant, besought the *French*, being some thirty in number, that they might burie their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappell of that Isle, offering a present to the *French* of such Commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they should not come a shore with any vveapon, no not so much as with a Knife) the *Frenchmen* yeelded. Then did the *Flemings* para Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carke, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebusses. The *French* receiued them at their landing, and searching euery of them so narrowly as they could not haue a Pen-knife, gaue them leaue to draw their Coffin vnto the Rocks with great difficulty. Some part of the *French* took the *Flemish* Boat & rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the commodities promised, & what else they pleased; but being entred they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, shut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, set vpon the *French*; they run to the Cliffe and cry to their Company aboard the *Fleming* to come to their succour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings*, yeelded themselves at the place. Thus a Fox-tail doth sometimes helpe wel to piece out the Lions skin, that else would be too short.

S. X I X.

How Alexander slew his owne friends.

After these *Sagidian* and *Scythian* Warres, we read of *Alexanders* killing of *Ali-on*, and other friuolous matters, and that he committed the Government of *Maracanda*, and the Country about it, to *Clytus*, and how he slew him soone after, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the son, or rather because he obied to the King the death of *Bermio*, and decided the Oracle of *Hammon* for

for therein he toucht him to the quicke, the same being deliuered in publike, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deserved as much at the Kings hands, as any man liuing had done, and had in particular saued his life, vvhich the King vvell remembred when he came to himselfe, and when it was too late. Yet to say the truth, *Clytus* his insolencie was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgot whom he offended, so the King in his (for neyther of them were themselves) forgot whom he went about to slay, for the griefe whereof he tare his own face and sorrowed so inordinately, as, but for the perswasions of *Calisthenes*, it is thought he would haue slaine himselfe.

Wine begat Furie, Furie matter of Repentance: but preceding mischiefs are not amended by succeeding bewailing: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & dēscit; obstantem multo canatibus Versandiam remouet; ubi possedit animam nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non satis ebrietas vitia, sed protrahit; Drunkennesse both kindles and layes open euery vice; it remoues out of the way that shame which giues impediments vnto badde attempts; where wine gets the mastery, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out: drunkennesse indeed rather discovers vices, than makes them.*

Soone after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately reuolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife, and his head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dabans* also seized vpon his fellow-conspirator *Dataphernes*, and deliuered him vp. So *Alexander* being now freed from all these pettie-Rebels, disposed of the Prouinces which he past ouer, and went on with his Armie into *Gabaza*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Train. From hence he invaded the *Sacans*, and destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territorie of *Cohortians*, vvhich submitted himselfe vnto him, feasted him greatly, & presented him with thirtie beautifull Virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterward his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* disdained, yet none of them durst vse any freedom of speech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his course towards *India*, hauing so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the meane while he would needs be honoured as a God: whereto that he might allure the *Macedonians*, he employed two pernicious Parasites, *Hagis* and *Cleo*; whom *Calisthenes* opposed; For, among many other honest arguments vsed to the assembly, he told them, That he thought, that *Alexander* would disdaine the gift of God-head from his Vallais; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it neuer accompanied any one as yet liuing in the world. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a banquet, and vpon drinke, (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carousing feast) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they liued; they were in suite and succeeding Ages numbred among the gods. *Alexander* stood behinde a partition and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie, to be reuenged on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a louer of the Kings honour, was yet soone after tormented to death; not for that he had betrayed the king to others; but because he neuer would condescend to betray the king to himselfe, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracie against the king made by *Demetrius* and others (which they confest) he caused *Calisthenes* without confession, accusation, or trial, to be torne asunder vpon the racke: This deed vnworthy of a king, *Seneca* thus censureth. *Hoc est Alexandri crimen aeternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla laus, sed sitis redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum milia millia: opprimam, & Calisthenem: Quoties dixerit, Occidit Darium: opprimam, & Calisthenem. Quoties dixerit, Omnia Oceanotenus vici, ipsum quoque tenuit non elapsibus, & Indiam in angulo Thraciae usque ad Orientis terminos protulit: docetur, sed Calisthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Datum Regum exempla transierit, ex his quae fecit nihil tam magnam esse quam scelus Calisthenes; This is the eternall crime of Alexander, which no vertue nor flattery of his in future shall neuer be able to redeeme. For as often as any man shall say, He slew many thousand Persians; it shall be replied, He did so, and he slew Calisthenes: when it shall be said, He slew Darius, it shall be replied, and Calisthenes; when it shall be said, He wanted all as farre as the very Ocean, thereon also he aduentured with vnusall Numbers, and extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, to the utmost bounds of the Orient: it shall be said, He slew Calisthenes. Let him haue gone all the ancient examples*

examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his acts make so much to his glory, as Callisthenes to his reproach.

§. X X.

Of Alexanders iourney into India. The battaile betwene him and Porus.

With the Armie before remembered, of one hundred & twenty thousand foot and horse, Alexander did enter the borders of India, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves vnto him, he entertained lovingly, the rest he constrained, killing Man, Woman, and Childe, where they resisted. He then came before *Nisa* built by *Bacchus*, which after a few daies was rendred vnto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate fruits & Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to vvhom he made feasts for ten daies together. Now when he had drunke his fill, he went on towards *Dedula*, and from thence to *Acadera*, Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants; by reason whereof, victuals failing, he diuides his Armie: *Ptolomie* led one part, *Cenon*, another, and himselfe the rest. They take many Townes, whereof that of greatest fame was *Mazaga*, which had in it 3. hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yielded vnto him by *Cleopbe* the Queene, to whom againe he restored it; at the siege of this Citie he received a wound in the legge. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polyperchon*, and a Rocke of great strength by himselfe: he wanne also a passage vpon one *Eryx*, who was slaine by his companie, and his head presented to Alexander. This is the summe of Alexanders doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the Riuer of *Indus*. Comming to *Indus*, he found there *Epheslion*, who (being sent before) had prepared boates for the transportation of his Armie, and ere Alexanders arrived, had perswaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Country, to submit himselfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, soone vpon Alexanders comming, *Omphis* presented himselfe with all the strength of his Country, and sixe and fiftie Elephants, vnto him; offering him his seruice and assistance. He made Alexander know, that he was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of India, named *Abisares* and *Porus*; wherewith Alexander was not a little pleased, hoping by this diuision to make his owne victorie by farre the more easie. He presented Alexander with a Crowne of gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withall fourescore talents of siluer coyne; which Alexander not onely refused, but to shew that he was couetous of glory, not of gold, he gaue *Omphis* a thousand talents of his owne treasure, besides other *Persian* rarities. *Abisares*, having heard that Alexander had received his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, resolved to make his owne peace also: For, knowing that his owne strength did but equall that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference betwene them, than that which the chance of Warre gaue, he thought it an ill match vhen Alexander, who had already beaten vnder foote all the greatest Princes of Asia, should make himselfe a Party and Head of the quarrell. So had Alexander none now to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a commandement, that he should attend him at the border of his kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from *Porus* he received this manly answer; That he would satisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement he was resolved to take counsell of his Sword. To be short, Alexander resolves to passe ouer the Riuer *Hydaspes*, and to finde *Porus* at his owne home. *Porus* attends him on the farther banke with thirtie thousand foot, fourescore & ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troop of Horse. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, Alexander had surely stayed somewhat longer ere he had scene India. The Riuer was foure furlongs broad, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deepe and swift. It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well shadowed with vwood, and of good capacite. Alexander sent *Ptolomie* vpon the Riuer with a great part of the Army, shrowding the rest from the view of *Porus*: who by this deuice being drawne from his first incamping, sets himselfe downe opposite to *Ptolomie*, supposing that the whole Armie of *Macedon* meant to force their passage there. In the meane while Alexander recouers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troopes and aduanceth towards *Porus*, who at first rather beleeueth, that *Abisares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had bin come ouer *Hydaspes* to his aide, than that Alexander had sent it. But

But he findes it otherwise, and sends his Brother *Hagis* with foure thousand horse, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaime him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little vse: for there had fallen so much raine, and thereby the fields were so moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The *Seythians* and *Dabans* had the Vanguard, who so galled these Indians, as they brake their reines, & other furniture, ouerturning the waggons, and those in them. *Pordiceas* also gaue vp the Indian horse-men, and the one and the other were forc't to recoile. *Porus* moves forward with grosse of his Armie, that those of his Vanguard scattered might recouer his Reare: Alexander being followed with *Epheslion*, *Ptolomie*, and *Perdiccas*, tooke on him to charge the Indian horse-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenon* or *Cenon* to inuade the right; *Antigonus* and *Eromatus*, he directed to breake vpon *Porus* his battaile of foot, strenghtened with Elephants, *Porus* himself being carried vpon one of them, of the greatest stature. By these beasts the *Macedonian* foote were most offended; but the Archers and Darters being well guarded with the long & strong Pikes of the *Macedonians*, so galled them as being intraged, they turned head, and ranne ouer the foot that followed them: In the end, and after along and doubtfull fight, by the aduantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulnesse of the *Macedonian* Captaines, the victory fell to Alexander, who also farre exceeded *Porus* in number: for besides the *Macedonians* and other Easterne and Northerne Nations, *Porus* was assailed by his owne Confederate and Countie people. Yet for his owne person he neuer gaue ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Armie, he became a prisoner to the Conqueror, from whom againe he received his estate with a great enlargement.

§. X X I.

How Alexander finished his expedition, and returned out of India.

I Forbeare to trouble my selfe and others with a friuolous discourse of Serpents, Apes and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these their trauailes: or of those pettie Warres which Alexander made betwene the ouerthrow of *Porus*, and his falling downe the Riuer of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better knowne vnto vs in this Age, by meanes of our late Nauigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no sort be perswaded to beleue, till our own experience had taught vs, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be scene betwene London and *Staves*.

Our great traeller *Mandeuile*, who died in the yeare 1372. and had scene so much of the World, and of the East India, we accompted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to iudge as we. Witnesse the Monument made of him in the Couent of the Friers *Guillimini* in *Liege*, where the religious of that place keep some things of his, Comme pour honorable memoire de son Excellence; For an honourable memorie of his Excellencie, saith *Guichardine*.

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Riuers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradris*, *Acisines*, and the rest, fall into the maine streame, are now posselt by the great *Mozor*, the ninth from *Tamberlaine*, who commands all that tract betwene *Persia* and *Indus* towards the West, as also a great extent of Countie towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Ascension*, a shippe of London, suffered shipwracke, in the yeare 1609. and some of the company trauelled ouer Land till they came to *Agra*, the same great Citie (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dronisepole*.

Philostratus in the life of *Apollonius Tyanicus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bactrus* and *Hercules* into the East India, tells vs, that those two great Captaines (whom Alexander fought by all means to out-fame) when they intended to subiect to them the *Oxydrace*, a people inhabiting betwene the Riuers of *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the assault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be vnderstood by the great Ordinance that those people had then in vse. For it is now certainly knowne, that the great kings of the vttermost East, haue had the vse of the Canon many hundreds of yeares since, and euen since their first ciuillie and greatnesse, which was long before Alexanders

Guic. in Disc.
of the Low
Countries.

Alexanders time. But Alexander pierc't not so farre into the East. It sufficed, that hauing already ouer-wearied his Armie, he discouered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Agramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the *Riuer Ganges*, was the powerfullst king of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though Alexander were more inflamed than euer to proceed in this discouery and conquest, yet all the art he had, could not perswade the Souldiers to wander ouer those great Desarts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible vnto them than the greatest Armie that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many perswasive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discouer such part of the Ocean Sea, as was neerer at hand, whereunto the Riuer of *Indus* was their infallible guide. Alexander seeing that it would be no otherwise, deuised a prettie trick, wherewith he hoped to beguile posteritie, and make himselfe seeme greater than he was. He enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cabbines for Souldiers, greater Horse-stalles, and higher mangers than Horses could feede in. He caused all furniture of Men and Horses to be made larger than would serue for vse; and scattered these Armourers & Bridles about his Campe, to be kept as reliques, and wondered at by the Sauages. Proportionable to these he raised vp twelue great Altars to be the monument of his iournies end. This was a readie way to encrease the fame of his bignesse; to his greatnesse it could adde nothing faue a suspition, that it was lesse than is thought, seeing he stroue so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned againe to the banke of *Acesines*, and there determined to set vp his fleet where *Acesines* and *Hydaspis* incounter; where to testifie by a surer monument, how far he had past towards the East, he built by those riuers two Cities: the one he called *Nicaea*, & the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloued Horse *Bucephalus*. Here againe he receiued a fourth supply of sixe thousand *Thracian* Horse-men, seuen thousand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* sixe and twenty thousand Armourers, garnished with siluer and gold, which he distributed among his Souldiers. About these Riuers he wan many Townes, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted; It is then written of him, that assaulting a Citie of the *Oxidracans*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of *Benis of Southampton*, friuolous and incredible. Finally, he past downe the Riuer with his fleet, at which time also the newes came vnto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arriual of an hundred Embassadors from a King of *India*, who submitted himselfe vnto him. He feasted these Embassadors vpon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuosity that could be deuised, who soone after their dispatch, returned againe with a present of three hundred Horse, one hundred and thirty Waggones, and to each of them foure Horses, athousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he failed towards the South, passed through many obscure Nations, which did all yeeld vnto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he tooke in this passage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poysoned swords, with one of which *Ptolomie* (afterward king of *Egypt*) was wounded, and cured by an hearb which Alexander dreamt he had seene in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neere the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a sudden, shuffled one vpon another by the Floud, so on the Ebbe they were left on the drie ground, and on the sandie bankes of the Riuer, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few daies obserued well the course of the Sea, he past out of the riuers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to informe himselfe, he sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discouer the coast towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his sixt Booke hath written this passage downe the Riuer of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessels, in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were vsed therein, and other the maruellous prouisions made.

Neere the out-lets of this riuer, he spent some part of the Winter, and in eightene daies march from thence recovered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Armie suffered such

miserie

miserie for want of foode, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

S. X. X. I.

Of Alexanders *King*, *Crueltie*, and death.

From *Gedrosia*, Alexander led his Armie into *Carmania*, and so drawing neere to *Persia*, he gaue himselfe wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish vice be hatefull enough in it selfe, yet it alwaies inflamed this King to Crueltie. For (saith *Curtius*) *the Hang-man followed the feast*, for *Aspastes* one of his *provinciall* Generalls he commanded to be slaine, so as neither did the excess of voluptuousnesse qualifie his crueltie, nor his crueltie binder in ought his voluptuousnesse.

While he refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of sixe thousand foot and a thousand horse, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had bin employed in the killing of *Parmenio*. Against these Murderers great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Prouinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outrageous, as Alexander was perswaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his returne out of *India*, they durst not haue committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembring the vertue of him, whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander* and the other chiefe, with fixe hundred Souldiers by them employed, were deliuered ouer to the Hang-man: euery one reioycing that the Ire of the King was at last executed on the ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Onesicritus* were now returned from the coast, and made report of an Iland rich in gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discouerie: which done, that they should enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and finde the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew neere to *Babylon*, he visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Pasargada*, now called *Chalquera*: where he was presented with many rich gifts by *Orsines*, one of the Princes of *Persia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoas*, an Eunuch in especiall fauour with the King, was neglected, he not only practised certain loose fellows to witness against *Orsines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* tombe, for which he was condemned to die; but he assisted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also Alexander caused *Phradates* to be slaine, suspecting his greatnesse. *Caperat* (saith *Curtius*) esse precepti ad representanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began head-longly to shed blood, and to beleene false reports. It is true, that he tooke a way to make all men weary of his gouernement, seeing crueltie is more fearefull, than all aduentures that can be made against it.

At this time it is said, that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himselfe, when he had liued three-score and thirteene yeares. Whether herein he followed the custome of his Countrey, being an *Indian*, or sought to preuent the griefe and incommodie of elder age, it is vncertaine: but in this the Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-shewing Alexanders death, he promised to meet him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Pasargada* he came to *Susa*, where he married *Statira*, *Darius* his eldest Daughter, giuing her younger sister to his beloued *Epheslion*, and fourescore other *Persian* Ladies to his Captaines. There were sixe thousand guests inuited to the feast, to each of which he gaue a cup of gold. Here there came vnto him three thousand young souldiers, out of his conquered Prouinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treasurer in *Babylon*, hauing lauishly consumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with sixe thousand Talents, and sixe thousand hired Souldiers; but he was reiectd in *Greece*, and there slaine. Alexander greatly reioyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with these forces and treasures could not stirre: yet he sent commandement, that they should againe receiue their banished men, whereunto (fearefull of his indignation) all submitted themselves (except the *Athenians*) though they resolu'd, that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a marvellous discontentment in his Army, because he had resolu'd to send into *Macedonia* all those old Souldiers which could no longer endure the trauell of War, and to keepe the rest in *Asia*. He vsed many Orations to satisfie them, but it was in vaine during the tempest

tempest of their fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawne to the Land with a twine-
thread, when they haue tumbled a while, so are the vnconsiderate multitude easily con-
ducted when their first passions are euaporate. With such as were licenced to depart,
he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gaue the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*,
vvhich *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten there-
bellious *Greeks* in his absence, discharged the trust committed vnto him with great fide-
licie, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certainly if *Alexander*
had not taken counsell of his cups, he would haue cast some better colour on
this alteration, and giuen *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remouue, than to haue im-
ployed him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the Warre
being now at an end: For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remouue, but the Kings disposi-
on to send him after *Parmenio*, and the rest. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithstanding
his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though iealous, doe
not stand in doubt of euery man ill affected, though valiant: but there is a kinde of king-
ly courage, compounded of hardinesse and vnderstanding, which is many times so feare-
full vnto them, as they take leaue both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After he had sent for *Antipater*, he made a journey into *Media* to settle things there,
where *Ephesians*, whom he fauoured most of all men, dies. The King according to the
greatnesse of his loue, laments his losse, hangs his Physician, and bestowes vpon his Mo-
nument twelue thousand talents: After which he returnes to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater*
came not, but sent; and not to excuse himselfe, but to free himselfe. For if we beleue
Curtius (whom *Plutarch* and others gaine-say) *Antipater* by his sonnes, *Cassander*, *Philip*,
and *Iolla*, who waited on *Alexanders* cup, gaue him payson; *Thessalus* (vvho vvvas of the
conspiracie) hauing invited him to a drinking feast of purpose. For after he had taken a
carouse in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drinke stronger than *Hercules* himselfe, he quitted
the World within a few daies.

Certainly the Princes of the World haue seldome found good, by making their Mi-
nisters ouer-great; and thereby suspicious to themselves. For he that doth not acknow-
ledge fidelitie to be a debt, but is perswaded, that Kings ought to purchase it from their
Vassalls, will neuer please himselfe vvith the price giuen. The onely reformation, indeed,
that strengthens it, is the goodnesse and vertue of the Prince, and his liberality makes it
more diligent, so as proportion and distance be obserued. It may be that *Antipater* ha-
uing commanded two or three kingdomes ten or twelue yeares, knew not how to play
any other part; no more than *Cesar* did, after he had so long a time gouerned the *Gauls*,
where he vtterly forgot the art of obedience. A most cruell and vngratefull traitor *Antipater*
was, if *Curtius* do not belie him: For though he feared some ill measure vpon his
remoue (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Callisthenes*, hauing bin so lately acted)
yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the king had resolved to haue giuen
him some other great government in *Asia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, hauing
perchance desired to be gouerned by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the
former Warre.

S.XXIII.

Of Alexanders person and qualities.

Howsoeuer it vvere, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot be excused, no more
than his vanitie to be esteemed the sonne of *Iupiter*, with his excessiue delight in
drinke and drunkenesse, which others make the cause of his feuer and death. In
that he lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what he should doe
when he had conquered the World, *Augustus Cesar* found iust cause to deride him, as
if the well-gouerning of so many Nations and kingdomes, as he had already conquered,
could not haue offered him matter more than abundant, to busie his braines withall.
That he was both learned and a loue of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*,
in his first booke of the Advancement of Learning, hath prouoed it sufficiently.
His liberallitie I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That
when he gaue a whole Citie to one of his seruants, He, to whom it was giuen, did out of
modesty refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, That
he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to giue: of which *Seneca*
Animos

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against *Alexander* in the beginning of his reigne. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the sole issue of this marriage, ought in reason to haue beene acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; hauing better Title thereto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they liued, vlesse (peraduenture) some Law of that Nation forbade the reigne of Women. But the excellent vertue of these two Princes had viterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their owne bodies; and so great were their conquests, that *Macedon* it selfe was in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deservng to be laid in ballance against the demand of their posterity, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royall seate.

Alexander hauing taken many wiues, had issue by none of the principall of them: *Eurydice* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a Persian had borne vnto him a young Son; and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more solemnly married) was left by him great with childe. But the basenesse of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alleaged in Barre of Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) haue wrought out their owne ends, vnder the name of *Alexanders* children.

Cleopatra a sister of *Alexander*, widow to the King of Epirus, & *Aridæus* his base brother (son to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in course. Of *Cleopatra* there was no speech, which may giue suspition, that either Law or Custome had made that sexe vncapable of the Soueraignty: *Aridæus* (besides his bastardy) was neither for person nor quality fit to rule as King; yet vpon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lacke of a better: when the Counsaillers hauing ouer-laboured their disagreeing wits in dealing what was best, were content for very wearinesse to take what came next to hand.

Ptolomy (soon after King of Egypt) concurring with them who reiected all mention of the halfe-Persian brood, King *Alexanders* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be giuen to the Captaines; that going for law which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so farre was he from acknowledging any one as true Heire to the Crowne.

This *Ptolomy* was called the Sonne of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who hauing vied the company of *Arisinæ* *Ptolomies* mother, deliuered her in marriage to *Lagus* being great with childe. Therefore, whether it were so, that he hoped well to worke his own fortune out of those dissensions, which are incident vnto the consultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeeme their quiet with subiection to one, deservng regard by his blood, and trust for his euen carriage; or whether he desired onely to get a share to himselfe, which could not haue come to passe, had all been giuen to one: plaine enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridæus* before himselfe; and therefore gaue such counsaile as fitted his owne and other mens purposes. Yea, this deuice of his tooke place indeed, though not in forme as he had propounded it: For, it was in effect all one, to haue assembled at *Alexanders* empty chaire, as *Ptolomy* had conceiued the forme of their consultations, or to set in the chaire such a King as *Aridæus*, no wiser than the chaire it selfe. Also the controuersies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captaines; by the greater part if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfeit shewes of dissembling aspirers, doe often take cheeke by the plain dealing of them, who dare to go more directly to worke: so was it like to haue ended with *Ptolomy* & the rest, when *Aristonius*, another of the Captaines, interpreted *Alexanders* words of *Alexander*, saying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthiest, as desirng *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he deliuered his ring. It seemed good in reason, that *Alexander* should be disposer of his owne purchases: and those tokens of *Alexanders* purpose appeared plain enough, so long as no man would interpose another construction: euery one being vncertain how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their loue, or because they would not be of the last, vrged *Perdiccas* to take vpon him the estate Royall. He was no stranger to the Royall blood; yet his birth gaue him not such reputation, as the great fauour of his dead King, with whom he had bin very inward, & that especially since the death of *Ephesius* a powerful Minion into whose place he was chosen. For his own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of Warre, and one that had giuen much proofe of his prime valour. But very surly he was: which quality (ioyned with good fortune) carried a shew of

Maiesty:

Maiesty: being checkt with misaduenture, it was called by a true name Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the present businesse a foolish ouer-weaning did him as great harme, as it had been great happinesse to haue succeeded *Alexander*. For not content to haue the acclamation of the Souldiers, approung the sentence of *Aristonius*, he would needs counterfeit modesty, thinking that euery one of the Princes would haue intreated him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which would be the lesse enuious, the more solemnity he vied in the acceptance. It is truly said, He that faineth himselfe a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolfe. *Meleager* a man by nature enuious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas* tooke aduantage of his irrefolute behauiour, and very bitterly enueighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, That whosoever was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the treasure; and therefore he intited them, who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Captaines were left alone, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to haue brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedy of spoile thronged about *Meleager*.

S. I I.

The Election of *Aridæus*, with the troubles there about arising;
the first diuision of the Empire.

Dring this vp-roare, mention was made of *Aridæus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, vntill at last it grew to the voice of the Army. *Meleager* hauing withdrawne himselfe tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad to faire an occasion to make himselfe great: therefore he produced *Aridæus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, inuesting him in *Alexanders* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vaine: for they could not resolue what course to follow, reiecting this. Only *Pythion*, a hot-headed man, tooke vpon him to proclaim the Sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the countaile which *Perdiccas* at first had giuen, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Protection. But this childe was not yet borne, which made that attempt of *Pythion* vaine. Finally, *Perdiccas* with fixe hundred men, and *Ptolomy* with the Kings Pages tooke vpon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* body lay: but the Army conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he listed, easily brake in vpon them, and enforced them to accept *Aridæus* for their Soueraigne Lord. Then by the intercession of the ancient Captaines, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leonatus, who was of Royall blood, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, issued out of Babylon, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but standing vpon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion, that should happen among the infantry. The King (who was gouerned by *Meleager*) commanded or gaue leaue to haue *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their comming was not vnexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such grauity, that they departed honeste than they came; being sorry for their bad enterprise. Vpon the newes of this attempt the Campe was in an vp-roare, which the King seeking to pacifie, wanted authority, as hauing newly got the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courtesie. The matter it selfe afforded no good excuses, and his indifferetion made them worse. He said, that no harme was done, for *Perdiccas* was aliue: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which he imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the furest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, vntill the King by offering to religne his estate vnto them, renewed out of their pity that fauourable affection, which had moued them to set him vp at the first.

Perdiccas hauing now ioyned himselfe with *Leonatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all prouision of victuals from the City. But after sundry Embassies passing betweene

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the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to haue the Authors of sedition giuen vp into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might be ioyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in gouernment of the Army) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. *Meleager* should haue done well to consider; That such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to giue him a principall place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treachery lurked vnder their great facility. Generall peace was renewed, and much loue protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had bene in *Alexanders* time; but no longer now did the same heart giue it life; and windy spirits they were which moued in the arteries. False reports were giuen out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his owne disgrace, but in such termes as might seeme to haue proceeded from *Meleager*; who finding part of the drift, but not all, tooke it as an injury done to himselfe; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas* that such authors of discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a louer of peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receiue their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Army. The plot was mischieuously laied. Had *Meleager* giuen way to seditious rumours, he must needs haue incurred the generall hatred of all, as a fower of dissension, & therby with a publike approbation might haue bin cut off, as hauing often offended in that kind: his Prince being too weake a Patron. Now seeking redresse of these disorders, he hastened his owne ruine, by a lesse formally, but more speedy way. This kinde of Muster was very solemne, and practised with many ceremonies, as for cleansing of the Army. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the Macedonian foot, the Mercenaries, were each according to their quality set in array, apart from others; as if they had bene of sundry sorts, met at aduenture: which done, the maner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to the direction of their severall Captaines. But at that time the great battaile of Macedonian Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the Horse and Elephants beginning to giue charge vpon them, was such, as discovered no iesting pastime nor good intent. Kings were alwaies wont to fight among the horse-men: of which custome *Perdiccas* made great vse that day, to the utter confusion of his enemies. For *Aridaus* was alwaies gouerned by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three daies before, he sought the death of *Perdiccas* at the mitigation of *Meleager*: now hee rides with *Perdiccas* vp and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliuer vnto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were cast vnto the Elephants, and by them slaine, in the presence of the King, who should haue defended them, and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especial friends. Having therefore kept himself quiet a while, as vnwilling to giue offence to them which had the aduantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they sent and slew him.

The Army being thus corrected was led into the City, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what maner of man their King was, diuided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves, leauing to *Aridaus* the office of a Visitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought upon, whose body hauing bin seuen daies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the Egyptians: no signe of poison appearing, so how great soeuer the suspicion might be. The charge of his buriall was committed to *Aridaus*: one of the Captains, who was two yeares preparing of a great and costly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarces of his friends being layed in the ground before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in Alexandria; a City of his owne building, in Egypt.

5. III.

6. III.

The beginning of the Lamian Warre.

W Hilest these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* & *Craterus*, two principall Noble-men, and inferior to none of *Alexanders* followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in Greece with a war, which the Athenians more brauely than wisely had begun in *Alexanders* life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, vpon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished Greekes (few excepted) should be restored vnto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the Grecian Estates, & therefore thought so to provide, that in euery City he would haue a sure party. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he wan by this proud iniunction. His pleasure indeede was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation; as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of opentyranny. The Athenians greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more than was needfull of their ancient spirits, forbade the execution of this decree in their Dominions; so did also the *Ætolians*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them tooke Armes, but seemed to beare themselves, as men that had done no more than they might well iustifie by reason: neuertheless to prevent the worst, the Athenians gaue secret instructions to *Leosthenes* a Captaine of theirs, willing him to leuie an Army, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readinesse for their vse. This was no hard thing for *Leosthenes* to doe: great numbers of Greek Souldiers being lately returned from the Asian Warre in poore estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captaines. Of these he had gathered vp eight thousand, when the certain newes were brought of *Alexanders* death: at which the City of Athens declared it selfe, and more honourably than wisely, proclaimed open War against the Macedonians for the liberty of Greece. Hereupon *Leosthenes* drew in the *Ætolians*, and some other Estates, gaue battaile to the Boeotians, who sided with *Antipater*, and ouerthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in Adherents; That *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his owne strength) was faine to send into Asia to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies afarre off, which deceiue all mortall wisdome, euen when they seem neere at hand. One month was scarcely past, since nothing so heauily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the return of *Craterus* into Macedon; which hee then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured vnto him, was sent into Macedon to conueigh home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence), & to succeed *Antipater* in the gouernment of Macedon and Greece. The suspicions were strong that he had a priuy charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better, which was, That *Antipater* should be sent vnto the King, as Captaine of the young Souldiers, newly to be leuied in Europe. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*; and would sometimes giue out speeches, testifying his owne ialousie and hatred of him; but yet he stroue to smother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexanders* Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeed were meane persons in regard of those who followed him in his Indian expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was such, as could finde rebellious purposes (for so he interpreted euen lewd gouernment) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who hauing sitten Vice-roy ten yeares in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the enuy of a Court, wherein they had bene his inferiours, which would now repine to see him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to prevention, working first the Kings death by poyson, giuen by his sonne *Iolaus*, *Alexanders* Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth vntill opportunity had changed it into the passion of reuenge, which was cruelly performed by his son *Cassander*: great cause of much feare he had; which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few yeares.

At the present *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Captaines of companies lying neere, solicited

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solicited to make haste. Not without cause: For in Macedon there could not at that time be raised more than thirteene thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse, which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Country being emptied into Asia. The Thessalians indeed who had long stood firme for *Philip & Alexander*, who also were the best horsemen of Greece, furnished him with very braue troupes, that might haue done great seruice, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of Greece. With these forces did *Antipater* in Thessaly trie the fortune of a battaile with *Leosthenes*; rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his enemies power, and rebellion of the Greeks, (were they not check at the first) than presuming on his strength. For *Leosthenes* had of Athenians, Aetolians, and Mercenaries, two and twenty thousand foot; besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some Illyrians, and Thracians: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but ouer-strong he was that way also, when once the Thessalians had revolted vnto him. So *Antipater* lost the day: and his losse was such, that he neither was able to keep the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his owne Country: therefore he fled into the Towne of Lamia; which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to beare out a siege. Thither did *Leosthenes* follow him, present him battaile againe, and vpon refusal close vpon the Towne with earth-workes, and a wall. There will we leaue him for a while, traouailing in the last honourable enterprife that euer was vndertaken by that great City of Athens.

S. I V.

How *Perdiccas* employed his Army.

King *Aridaus* living vnder the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Prouince, kept a naked Court: all his greatnesse consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make vse of him. *Perdiccas* had no Prouince of his owne peculiar, neither vvas he like to be welcomé to any whom he should visit in his gouernment. A stronger Army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that vnsettled condition of things to make better worth to him, than many Prouinces could haue bin. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time he either married *Nicea* the Daughter of *Antipater*, or made such loue to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

Ariarathes the Cappadocian, the second of that name, & tenth King of that Country, had continued faithful to the Persian Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his forefathers, euen from *Pharnaces* the first that reigned in Cappadocia, who married *Atossa* sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancestors had (indeed) beene oppressed by the Persians: but what Fortune tooke from them at one time, Vertue restored at another, and their faithfull Princes had much increased all. But now in the farall Period of so great an Empire, with much wisdom, and (*Darius* being slain) with sufficient honour, he might haue acknowledged the Macedonian in the Persians roome. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater businesse wherin to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take that in-land Kingdome, surrounded with Prouinces of the Macedonian conquest, & for his owne particular to haue one opportune place of sure retreat, vnder the gouernment of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entred Cappadocia, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field thirty thousand foot, and fiftene thousand horse (a strong Army, had it not encountred a stronger, and better trained) wan the victory, and thereby the whole kingdome. But with much cruelty did he vse the victory: for hauing taken *Ariarathes* prisoner with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light vpon; and so deliuered that Prouince to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he trusted most.

Another part of his forces he had committed to *Python*, rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. *Python* was to subdue the Greeks, rebelling in the high Countries of Asia. About twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who, planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous nations, were soon weary of their vnpleasant habitations, & the rude people

people, among whom they liued: and therefore tooke aduantage of the present troubles to seeke vnto themselves a better fortune. Against these *Python* went, more desirous to make them his owne, than to destroy them: which intent of his, *Perdiccas* discovering, did both giue him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giuing the spoyles of them to his Souldiers, and further enioyned it vnto *Python* Captaines (his owne creatures) that they should see this commandement executed. These directions for vse of the victory might haue proued needlesse; for vncertaine was the victory it selfe. A Captaine of the Rebels commanding ouer three thousand, corrupted by *Python*, did in the heate of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire vvithout necessity to a hill not farre off. This dismayed the rest, and gaue the day to *Python*: who being farre enough from *Perdiccas*, offered composition to the vanquished, granting vnto them their liues and liberty, vnder condition of laying downe their armes; and hereupon he gaue them his faith. Being master of these Companies, he might well haue a good opinion of his own power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vauit himselfe as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirtene thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needlesse feare without great losse had caused to leaue the field: but in true estimation all the greatnesse wherof *Python* might thinke himselfe assured, was (and soon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, of those which followed *Python*, leuiéd; the Rulers of the Prouinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enioyned to giue assistance to that businesse: and by vertue of the precept giuen vnto them by *Perdiccas*, did the Macedonians cut in pieces all those poore men who had yeelded themselves; leauing *Python* as naked as he came forth to returne vnto his great Master.

Now vvas *Perdiccas* mighty aboue the mighty, and had faire leasure to pursue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himselfe Lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for feare of opposition. How it succeeded, will appeare when the Lamian warre taketh ending.

S. V.

The proesse of the Lamian warre.

WE left *Antipater* hardly besieged, wanting means to free himselfe without succours from his friends in Asia. Those helps not appearing so soon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leosthenes*, and would haue yeelded vnto any termes of reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victory, do seldom limit their desires. *Leosthenes* willed him without further circumstance to submit himselfe to discretion. This was too much for him, that had once commanded ouer them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was farre enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingring warre, the Aetolians (whether weary of sitting still at a siege, or hauing businesse which they pretended at home) tooke their leaue, and returned into their own Country. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found meanes to fallly out vpon his enemies to their great losse: for many were slaine, and *Leosthenes* himselfe among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Towne. Yet hereby the Macedonians were nothing relieved, their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deale with the Greeks in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lysimachus*, who was neereest at hand in Thrace, had worke too much of his owne, leading no more than foure thousand foote, and two thousand horse, against *Seuthas* the Thracian King, who brought into the field about foure times that number; and though *Lysimachus*, not without losse, had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earnestly solicited by *Antipater*s friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the gouernment of Phrygia the lesse, and was able to raise an Army of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, whether leuiéd out of his Prouince, or appointed vnto him out of the maine Army, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more willing

ling to take in hand the iourney into Greece, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written vnto him, desiring his presence at *Pella*, the chiefe City of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her self to be his wife; which letters he kept not so close as had bin requisite, and therefore brought himselfe into great suspicion, that soon ended with his life. *Antiphilus*, chosen Generall by the Athenians in place of *Leosthenes*, hearing of his approach forsooke the siege of *Lamie*, and took the ready way to these great Conquerors of Asia, with purpose to giue them an euill welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should ioyne in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Ætolians*) the aduantage of *Leonatus* in horse, by the ods of 2000. Theſſalians; in other things he was equall with him; in cause he thought himselfe Superior; in the fortune of that day he proued so; for he wan a great victory (chiefly by vertue of the Theſſalians, which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himselfe; who fighting valiantly was driven into a marsh piece of ground, where he found his death, which he desperately had sought among the Indians, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his natiuitie. He was the first of *Alexanders* Capitaines which died in battell, but all, or most of the rest, shall follow him the same way. After this day, the Athenians did neuer any thing futable to their ancient glory.

The vanquished Macedonians were too weake to renew the fight, and too proud to flie. They betooke themselves to high grounds, vnfit for seruice on horse backe, and so abode in the sight of the enemy that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their Campe, and tooke the charge of all. The Athenians perceiuing their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemy should increase, did earnestly seeke to determine the matter quickly by another battaile. But still *Antipater* kept himselfe on ground of aduantage; which gaue more than reasonable confidence to the Greeks, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the Enemy to be vanquished. This wretchedness (incorrigible in an Army of voluntaries) was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by losses at Sea, where the Athenians labouring to haue made themselves once againe Masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatall captivity of Greece came on, of which she neuer could be deliuered, vnto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Army hauing made great marches from *Cilicia*, passed ouer into Europe, and comming into Theſſaly, ioynd himselfe with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, being ioynd in one, contained forty thousand weightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand horse; of which numbers the Greekes wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse; in foote eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to auoid the necessity of a battaile, vntill such time as the Towns confederate, should returne vnto the Camp those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in comming, and *Antipater* so vrgent vpon the Greekes, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazzard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory: for the Theſſalians had the vpper hand, and held it, vntill such time as they perceiued their battailes (ouer-laid with multitude) retire vnto the higher ground, which caused them also to fall back. So the Macedonians became Lords of the field, hauing little else to boast of, considering that with the losse of an hundred & thirty men, they had only purchased the death of some five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great vse made: For the Greekes, as not subiect vnto the full command of one Generall, and being euery one desirous to preserve his owne estate, and City; concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a subtile Artificer, and well vnderstanding their aptnesse to diuision, refused to harken to any generall composition, but willed euery City to deale apart for it selfe. The intent of his deuice was so apparant, that it was reiected; the Greekes choosing rather to abide the comming of their Assistants, whose vnreasonable carelesnesse betrayed the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging and winning some Townes in Theſſaly, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieue, wearied that Nation from attending any longer vpon other mens vnlikely hopes, with their owne assured and present calamity.

§. VI.

§. VI.
Of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. Of Demosthenes his death.

The Theſſalians falling off, all the rest soone followed seuerely, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions giuen to the most forward, inuited such as were slacke. Only the Athenians and *Ætolians* held out. Little fauour could they hope for; hauing bene Authors of this tumult: and their feare was not great; the seat of the warre being farre from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who late still at Athens, deuising vpon courses of prosecuting the Warre to come, which came to their doors, before their consultation could finde issue. He was ready to enter vpon their Frontiers; they had no ability to resist, and were as heartlesse as friendlesse. All that remained was to send Embassadors, desiring peace vpon some good termes: necessity enforcing them to haue accepted euen the very worst. *Thucydides*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chiefe of this Embassage; *Phocion* as the most Honorable; *Demades* a strong Perſwader; (both of them well respected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisdom, grauity of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of little regard, when their admiration was to cost them much in reall effects.

Antipater calling to mind the pride of *Leosthenes*, required of the Athenians, that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the warre past, to pay a fine, and entertaine a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the government of the City to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was giuen; a number great enough to retaine the name and forme of a Democratic. But the rascall multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their liuings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giuing their voices, cried out, that this was a more Oligarchie, the violent usurpation of a few inroaching vpon the publike right. These turbulent fellows (of whom King *Philip* had bene wont to say, That warre to them was peace, and peace warre) *Antipater* planted in Thrace, and gaue them lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of Athens.

To the same end (yet withall for satisfying his owne suspicions and hatred) he caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides*, famous Orators, with some others, to be slaine. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, bene forborne, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well haue passed for very milde: whereas now all such, as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or haue sur-rendered their iudgements to Authors iustly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that euer did speake and write, condemne him vtterly, calling him a bloudy tyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all ciuill Nations, that the euill done to a man, famous in one of them; is able to blemish any action; how good soeuer otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

Demosthenes had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Isle of *Calauria*; there did *Archies* (sent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) finde him, and gently perswaded him to leaue the place; but not so preuailing, he threatened violence. Then *Demosthenes* entreating a little respite as it had bene to write somewhat, secretly tooke poison, which he had kept for such a necessity, and so died; rather choosing to do the last execution vpon himselfe, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in battaile, howsoeuer valiant in perswading to enterprises, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. He loued money well, and had great summes giuen him by the *Persians*, to encourage him, in finding worke for the Macedonians at home. Neither did he ill (me thinks) in taking from the *Persians* which loued not his Country, great reward; for speaking such things as tended to his Countries good; which he did not cease

cease to procure, when the Persians were no longer able to giue him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) beleecue *Lucian*, who tells vs, That it was *Antipaters* purpose to haue done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a stedfast enemy to the Macedonians; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of Athens being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and louer of his Country, yet applying himselfe to the necessity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the City much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free-men, yet fauourable to the vanquished) he endeuoured carefully to preserue.

§. VII.

How Craterus and Antipater were drawne from their Etolian Warres into Asia. The grounds of the first Ciuill Warre betweene the Macedonian Lords.

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into Macedonia, where they strengthened their friendship with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, to Wife.

Shortly after they went against the *Etolians*, whose pouerty was not so easily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of Athens had beene. Their Country was rough and mountainous, hauing many places of great fastnesse, into which they conueied such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for warre: with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the coming of the Macedonians, whom they manfully resisted. With great obstinacy did the Macedonians contend against the difficulties of the places, which the *Etolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had shut vp all passages, and vtterly debarred them of reliefe, then were they put to a miserable choice; either to descend from their strong holds, and fight vpon equall ground, with vnequall numbers, or to endure the miseries of hunger & cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yeeld themselves to the Macedonians: who incensed by the losse of many good Souldiers, were not like to leaue so stubborn enemies in places, which might giue confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremity, much finenesse of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These *Etolians* did not as yet want meat: but their enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yet they thought vpon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such newes came out of Asia into the Macedonian campe, as made *Antipater* & *Craterus* thinke euery houre a moneth, till they had rid their hands of these *Etolians*, gining them whatsoeuer conditions they would aske: yet with purpose to call them to seuer account; yea, to roote them out of Greece by death, or by captiuitie, when once they should haue settled the affaires of Asia; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is disposer: in whose high counsell it was ordained, that this poore Nation should continue a troublesome barre to the proceedings of Macedon and Greece, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the Roman Conquerors into those and other Prouinces. Likewise concerning the matters of Asia, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was so far from taking effect, that it serued meerly as an introduction to all the ciuill wars ensuing.

The grounds of the Asiaticke expedition, which did set the world in an vp-roare, were these. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Captaines the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedency, and the present rule which he bare in the parts of Europe. The other, as of all men the best beloued, and most respected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Army. Next vnto these had *Perdiccas* been; whom the aduantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equall, or superiour, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were, to haue consorted with these two, and to haue beene with them a third partner in the gouernment of all; to which purpose he entertained the discourse of marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of winde which bore him vp, he began to take wing and soare quite another way. *Aridanus* was a very simple man,

yet

yet serued well enough to weare the title of that Maiesty, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietary, the practice was more seuerer than had beene in the dayes of *Alexander*: the desire to seeme terrible, being very familiar with weake Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other meanes of preseruing themselves from contempt, and of giuing such a fiery lustre to their actions, as may dazzle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor Greeks in the higher Asia were all put to the sword; and how tyrannously the King and Princes of Cappadocia were crucified, hath already been shewed. The *Pisidians* were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfeite *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was vtterly razed; the children sold for slaues, and all the rest massacred. The *Isaurians* by this example growne desperate, when after two or three dayes triall they found themselves vnable to continue the defence, lockt themselves into their houses, & set the Town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the Macedonians from the walls.

These exploits being performed, the Army had no other worke than to sift the ashes of the burnt City for gold and siluer; but *Perdiccas* had businesse of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to sit still without imploiment: letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilst others grew great, and tooke deepe roote in their seuerall Prouinces. He purposed therefore to transport his forces into Europe, vnder pretence of bringing the King into Macedonia, the seat of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. The Kings presence would make the Offices of his Vice-royes (during the time) actually void; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in case of priuate men, and onely *Perdiccas* holding authority, the match with *Cleopatra* might easily be made. So should greatnesse meet with a good title, and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomy* might giue, who held Egypt well fortified with men, but much better with loue of the people; yet if the businesse prospered in Macedonia, like enough it was that either *Ptolomy* would follow of himselfe, or be driuen to come to reason. *Antigonus* likewise then gouerning in Phrygia, a busie-headed man, and ill affected to the side, was to be looked into, and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceiued in so thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of warre, of as deepe a iudgement, as high a spirit, and as great vnderstanding, as any of *Alexanders* Captaines. His imploiments had beene lesse than some of theirs, which made him also the lesse respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for he valued himselfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with careful attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and sounded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discover. For *Perdiccas* hauing with a ialous eye pried into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turne, caused him to be charged with such accusations, as might suffice to take away his life, especially by a Iudge that sought his death. This deuice *Antigonus* would not seeme to perceiue, but prepared himselfe in shew to make answer, in deede, to make escape, which easily he did, putting himselfe and his sonne *Demetrius* aboard of some Athenian Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with such tidings, as finished the *Etolian* warre before mentioned.

As the coming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifestly perceiue their owne danger: so his flight gaue *Perdiccas* to vnderstand that his intentions were laied open, and must now be iustified by the sword. Therefore he prepared as fast as he could, not onely for defence, but (as hauing on his side the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing slacke in prouiding to encounter him. *Ptolomy* being aduertised of these proceedings, and considering how neerely they concerned him, sided with *Antigonus*. To his gouernment of Egypt he had annexed the Dominion of Cyrene, not without consent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the midst of these garboiles he celebrated the funerall of *Alexander* with great solemnity, purchasing thereby to himselfe much good will and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings Army coming against him.

[illegible]

at present may, could he have suffered any Is great ambition; yet I am not made
of all, had been too weakly butchery which I find from his things this mid
The new day *Alexander* sent into the Camp, where he was joyfully received & he ex-
cused him self of things past as nothing being forgot; or giving cause of the Warre,
and was againe received in the favour of the Army being such toward him; that weekes
after would have made him Shoretown in the room of *Pardiccas*; But this he refused.
It was an Office full of dangers that would set him on fire with his grames; with this trouble
Alexander was well enough satisfied; y^e wherfore, for his own quietnes sake, he chose to retire pri-
vately, for their well-deferring of him had procured them no countable charge to *Perdiccas*, & to
And so the Capitaine who having had some companies of Soldiers; to furnish
the remainder of the follovingies of *Alexanders* Funerals did with them adhere to him &
against *Pardiccas*. He would not have been off of his brother's death if he had not
In the midst of these businesse came news of two great victories obtained by *Eumenes*
which he knewes; had they arrived sooner, these victories had been entertained
with joyfull acclamations; and would have given the first reputation to *Pardiccas*, as had
caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers; and his open enemies
to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings coming in ill time,
when death had stopped the eares, which would have given them welcome, found bad
acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

g. IX. of the history of Alexander the Great.

Victories of Eumenes in the lower Asia.

BEFORE we proceed in the relation of things, happening about the person of the
King, it is meete, that we speake of those busineses in the lower Asia, which
were handled by *Eumenes*, with notable dexterities; whilst *Pardiccas* was occupied
in the Egyptian warres, *Aleatas* the brother of *Pardiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had receiv-
ed command from *Pardiccas*, to bee assistant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions.
But *Aleatas* made flat answer that he would not; alleging the backwardnesse of his men
to face Armes against so great a person as *Antipater*; and a man so much honoured as
Craterus. *Neoptolemus* was content to make faire shew; but inwardly hee repined at the
preferencie given to *Eumenes*, as thinking himself the better man. *Eumenes* discovering
through the counterfeit looks of *Neoptolemus*, the mischief lurking in his heart, wisely
dissembled with him, in hope to winne him by gentle behaviour, and sweet language,
that commonly are lost, when bestowed vpon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to for-
tifie himselfe, that he might stand vpon his owne strength, hee raised out of the Coun-
tries under his iurisdiction, about six thousand horse, giuing many priuiledges to such as
were seruiceable, and training them well vp. Not without great need. For when vpon
advertisment of the great preparations made by *Craterus* & *Antipater* (who had newly
passed the Hellespont) for the invasion of his Provinces, he willed *Neoptolemus* to com-
to him with all his power, *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) aduance, but in hostile manner, though
vnprovoked, presented him battell. *Neoptolemus* had secretly couenanted with *Antipater*
to lay open the way for him to the conquest of Asia, which now intending to performe,
he was shamefully disappointed. For though his footmen, being all Macedonians, had
made the better, and preuailed far vpon *Eumenes* his batailles; yet were his horse triu-
un out of the field, and himselfe compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leauing
naked the backs of his Macedonian foot-men, to be charged by *Eumenes* who forced
them in such wise, that casting downe their Pikes, they cried for mercy, and gladly took
their path to doe him faithfull seruice. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeauoured with many
goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their societie, who contrariwise offered himselfe,
as a means of reconciliation, betweene *Pardiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loued;
protesting withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had
undertaken to maintaine.

Whilst these negotiations were on foote, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken Orde to
Antipater and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, & calling him a Scribe (at which foolishly
laughing they laugh,) but extolling the vertue of *Pharabuz* (as well hee might) with high
commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appeare; or that his voyce
were heard by any Macedonian in *Eumenes* his Campe, the victory was wonne; for

they

they would all forth with resolution to him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to give him aide against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might have the leading of the Army to be sent. Their owne affections did easily lead them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevaile as much as the force which he drew along. For he had in the midst of *Asia* many victories, when others (imitating their King) brooke themselves to the Persian fashions of garb and customs, retained the ancient Macedonian form of behaviour, and apparel; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld the new robes of *Asia*, with discontented eyes, as reproachfull and derogatory to the manners of their native Country. So *Antipater* took the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to joyn with *Ptolemy*. *Craterus* used great celerity, to haue taken *Eumenes* recuelling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Captaines; after a great victory. But he had a wary and well advised enemy to encounter, who kept good espiall vpon him, and with much wisdom fore-saw all that was to be feared, and the means of preuention, which his courage did not faile to execute. *Eumenes* was no ignorant, that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without battell, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Army following him was such as much exceeded his own in footmen, but was inferior in horse-men) & thought it more vncasie to keep the Macedonians from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a strange peece of work, which desperation of all courtesie taught him, & wise managing, prosperously accomplished. He gaue out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such company as he could gather together, & had gotten *Perdiccas* (a Captain of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to joyn with him. Having animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be despised & hated among the Army (as having bin vanquished by some of them, & forsaken others in plain field, while they valiantly fought in his quarrell) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded, that no messenger nor trumpet should be admitted; and not here with satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one Macedonian, nor any other that much would haue regarded him had he bin known: but Thracians, Cappadocians, & Persians, vnder the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* & himselfe. To these also he gaue in charge, that without speaking or hearkning to any word, they should run vpon the enemy, & glue him no leisure to say or do any thing, but fight. The directions which he gaue to others, he did not faile to execute in his own person: but placing himself in the right wing of his battell, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he vnderstood) conducted the left wing on the contrary side, he held the Macedonians arranged in good order, & ready to charge the enemy as soon as the distance would giue leaue. A rising peece of ground lay between them, which hauing ascended, the Armies discovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* euery way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long iournies, which ouer-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitful illue of friuolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in surpriuing them as enemies) to discover himselfe to his old friends & fellow-souldiers, of whom he could see none. *Phanix* a Tenidian, & *Artabazus* a Persian, had the leading of that side, who mindefull of their instructions, began to giue vpon him, with such countenance as told him his error; which to redeem, he had his own fight & redeem the day, & take the spoyle to themselves. But the Bear whose skin he fells is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battell was fought gaue most advantage to the horse, whom counted very roughly on all parts: especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*; who as soon as they had discovered one another, could not containe themselves, but with great rage met body to body, & letting loose their bridles, grappled so violently together, that their horses ran from vnder them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first vp, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, causing him to fall down & fight vpon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giuing slight ones took such as were deadly, by which he died in the place, and was there (being halfe-dead halfe-alive) stripped by his mortall enemy, whose reuilings hee required, lying euen at the last gaspe, with one wound in the groine, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to runne away vpon the spur, and seeke shelter behinde the battailes of their foote. They were nothing hotly pursued. For *Eumenes* pained himselfe to carrie

succour

succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed, but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly borne himselfe a while, and sustained the impression of *Artabazus* and *Phanix*, with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and shew the flight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Other wills not unlikely, that he might haue either carried the day, or preserved himselfe to a better adventure by sliuing ground, as the rest (when hee and *Neoptolemus* were slaine) did. But while he sought to preserve his reputation, hee lost his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound received; vpon which accident he was trampled vnder foote by many that knew him not, and so perished vnknown, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having alwaies tolled and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death hee was now become the instrument. The vanquished Armie entertained a treatie of peace with *Eumenes*, making they of willingers to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) having done, they stole away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This battaile fought within ten daies of the former, wanne to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his own Souldiers tooke the death of *Craterus* heauily, and the Army lying further off were enraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incited men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, wherof it manifestly appeared that he was as sorry as any that pretended greater heauinesse. His Armie wanted pay: This was a great fault; which he wisely amended by giuing to them the spoyle of such Townes as were ill affected to him. So he redeemed the loue of his own men, who of their meeere motion appointed vnto him a guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easie to be reconciled. They who had been Traitors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithlesnesse, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their falshood; neither could they any fairer way of excusing their late reuolt, than by accusing & condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to giue that sentence, than to put it in execution.

S. X.

Quarrell between Eurydice the Queene, and Python the Protector. Python resigns his office, into which Antipater is chosen.

Python and *Aridaus* being chosen Protectors of King *Aridaus* and the children of *Alexander*, tooke the way to *Asia* the lesse, conducting the Armie through *Syria*. Of thesetwo, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet farre too weake to sustain so important a charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to King *Aridaus*, was come to her husband, a Ladie of a masculine spirit, vvell vnderstanding what she was or should be; and thinking her selfe able to support the weight which Fortune layed vpon her foolish husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother *Cyna*, sister to *Alexander*, by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath beene shewed) to *Amyntus*, who was the right Heire to the Kingdome of *Macedon*, beeing the onely sonne of King *Perdiccas*, *Philips* elder brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; she had led Armies, and (as a true sister of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Ceria* Queene of the *Phrygians*, a *Virago* like vnto her selfe, had slaine her. Shee brought vp this *Eurydice* in the same vniuersally Art of Warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of *Python*, that could not brooke her too curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were so, that *Python* had some purpose to aduance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdome; (as once he had sought to do) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent; or whether only desire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell shee did, which disturbed the proceeding against *Eumenes*. The Armie hauing shaken off such a ranke-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward bee reined with a twined thred. *Python* bearing himselfe vpon his office, took vpon him to giue directions in the Kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes controul, vsing the same name, with more authoritie, and better liking of the Souldiers.

D d d d 2

Python,

Pythias, seeing this, would needs resigne his office, whether vpon wearinesse of the con-
 tensions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the *Queen* into euill, it is vncertaine.
 Perhaps hee thought, that now being the far warriest man in the Campe, hee should
 be intreated to retaine the place, and haue his authoritie confirmed; or (as might be) in-
 creased, were it but for want of a fit Successor. *Eurydice* was nothing forie at this course,
 for now she thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne will, being freed
 from the troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her
 and *Pythias*, of their contrary expectations: choosing *Antipater*, the onely powerfull
 man of *Alexanders* Captaines, then liuing, into the roome of *Pythias*. Hereat the *Queen*
 fretted exceedingly, & began to deale earnestly with the Macedonians, that they should
 acknowledge no Lord save onely the King their Soueraigne. Yet shee failed of her pur-
 pose, being hindred (as may seeme) by three things: the apparant weaknesse of her hus-
 band: the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though borne of our landish women)
 were bred in the Macedonian Campe; and the mightinesse of *Antipater*, who com-
 manded a great Armie neere at hand, arrived in few daies at the Campe, and enforced *Eu-
 rydice* to hold her selfe content. *Antipater* was of such power, that he needed not to work
 by any close deuiCES, as *Perdiccas* had done: he had no concurrents, all the Governours
 of Prouinces that remained aliue, acknowledged him their better: yea, many of them he
 displaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, he took the King,
Queen, and Princes along with him into Macedonia, leaving *Antigonius* General of the
 Royall Armie: to whom for his good seruices done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, he
 gaue the rule of *Susiana*, besides his former Prouinces, and committed into his hands the
 gouernment of Asia during that warre.

S. XI.

Antigonius Lieutenant of Asia, winnes a battell of *Eumenes*, and besiegeth him in *Nora*: he
 vanquisheth other followers of *Perdiccas*.

Here begins the greatnesse of *Antigonius*, whose power in few yeares ouer-grow-
 ing the rest, wanted little of spreading it selfe ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee
 was to make warre vpon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus* the brother, and *Attalus* the brother
 in-law to *Perdiccas*: worke enough to keep his Armie employed in the publike seruice,
 till such time as he might finde occasion to make vse of it in his own business. The first
 of these which hee vnderooke was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refused to
 ioyne, hauing vnreasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the
 chiefe place. *Eumenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needfull propen-
 sions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonius* tried all waies of corrupting
 his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Army with letters: which practice failing by
 the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if hee himselfe had scattered abroad those
 letters, to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captaines, as he thought most
 easie to be wonne. Of these Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any
 helpe was neere him, yet looking so carelesly to himselfe, that hee and his were surpris-
 ed, when he thought his enemies farre off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of
 good fortune, which he thought now to bee in company with *Antigonius*) kept his trea-
 chery secret, reseruing it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treason
 which this false man *Apolonides* had undertaken, *Antigonius* presented battell to *Eumenes*;
 in the heat whereof *Apolonides*, General of the Horse to *Eumenes*, fled out to the contrary
 side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose
 company he desired not. *Eumenes*, perceiuing the irrecoverable mischief which this trai-
 terous practice had brought vpon him, pursued the villain, & cut him off before he could
 thrust himselfe into the troups of *Antigonius*, and boast of his treachery. This was some
 comfort to *Eumenes* in the losse of that battell, which disabled him vtterly to keepe the
 field, & left it very hard for him to make a safe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much
 amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonius* him-
 selfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victory to get pos-
 session of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilst *Antigonius* held him in chase, turned out
 of the way, and fetching a compasse, returned to the place where the battaille had bene
 fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his owne
 men,

men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart,
 raising vp heapes of earth as mountaines ouer them, and so went his way. As this bold
 aduenture bred in the Macedonians, (returned to their campe) great admiration of his
 braue spirit: so the newes wch *Menander* (who was set to look vnto their carriages) brought
 and published among them, enticed them to loue him as their honourable friend. Hee
 had found *Menander* in an open Plaine, carelesse, as after an assured victory, and loaded
 with the spoyles of many Nations, the rewards of their long seruice; all which he might
 haue taken: but fearing lest such a purchase should proue a heauie burden to him, whose
 chiefe hope consisted in swift expedition, he gaue secret warning to *Menander* to flie to
 the mountains, whilst he detained his men (whom authority could not haue restrained)
 by this sleight, setting them to bait their horses. The Macedonians extolled him for this
 courtship, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborne when it lay in his power to strip them
 out of all their wealth, and make their children slaues, and to rauish their wiues: but *Ant-
 igonius* told them, that he had not forborne to doe this out of any good wil to them; but
 out of meere subtiltie had auoyded those precious fetters, which would haue hindred
 his speedy flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not only thinke all cariages to be
 ouer-burdenome, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than auailable in
 his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them
 to shift for themselves; and retaining only five hundred horse, and two hundred foot.
 When hee had wearied *Antigonius* a while in following him vp and downe, he came to
Nora: where againe, keeping no more about him, than necessity required to make good
 the place, hee lousingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a little Fortresse in the borders of
Lycania and *Cappadocia*, so strongly situated, that it seemed impregnable, & so wel vi-
 sualed and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many yeares. Thither
 did *Antigonius* follow him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him
 in warre. To this purpose hee entertained parlee with him, but in vaine. For, whereas
Antigonius offered him pardon, and his loue, *Eumenes* required restitution of his Prouin-
 ces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* consent. Then was *Nora* closed vp;
 where *Antigonius* leauing sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, tooke his iour-
 ney into *Pisidia* against *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made short worke. He came
 vpon them vnexpected, and seized on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Cap-
 taine as *Eumenes*, to haue defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had been too se-
 cure before his coming, so were they too aduenturous, in fighting at the first sight, vp-
 on all disadvantages: and their folly was attended with sitable euent. *Attalus* with ma-
 ny principall Captains was taken, *Alcetus* fled to the City of *Termessus*, where the loue
 of the yonger sort toward him was so vehement, that stopping their eares against all per-
 swasions of the ancient men, they needs would hazzard their liues and their Countrey
 in his defence. Yet this auailed him nothing: For the Gouernors of the Town hauing
 secretly compounded with *Antigonius*, caused the yong men to sally out; and vsing the
 time of aduantage, they with their seruants did set vpon *Alcetus*, who vnable to resist slew
 himselfe. His dead body was conueyed to *Antigonius*, and by him barbarously torn, was
 cast forth without buriall. When *Antigonius* was gone, the yong men interred the car-
 casse with solemne funerals, hauing once been minded to set on fire their owne town in
 reuenge of his death. Such fauour had he purchased with courteous liberalitie: but to
 make an able Generall, one vertue, how great soeuer, is insufficient.

S. XII.

Ptolomie winnes Syria and Phoenicia. The death of *Antipater*.

Whilst these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather
 seeking to enioy their Governments for the present, than to confirme or
 enlarge them. Only *Ptolomie* looking abroad, wan all Syria and Phoenicia:
 an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the mana-
 ging. He sent a Lieutenant with an Armie, who quickly tooke *Laomedon* prisoner, that
 ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may seeme)
 without any great strength of Souldiers, far from assistants, and vainly relying vpon the
 authoritie which had giuen him that Prouince, & was now occupied with greater cares,
 than with seeking to maintaine him in his Office.

Antipater was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* pursue the dispatch of those businesses in Asia. He had with him *Polyperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexanders* Captaines, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the *Aetolians*, which Nation had stirred in the quarrel of *Perdicas*, prevailing far at the first, but soon losing all that they had gained, whilest *Antipater* was abroad in his Cilician expedition. In this *Polyperchon*, *Antipater* did repose great confidence; so far forth, that (suspecting the youth of his own Sonne *Cassander* of insufficiency in so great a charge) he bequeathed vnto him on his death-bed the Government of Macedonia and Greece, together with his office of Protectorship. So *Antipater* died, being foure-score yeeres old, hauing alwaies trauelled in the great affaires of mighty Princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatnesse was ialous of him, and the successours of *Alexander* did either quietly giue place vnto him, or were vnfortunate in making oppositions. In his priuate qualities he was a subtile man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philosophicall behaviour, not vnlearned, as hauing been Scholler to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. Hee had bene much molested by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* mother, whom after the death of her Son, he compelled to abstaine from comming into Macedonia, or entermedling in matters of Estate: yea, at his own death he gaue especiall direction, that no woman should bee permitted to deale in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soone forgotten; and yet ere long, by sorrowfull experience approued to haue been sound and good.

§. XIII.

Of *Polyperchon*, who succeeded vnto *Antipater* in the Protectorship. The insurrection of *Cassander* against him.

Polyperchon was very skilfull in the Art of Warre, hauing long time bene Apprentice in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an Office as hee vnder-went, either Nature had not giuen to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his businesse more formally than wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist, than command in chiefe. At the first entrance vpon the stage, he called to counsaile all his friends, wherein, for weighty considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the Queene *Olympias* was reuoked out of Epyrus into Macedonia, that the presence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For, the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Prouinces abroad should keepe greater Armies, than were needfull or easie to be retained about the person of the King in Macedonia; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all Maiestie, that might giue authority to the Iniunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard containe within the limited bounds of dutie such as could not by force haue bene kept in order, being strong, and lying too farre off.

Such care was taken for preuention of imaginarie dangers and out of sight, whilest present mischiefe lay vnregarded in their bosomes. *Cassander*, the Sonne of *Antipater*, was not able to discouer that great sufficiency in *Polyperchon*, for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could he discern such oddes in the quality of himselfe and *Polyperchon*, as was in their fortune. He was left Captaine of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the title now seemes to imply. Hee should thereby haue bene as Campe-master, or Lieutenant generall to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himselfe the better man. Therefore he began to examine his own power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relied on his father, were his owne assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principall Cities of Greece. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principall authoritie, in those Common-weales, whose formes had bene corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their owne particular to adhere vnto the Captaines, by whom their faction was vp-held; and by whom the rascall multitude, couetous of re-gaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised ouer the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides all these helps, *Cassander* had the secret loue of Queene

Eurydice,

Eurydice, who had in priuate reuolued him such curtesie, as was due only to her husband. But neither the Queenes fauour, nor all his other possibilities, gaue him confidence to breake out into open rebellion; because hee saw *Polyperchon* much reuerenced among the Macedonians, & strong enough to suppress him, before he could haue made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the Countrey, and calling many of his friends about him, vnder pretence of hunting, aduised with them vpon the safest courtesie, and most free from all suspicion: The necessitie was apparant of raising an Army, before the businesse was set on foote; and to doe this, opportunitie presented him with faire meanes. *Ptolomie* had by fine force, without any commission, annexed Syria to his government of Egypt and Cyrene: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* vpon the first newes of *Antipaters* death, began to lay hold vpon all that he could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discovered his intent of making himselfe Lord of all Asia. These two therefore stood in need of a ciuill Warre; which *Cassander* well noted, and presumed withall, That the friendship which had passed betweene his father and them, would auail him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both, & within a little while conueyed himselfe on a sudden ouer the Hellespont, that he might in person aduance the businesse with greater speede. Much perswasion is needlesse in winning a man to what hee desireth. *Antigonus* coueteth nothing more, than to find *Polyperchon* work, by raising some commotion in Greece. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly presse him, by the memory of his Father, and all requisite coniuurations, to assist him in this enterprize; telling him, that *Ptolomie* was ready to declare for them, and vrging him to a speedy dispatch. *Antigonus* on the other side repaid him with the same coine; saying, That for his own sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly loued, he would not faile to giue him all manner of succour. Hauing thus feasted one another with words, they were nothing slacke in preparing the common meanes, leading to their seuerall ends.

§. XIII.

The unworthy courses held by *Polyperchon*, for the keeping down of *Cassander*.

Great necessity there was of timely prouision. For, *Polyperchon* needed no other instructions to informe him of *Cassanders* drift, than the newes of his departure. Hee was not ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptolomie*, to the strengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principall hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the Græcian Estate. Therefore (louing to worke circumspectly) he called another Councell, wherein it was concluded, That the Popular forme of Government should be erected in all the Cities of Greece; the Garrisons withdrawn; and that all Magistrates & principal Men, into whose hands *Antipater* had committed the supreme authoritie, should forthwith be either slaine or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassanders* friends; and to raise vp many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an vnthankfull nature in *Polyperchon*; and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the son went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose onely bountie had inabled him to doe it? Or what could be said in their defence, who sought to destroy many worthy men, friends to the State, by whom the Greekes were held restrained from stirring against the Macedonians; and in opposition to their priuate Enemy, gaue the rule of things to safe Companions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans body, through sinewes newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next neighbour, than by any distemper in the contrary hand: so in bodiles politique, the humours of men, subdiuided in faction, are more intraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curbe them in their neere purposes, than they are exasperated by the generall opposition of such as are diuided from them in the maine trunk. Hereby it comes to passe, that contrary religions are inuited to helpe against Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawn in, to the part in ciuill warres; and ancient hatred called to counsaile against iniurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; she hath taught the arme to offer it selfe vnto manifest losse in defence of the head: They are depraued affections,

affections, which render men sensible of their own particular, and forgetful of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the Greekes were presented with a vaine shew of libertie, ran vnder the Kings name; but so, as one might easily discerne, that *Polysperchon* had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they should follow such directions, as *Polysperchon* gaue, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deale of kindnesse, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subiection, might well appeare to haue some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it selfe too base and vnfit for a King to vse toward his conquered Subiects, and offered subdued Rebels.

6. XV.

Of the great commotions raised in Athens by *Polysperchons* decree. The death of *Phocion*.

NEuerthelesse the Athenians with immoderate ioy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, & sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captaine of the Garrison, which kept one of their Hauens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleasing to their hastie desires.

Nicanor, as a trusty follower of *Cassander*, was by him shifted into the place, and *Me-nistius* (that was Captaine there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His comming to Athens was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who soone after hearing the newes of *Antipaters* death, cried out vpon *Phocion*, saying, That he had sufficient intelligence of that accident, and might by aduertising them in due time, haue put into their hands a faire opportunity of thrusting out the Macedonians. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the Macedonian yoke. Faire more grievously would they haue bene offended, had they known the instructions which *Cassander* had giuen to *Nicanor*, & his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not onely retaine *Munychia*, any iniunction to the contrary notwithstanding; but that hee should finde means to thrust some companies into *Piræus*, and fortifie that also, which was the principall haue, against the high-town. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good ability. But the Athenians were not long in giuing him sufficient cause to do that, which he would haue done without any cause giuen. They desired him to come vnto their counsell, assembled in the *Piræus*, there to consider of the Kings Proclamation: whither vpon *Phociens* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the war which was ready to break forth. Contrariwise they vrged him first of all, to make them masters of their own, which how to vse, they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend vnto the others demand; the Athenians (who did alwaies measure iustice by profit, yet seldom thrived by that course) practised with *Dercillus*, a Captain following *Polysperchon*, and then lying neere at hand, that he should enter into the Town, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion*, who then governed in Athens, a man very vnlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politike dishonesty, did quietly suffer him to depart and saue himselfe.

Nicanor hereupon began to deuise vpon taking *Piræus*, not as following now the project of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his own iust reuenge. He leuied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Piræus*, took it, and intrenched himselfe therein, to the exceeding discomfort of the Athenians, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Hauens, saw him now Master of both. *Alexander*, the son of *Polysperchon*, came thither shortly after with an Army. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recouering all, and addressed themselves vnto him, who made faire shewes, intending meere mischiefe, which they perceiued not, being blinded with the vaine Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympius* the old Queene. *Olympius* taking vpon her to command, before she durst well aduenture to returne into Macedonia, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to restore to the Athenians the places which hee held: but hee would first consider more of the matter, *Polysperchon* had further ordained, that the Isle of *Samos* should be rendred vnto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and

and meaning. He was (indeed) so farr from purposing to let them haue *Samos*, that as yet he did not thoroughly intend to let them haue themselves. The commoditie of their Hauens was such, as hee would rather get into his owne hands, than leaue in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in *Cassanders*. His Son *Alexander*, not ignorant of this, made faire bow to the Athenians, and spent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to intermeddle with the businesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceiued against him, they powred out vpon *Phocion*, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult: bawling men and strangers thrusting themselves into the assembly of the Citizens, who hadtracted with sundry passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought euery one that best could inueigh against things past, a most likely man to finde some remedie for the euill threatening them. In this hurly-burly was *Alexander* deuising how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, & held much priue conference with him, which he could not so secretly carry, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the vp-roare in the Town was so far increased, that *Phocion* with many of his friends were accused, and driuen to seek safeguard of their liues by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gaue them his letters of commendation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polysperchon was in the Country of *Phocis*, ready to enter with an Army into Attica. Thither came *Phocion* with his companions, hoping well, that the letters which they brought, and their own deserts, (hauing alwaies been friends to the Macedonians, as far as the good of their Countrey gaue leaue) should be enough to get patronage to their innocencie. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a Corinthian, *Polysperchons* familiar friend, went along with them (in an euill houre) who promised to himselfe and them great fauour, by means of his acquaintance. But *Polysperchon* was an vnstable man, very earnest in what he took in hand, yet either for want of iudgement in following them, or of honesty in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the balles, which made him commonly faile of good success. For feare of *Cassander*, he had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the Athenians, thus had caused them to loue him: out of their loue he gathered hope of deceiuing them, which made him to change his minde, and seeke how to get into his owne hands those keys, with which *Cassander* held them fast locked vp: finding himselfe disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, hee stood wauering betwene the contrary allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the Athenians perforce at his deuotion, would indeed haue done well, but the effecting of this began to grow desperate, and many Towns of importance in Greece began to cast their eyes vpon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wisest way to redeeme their good opinion, by giuing all contentment vnto the popular faction, which was then growne to bee Master of that City. And in good time for this purpose were the Athenian Embassadors come, treading (as one may say) vpon *Phociens* heels, whom they were sent to accuse. These had solemne audience giuen to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for ostentations sake was glorified vvith all exterior shewes of Maiestie; yet all too little to change *Aridaui* into *Alexander*; for hee did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he saw others doe. For beginning of the businesse *Polysperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should bee tortured and slaine. This was enough to testifie his hearty affection to the Commonaltie of Athens, in that hee spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; vvwhose Embassadors hee then bad to speake. When their errand vv as done, and answer to it made by the accused, vvho had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the rest vv ere pronounced guiltie of treason; but to giue sentence, and doe the execution vpon them, was (for Honours sake) referred vnto the Citie of Athens, because they vv ere Burgessees. Then vv ere they sent away to Athens, where the rasall multitude, not suffering them to speake for themselves, condemned them to dye. So they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phocion* being very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to bee of the lesse regard. Five and fortie times had hee bene chosen Governour of the Citie, neuer suing for the place, but sent for when hee was absent; so well was his integritie knowne, and so highly valued, even of such as were no pretenders to the same vertue. He was a good Commander in War, vvho though his actions vv ere not very great, yet vv ere they of good importance, and

and neuer vnfortunate. Neuer did the Caliephane of hissing followe his example, nor any priuate man of hauing trusted his word. *Antigon* of Macedonia highly effected him; so, and much more did *Alexander*, who besides other Graces of his souerayntie, sent him two hundred talents of siluer, & offered to bestow vpon him of foure Cities in Asia any one which he would choose. But *Philon* refused them & other gifts, howsoever importunately thrust vpon him; resting well contented with his honest poverty. Wherein he liued about fourescore yeares, and then was compelled by the vniuersall iudgement of wicked men to drink that poyson, which by iust iudgements of the righteous God, infected the City of Athens, as from that day forward as it neuer brought forth any worthy man resembling the vertue of their Ancestors.

§. XVI.
Of Polysperchon his vaine expedition against Cassander.

Not long after these things were done, *Cassander* with such forces as *Antigon* lent him, entred into Piræus; which newes drew *Polysperchon* head-long into Attica, with a great Army, but so ill victualled, that he was faine to depart without any thing done. Only he had giuen some impediment to the enemy, who, not contented with defending what hee held, began to looke out, and make new purchases abroad. Finding therefore himselfe vnable to driue *Cassander* out of Athens, hee left his Son *Alexander*, with such number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of vnicuersals, to withstand his further inroaching. The greatest part of his Armie hee carried into Peloponnesus, to make the Countrey sure to himselfe, wherein *Cassander* had many Friends.

His doings in Peloponnesus were such, as they had been in other parts of Greece. First, he began to fight with Edicts, restoring the Democratic, or Popular forme of government. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by *Antipater* been made Rulers, should be either slaine, or driuen into exile. This decree tooke immediate effect in most places: The vulgar sort being very ready to seale the Charter of their freedom and authority, with the blood of those who had kept them in subiection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which wished well to *Cassander*, especially they of Megalopolis, on whom *Polysperchon* meant to inflict an exemplarie punishment of disobedience to him, which he rearm'd Rebellion. Megalopolis had in it fifteen thousand seruiceable men, well furnished of necessaries, & resolved to endure the worst. And neede there was of such resolution. For *Polysperchon* comming thither with all his power, did so much, that he ouerthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall between them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the Macedonians which came vp to the breach, and at the same time with great labour they raised vp an inner wall, to beare out the next assault. The Assailants hauing failed to carry the Town at the first attempt, took much paine to cleare the ground, and make fair way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to ouerthrow all that came in their way. But the Towns-men perceiuing their drift, prepared boords driuen through with long nails, which they vsed as gal-throps, bestowing them sleightly, couered with the points vpwards, in the way by which the beasts were to passe. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beate vpon their sides with Arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the Asian Wars. Of these prouisions they made happy vse in the next assault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherin the enemy chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driuen back vpon the Macedonians, whom they trampled vnder feet. *Polysperchon* came as ill furnisht for long abode to Megalopolis as before to Athens. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, he forsook the siege, with some losse, and much dishonour, leauing some part of his Armie to lye before the Town for his credit.

After this he sent *Clitus*, his Admirall, to Sea, to ioyne with *Ardeus* that was come out of Phrygia, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of Asia. *Cassander* also sent his whole fleet vnder *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigon*, came to the Propontis, where he fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigon* hearing of the ouerthrow, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and

and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* againe, assuring him of the victory, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be mist over the streights in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting vpon *Clitus*, and drew his men, that lay securely on the land, head-long into their ships, in which tumult *Nicanor* arriuing did assaile them so lustily, that few or none escaped him.

This losse at Sea, together with his bad successe by Land, brought *Polysperchon* into great contempt. He had a good facilitie in penning bloody decrees, but when the execution was referred to his own sword, he could finde the matter more difficult. Wherefore the Athenians, perceiuing that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to giue them protection against the enemy which lay in their bosomes, came to agree with *Cassander*; accepting a Gouvernour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the party of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of Greece, which daily and willingly revolted vnto him; as to an industrious man, and likely to preuaile in the end. Thus was the whole Countrey set in a combustion, vnease to be quenched; which presented vnto *Antigon* an opportunitie, that he neglected not, of making himselfe Lord of Asia.

§. XVII.

Antigon seeks to make himselfe an absolute Lord: and thereupon treats with Eumenes, who disappointeth him: Phrygia and Lydia won by Antigon.

A*ntigon* had in *Antipaters* life time a firm resolution, to make vnto himselfe the utmost benefit that he might of the Army committed to his charge. And in faire season for aduancement of his purposes came the newes of *Antipaters* death; when then, when all the businesse in Pisidia was dispatched, and no more employment for the Armie remaining, saue onely the continuance of the siege of Nora, a small thing of it selfe, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Port of Nora, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the present estate was manifestly subiect, would in continuance of some years (which he might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that space could worke against him. His most feare was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men & horses might grow sickly and vnseruiceable: which made him to practise many deuises of keeping them in health and lustie. But when he had continued thus vp in this manner about a yeare, his hopes came to good passe, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigon* himselfe, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigon knowing the great sufficiencie of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelitie shewed vnto *Perdiccas*, thought that hee could not finde in all the world a fitter man than him, to imploy in managing those high designs, wherein he doubted not that he should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. Hee sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a better Lord than euer hee had bene, and the next man to himselfe, if things fell out as hee desired: in regard whereof hee required onely his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take, which done, hee might at his good pleasure issue safely out of Nora, and enioy his perfect libertie. *Eumenes* perusing the forme of the oath, did perceiue the meaning of *Antigon*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, rather to keepe the Decorum, than vpon any loyall intent; the binding words & summe of all were such, as tied him fast only to *Antigon*, omitting all reseruatiō of dutie to the King or any other. This hee liked not, holding it vnseemely to become a sworne man to him, with whom hee had fought for the masterie; and being assured that his voluntary assistance, which way soeuer hee gave, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore breake off for the negotiation, and waite for some better occasion of enlargement, which might perhaps be long in comming; but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigon*, he prepared to giue vp his Hold and depart. As for the oath it selfe, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemne enough.

enough for such proceedings as this, and yet who would hold be too ordering in the
silly and their Allegiance. The Macedonians which lay in camp before him, liked
his words, and gave him their allegiance, and did so children of his name,
binding him to be good and true, and that all his people as well as to the king and his
parted to one.

Antigonus had taken upon him, as soon as he came down to the Sea-side, to remove
some of the Governours of the Kingdom, and to bring himself according to the au-
thority which he had received of Alexander, to be the first in the time of his death. Neither
did he want sufficient pretence whereby to justify his proceedings. For in Polyperchon
might lawfully hold the Protectorship, which the old man doing on his death-bed
bequeathed unto him, and he had a legall authority in the Protectorship of Soldiers, which
might not be himselfe as well as to the Lieutenant of Asia, that was granted unto
him for the general good of the State, in presence of the whole Army, by the King,
and by Antigonus, who had power to ordaine what should seeme convenient, while he
lived, not to dispose of things that should happen after his death, and to give a faire
colour to his ambition, this was enough. If any were not here with satisfied, he had
three score thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thirtie elephants in a readinesse
to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was Aridæus Gouverneur
of Phrygia, who fortified the Townes of his own Province, and sought to have won Ca-
zicus, a faire Haven Town, and seated very conveniently for him, but was forced to goe
away without it. Hereupon Antigonus tooke occasion to command him out of the Coun-
trie. Aridæus was so far from obeying him, that he sent forth to relieve himselfe. Ne-
vertheless finding that he was unable of himselfe to make long resistance, he tooke
companies as he could draw along with him, & so passed over into Europe, to complain
at the Court. The like fortune had Onesimus, who ruled in Lydia, & fought the like remedy
of his fortune with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very
good words) which quickly vanished, & grew desperate, when they were beate at Sea,
as hath already been declared.

§. XVIII.

Antigonus pursues Eumenes. Eumenes, having authority from the Court, raiseth great War
against Antigonus in defence of the Royall house.

Antigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of all Asia the less, was
able to have entered Macedon, and seized upon the Court; which that hee for-
bare to doe, it proceeded (as may seeme) for some of these reasons. It would
have bred as much jealousy in Cassander, as feare in Polyperchon, which might have
brought them to termes of reconciliation. It would aske more time than he could spare;
and the entrie which followed the Protectorship was such, as he that had power enough
without the Office, ought rather to shun, than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest
that Eumenes would not onely refuse to take his part, but would make war upon him in
defence of the Royall house, to which it was found that Antigonus did not stand wel-
affected. Against him therefore he bent his course, and with an Army of twenty thousand
foot, & four thousand horse, made great haste toward Cilicia, hoping to suppress him
before he should be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithfull to their dead master, which be-
ing well known in the Court, he had commission sent unto him from thence to raise an
Army, and make war upon Antigonus, taking of the Kings treasure as much as he should
need. Other letters also there were directed to all the Governours of Provinces, requi-
ring them to give assistance to Eumenes, and be ordered by his direction: especially to
the Captaines of the old Soldiers, called the Argyraspides, of silver-shielded bands,
commandment was given to be at his appointment. Hee had of his old followers ga-
thered together two thousand foot, and six hundred horse, before this authority was
given him. But now hee purposed with all the strength which hee could make, to fight
with Antigonus in defence of the Royall blood. Olympias had written to him, desiring
him to bring helpe to her and to her Nephew the Son of Alexander, and she meant
time to give her his advice in that which Polyperchon required of her: for she was
desirous

desirous to returne into Macedon, but suspected his ambition, so not contained within
his full bounds. Eumenes therefore counselled her to remaine in Persia, till such time as
he could bring the matter to a good issue, which done, he promised that his fatherly care
should not be wanting to the seeds of Alexander. To this counsel she was much inclined.
Stranger it is to consider, that in all the Empire, scarce any one could be found among
the Nobles, in whom Alexander's mother, warts, and children, might repose some
confidence, saving onely this Eumenes, a stranger to the Macedonian blood, borne at
Cassandre's Castle of Thrace. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made
it; his followers obeyed at their owne discretion; and compelled he was to trauaile as
far as Persia, to gather together an Army sufficient to resist the enemies that pursued
his heels.

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. Olympias takes
Asidaeus and Eurydice, whom she cruelly passes to death.

§. XIX.
How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. Olympias takes
Asidaeus and Eurydice, whom she cruelly passes to death.

Now, forasmuch as in this present Warre all the Rulers of
the Princes did intermeddle; and great alterations hap-
ped, not onely in the parts of Asia, but Macedon it selfe,
which brought a new face vnto the State, by the extirpa-
tion of the royal house of Philip and Alexander: I hold it con-
venient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of
the Warre it selfe, to shew briefly how the great Princes did
mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were
drawne into those courses, which ouerthrow most of them and out of their
ruines built the greatness of a few, as likewise to what extremitie the faction brake
upon all other quarters where or should have bene depending.

Asidaeus the King, being simple and fearefull, did onely what hee was
bidden.
Polyperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to aduance the sonne
of Alexander by Roxane to the kingdom, and become Gouverneur to a King of his own
making.
Eurydice the Queene discovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing lesse than
to let her husband serue as a Stale, keeping the throne warme till another were growne
old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with Cassander, who hated the memory of Alex-
ander, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

Cassander held fresh in minde the danger wherein his family had bene through Alex-
ander's malice, together with the indignitie offered to himselfe by Alexander, who
knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the Persian man-
ner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he tooke in the amorous Queene,
made him to resolve, both to suppress the linage which he hated, and to maintaine his
belov'd mistresse, either by supporting her weak husband, or by taking her to be his
unlawfull wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned ouer all, so as they might
reign in their severall Countries, & establish their authority in such wise, that it might
not be taken from them.

Among these, Ptolomie and Antigonus were well enough already, if their ambition
would have suffered them to see it.

Philip and Seleucus lying farre off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach
upon their neighbours. Against these, Pancestes, and some others, with much adoe hardly
made resistance, untill such time as Eumenes came to them, who propounded to him-
selfe a matter, which he lived not to accomplish.

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Olympias

Olympias the old Queene (as it is common with Rep-dames) hated the childre of her husband by his other wives. It was thought that she had giuen poyson to *Aridaus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now she considering, that *Eumenes* was too full of businesse to come home so soone as she wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily preuailed in *Greece*: thought it the best way to ioyne vvith *Polyperchon*, and set vp, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the son of *Roxane*, remouing *Aridaus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and so tooke her way towards *Polyperchon*, who ioyning with her, entred into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing these newes, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other businesse, and come to succour her. She her selfe by entreatie, gifts and promises, drew to her partie as many of the *Macedonians* as she could, vntill she thought her owne side strong enough; and then taking her husband with her, vvent boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polyperchon*.

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should haue beene determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the reuolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soone as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to minde her former Estate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and sonne, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding her selfe thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolu*, but was intercepted and made prisoner with her husband.

Olympias having obtained this victory without bloud, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and vpon the same considerations for which they had refused to beare Armes against her, the *Macedonians* would not stick to maintaine her, whatsoever her proceedings were. Having therefore shut vp *Aridaus* and his wife in a close room, where they could scarce turne round, she fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head, (for feare lest the people should haue commiseration of him, that had reigned almost sixe yeares and a halfe) to put them to death. So she deliuered *Aridaus* to some barbarous *Thracians*, who tooke away his life by cruell torments: to *Eurydice* she sent a sword, a halter, & a cup of poyson, willing her to choose the instrument of her owne death; who praying that the like presents might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yeelded her necke to the halter, having spent her last curses not in vaine. *Nicanor* the brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did *Olympias* then choose out, all vvhom she commanded to be slaine. His brother *Iolans* that was already dead & buried, she accused of poyson giuen to *Alexander*, & thereupon caused his Tombe to be thrown downe, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondering at this furie, began to condemne themselves, and the folly of *Polyperchon*, who had, quite contrarie to *Antipaters* charge giuen on his death-bed, called this outrageous woman to the gouernment of the Empire.

§. XX.

How *Cassander* was reuenged vpon *Olympias*.

†. I.

The great expedition of *Cassander*. *Olympias* shuts her selfe into *Pydna*, where *Cassander* besieged her. *Acides* King of *Epirus*, coming to succour *Olympias*, is forsaken, and banished by his owne Subjects.

Cassander at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponnesus*, vvither when all these ill tidings vvere brought to him, he neuer staied to take the Citie, nor to giue order for the State of things in that Countrie, (though *Alexander* the sonne of *Polyperchon* vvere there with an Armie) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his associates to looke to themselves as well as they could, till his returne; and so in all haste he tooke his journey toward *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedie desire, of iust reuenge. The *Bithlians* had taken the Streets of *Thermopyla*, in fauour of the Queene and *Polyperchon*, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to mispend any time

in dealing with them, got together as many shippes as he could, great and small, vvith which he transported his Army into *Thessaly*. There he diuided his companies, appointing some vnder *Callas*, a subtile Captaine, to hold *Polyperchon* busied, who then lay incamped neere to *Peybabis*; with the rest he marched directly against *Olympias*. She, hauing once preuailed by the respect giuen to her dignitie, tooke more care how to appeare Maiesticke, all than to make her selfe strong. To this end she made a solemne progresse to *Pydna*, a Sea towne, and well fenced, hauing in her companie all the flowre of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among vvhom was *Roxane*, & her young son *Alexander*, heire to the great *Alexander*, by his grandmothers designement: who, during his minority kept the Soueraigne power in her own hands. But all this pompe serued to little vse, against the violence of the enemy, that soone presented himselfe before the wals; onely it fed the besieged with a vaine hope of succour, that would from all parts arriue, to rescue persons of their quality. And hereof there soone appeared faire likelihood, which as soone vanished, and went away in smoke:

For *Acides* King of *Epirus*, made great haste to bring succour to *Olympias*, his cousen, vvith vvhom *Deidamia* his daughter was also shut vp. Neuerthelesse, his Subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certaine passages taken in the way by *Cassanders* men, they called vpon him to retire, & quit the enterprife. The Kings importunitie vrging them to proceede, and the obstinate refusal of the Armie, brake out at length into such termes, that when he had raged in vaine against the multitude, his authority, vvith vvich he thought to haue preuailed vpon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his Kingdome, and to wander vp and down in forraine Countreies a banished man, his people ioyning vvith the enemy, against vvhom he had led them forth to war.

Pydna in the meane time was closed vp streightly, both by Sea and Land, so that neither any could issue out of the Citie, nor any reliefe be conueyed into it, but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable seruice being done there, whilst great actions were managaged abroad.

†. II.

Continuation of *Olympias* her storie. *Polyperchon* defeated. Extreme famine in *Pydna*. *Olympias* yeeldes to *Cassander*.

Now, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of *Eumenes* & *Antigonius* in this place, leauing *Olympias* yet a while to the houre of her destiny; vvich growes the faster vpon her, because she may discerne it comming; yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, by inserting her Tragedie in the midst of things, nor manifestly coherent vvith it; we will here (as elsewhere we haue done, and elsewhere must) continue to an end one History, that we may not be therewith distracted, vvhen vve shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in *Polyperchon*, was in like manner disappointed, as their former trust had bin, vvich was reposed in the succours of the *Epiriots*. For *Callas*, vvho was sent against him, found the meanes to corrupt the greatest part of his Armie vvith mony, leauing him vvithin a little while so slenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other businesse of warre, than a swift retrain. When famine had so farre preuailed in the Citie, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carcasses of their fellowes, and saw-dust being giuen to the Elephants for prouender; some of the Souldiers obtaining the Queenes leaue, (vvho could not denie it) others, vvithout asking leaue, yeelded themselves to the enemy, and vvere by him gently relieved, and sent abroad into the Countrey. The newes of the Queenes affaires, dispersed by these men, did so affright her vvell-willers, that such as had referred themselves to the euent, came in apace, and submitted them to *Cassander*. At length, vvhen the mortalitie was so great in the Towne, that the liuing were euen poysoned vvith the noysome sent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her selfe of stealing away by Sea in a Galleie that she had; vvherewith her successe was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Towne, by her chosn as a place of refuge, to be vvnto her as a house of torment, and a laile, out of vvich she should not be deliuered, but vvnto an eill death. Being therefore vvterly broken vvith miseries, vvich daily afflicted

her & the other Ladies, vnaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered compensation & with much labour hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who hauing seche her Gally out of the Haue, accounted himselfe as good as master of her body) a grant of her owne life. Immediately vpon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of the kingdome, was yielded to *Cassander*. *Amphilochus* did stand out for *Ariston* (to whom *Olympias* had giuen charge of such forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the success of some petty seruices wherein he had preuailed) began to promise himselfe great vnlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Cassanders* fauour, very earnestly required him vpon his faith to her, that he should giue it vp. He did so, and presently after was killed by his priuate enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, who partly hated him vpon old respects, partly doubted him as a man likely to seeke inuouation.

Book I. Chapter III. The death of *Olympias*, and her conditions.

When *Olympias* had now heard sorrowfull tidings of all her friends, she herselfe was called into question, & accused in an assembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murders (they were so styled in her affliction, which in time of prosperitie she called iustice) by her committed. There was she (being not heard, nor called to speake) condemned to die. The suite was commenced and prosecuted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slaine. But it was at *Cassanders* instigation, who (to hasten the execution) sent her word, that he would furnish her with ship, & other necessaries, to saue her selfe by flight: which when she refused, saying, that she would plead for her selfe, & tel her own tale, he dissembled no longer, but sent vnto her such men as hated her most, who tooke away her miserable life. She was daughter, and sister vnto two kings of *Edirus*; wife, & mother, vnto two the mightiest kings, of that, or many other ages; a stout Lady, and of vnreprouceable chastitie; but her ambition was boundlesse, her hatred vnappeasable, and her furie in reuenge, most vnwomanly. Her peruerse conditions made her husband seeke other vviues and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him, and them. She was thought priueto her husbands death; after which, very cruelly she slew his late wife *Cleopatra*, hauing first murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beastly fury broiled the other aliae in fire, in a copper bason. For these things, her sonne *Alexander* (otherwise louing her vuell) forbade her to meddle in the gouernment of *Macedon*. But God more seuerer vnto cruell Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their vviils, permitted her to liue and fulfill the rest of her wickednesse, (which was his iustice vpon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done by him and others;) after all which, He rewarded her malice, by returning it vpon her owne head.

Chapter IIII.

*Cassander celebrates the funerall of *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*; and seekes to make himselfe King of *Macedon*.*

After her death, *Cassander* gaue honourable buriall to *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatnesse, he married the Lady *Theffalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pylus*, being the daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his wiues; that by her he might haue some title to the Crowne. For the same end he committed *Roxane*, and her young son to close prison, remouing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to encrease his fame, and purchase loue, built a Citie, called by his own name *Cassandria*, that soone grew to be very great and powerfull. Here-edified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it vnto the old inhabitants, after it had laine twenty yeares waste, being vtterly razed by *Alexander*. By these meanes, especially by the restauration of *Thebes*, wherunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained enemies vnto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leauing him therefore daily preuailling in *Greece*, we will returne to them, who contended in *Asia*, for lesse titles, but larger Prouinces, with greater forces.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII. Of the great Lordship which *Antigonus* got in *Asia*.

Eumenes, hauing ioyned vnto his company the *Argyrasides*, made haste into the Eastern parts, to take possession of those Countries, according to his commission, and strengthen himselfe against *Antigonus*. He took his iourney through *Calasyria* and *Phenicia*, hoping to reclaim those Prouinces, vsurped with the rest of *Syria* (as hath beene shewed) by *Ptolomie*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haste of his passing forward was too great, his Armie too little, and the readinesse of the poeple, to returne to their obedience, none at all. Besides all which impediments, one inconuenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the lesse effectfull. The Captaines of the *Argyrasides* were so froward, that they scorned to repaire to him, and take the oaths; and their fidelity was so vnsteady, that he might more easily haue dealt with open traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keepe them in order by punishment. Therefore he faigned, that *Alexander* had appointed vnto him a dreame, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich paullion, wherein an emptie throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himselfe had beene present at their consultations. Thus he drew himselfe from their vaine pride; but of their faith he could haue no assurance. Yet when *Ptolomie* requested them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they departed (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, sending before him the Kings vvarrant; which *Pylho* and *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as reiecting the kings authority, but excepting the person of *Eumenes*, as being condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Armie, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that he was not to rely vpon their assistance, vvhich stood otherwise affected than his affaires required, and were not to be dealt with by persuasion, sought passage by strong hand, through the Country of *Babylon*, in such wise that *Seleucus*, hauing in vaine assailed to hinder him, by opening the sluices of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Pencestes* and the rest of the Eastern Lords, vvhich were glad of his coming, because of the differences betweene *Pylho*, *Seleucus*, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority, grew very hot among them, euery one finding matter enough to feede his owne humour of selfe-worthinesse. But the former device of assembling in one paullion, made all quiet; the conclusion euer being sure to follow that vvhich *Eumenes* propounded, vvhich was both wisest in giuing aduice, and best able to reward, by means of the authoritie giuen him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these meanes he won to himselfe many of those, who had most power to doe good or hurt.

Chapter II.

How Antigonus, coming to set vpon Eumenes, was driuen off with lesse.

Antigonus, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Prouince of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and driue him further from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To vvhich end, as soone as he had made himselfe strong enough, he removed out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered, and taking to him *Pylho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly against the enemies, with intent to giue battle. *Eumenes* had fortified the Castle of *Susa*, & was retired back toward *Persia*, keeping

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keeping

keeping the Riuer of *Tygrus* between him and his pursuers. The passages of the Riuer were well guarded, and good espiall kept vpon *Antigonus*, to obserue which way he took. Before he came to *Tygrus* it selfe, he was to passe ouer *Coprates*, a great Riuer, and not foordable, vvhich he sought to doe by small vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Armie had gotten ouer, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge vpon *Tygrus*, came with a thousand horse, and foure thousand foot, to see their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and draue them headlong backe into *Coprates*, wherein most of them vvere drowned; very few escaping with life, except foure thousand that yeelded themselves prisoners, in sight of *Antigonus*, to that was not able to relieue them. This losse made *Antigonus* glad to fall off, and the hate of that Countrie in the dog dayes, breeding diseases in his Armie, by which many perished, caused him to remoue as farre as into *Media*. So he tooke *Pysson* with him, leauing *Selenus* to besiege the Castle of *Susa*, and seeking to goe the neerest way, passed through savage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arriue in *Media*, vvith his troupes that were quite heart-broken.

§. III.

Of Eumenes his cunning. A battaile betwene him and Antigonus.

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AFTER his departure, *Eumenes* with his associates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their businesse. Faine he would haue had them to enter vpon those Prouinces, which *Antigonus* had left behinde him, to which all the Captaines of the *Argyraspides* or *Silver-shields* were very inclinable, as desiring to draw neerer to *Greece*. But *Pencestes*, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countreys, had more care of their owne particular Estates, and would needes march Eastward. These carried it; for the Armie was not strong enough to diuide it selfe into parts.

When they came into *Persia*, *Pencestes*, ruling there, feasted them royally, and sought by all meanes to win the Souldiers loue to himselfe. *Eumenes* perceiuing wherunto those doings tended, suffred him a while to keep good cheare, till the time of war drew neere. Then did he faine an Epistle, directed, as from *Orontes* Gouvernor of *Armenia*, to *Pencestes* himselfe: The purport whereof was, that *Olympias*, had vanquished *Cassander*, & sent ouer a great Armie vnder *Polyperchon*, to ioyne with *Eumenes*. These newes, as they filled the Campe with vaine ioy, so they wrought in all mens mindes a great willingness to obey *Eumenes*, by vvhom was the likeliest apparance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, he being farre the most sufficient Commander, as they found soone after. For when *Antigonus*, coming out of *Media*, drew neere vnto them, *Eumenes* by some mischance was fallen sicke, and faine to be carried in a Litter; the Armie marched in very bad array, and was likely to haue bene forced to take battaile in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the Captaines were amazed, was carried about the Armie in his Litter, and vpon the sodaine did cast his men into so good forme, that *Antigonus*, perceiuing him a far off, could not refraine from giuing him deserved commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Captaines, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*; which hopes deceiuing him, he came to the triall of a battaile. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwise, he was inferiour in number both of horse and foote by a third part. The battaile vvvas fought vvith variable success, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victory was vncertaine. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye farre from their carriages: by which meanes *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command ouer his) incamping on the ground wheron they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; vvvhich was accounted the signe of victorie; for he buried his owne, and gaue leaue to his enemies crauing it, to doe the like. But a greater signe of victorie had *Eumenes*. For he abode still in the same place, and not onely buried his men very honourably, at great leasure, but held the Countrie round about; whereas *Antigonus* vvvas glad (having tarried but one day) to steal away by night, and returne into *Media*, from whence he came.

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§. IV.

Of diuers stratagems practised by Antigonus, and Eumenes, one against the other.

THUS did the Warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part hauing stout Souldiers, and skilfull Generals; but the side which had hitherto preuailed, being hindred by the equall authoritie of many, from pursuing all aduantages to the best. *Antigonus* grew daily weaker, in men and reputation, so that to repaire himselfe he could finde no way safer, than to put all to aduenture. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far asunder, so that if hee could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distresse. Between him & them, the way was not long, being only nine daies iourney, but very bad, through a rough drie wildernes, hardly passable. Another way, fairer, and leading through a Country well peopled, but requiring 25. daies iourney, he forsook, partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, because he would come vndiscovered. So therfore taking his iourney in the dead of winter, he forbade vnto his men the vse of fire by night, because he would not haue them deseried a farre off. This commandement had been well obserued foure or five daies, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, & the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselves, being neer to their waies end. The light of these fires gaue notice of their coming, which being reported to *Pencestes*, and other Captaines, they were so astonished, with the sudden danger, that in all haste they betooke themselves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the newes, began to hearken his affrighted companions, promising to make *Antigonus* march leisuely, and willing them to abide, and draw vp their men together. They could scarce beleuee him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He tooke with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith he occupied certaine tops of mountaines, looking toward the Campe of *Antigonus*; there hee chose a conuenient ground to incampe vpon, and made great store of fires in sundry places, as if the whole Armie had bene present. This was a sorrowfull spectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himselfe preuented of his purpose, and began to feare lest he should be compelled to fight, whilest his men were tyred with a long and painful iourney. Therefore he resolved to turne aside, and take the way to such places, as might better serue to refresh his Armie. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be vpon all aduantages. But after a while, considering that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and think in himselfe, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some inhabitants of that desert to bee taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had seene no other Armie than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to finde that hee had been so deluded. Therefore hee went against these troupes with great fury, meaning to take sharpe vengeance on them, for hauing so deceiued him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arriued there, which could not be forced without much businesse, and long stay. All the Armie was come, saue only *Endamus*, Captaine of the Elephants, whose sides those beasts, had no more than foure hundred horsemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply coming to his enemies, sent aboue two thousand horse, and all his light-armed footmen, to cut it off by the way. *Endamus* being fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, & so to defend himself as well as he could; for his horsemen, ouerlaid with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driuen to run away vpon the spur. Neither knew they, vvho fate vpon the Elephants, which vvay to turne them; for on all sides they receiued vvounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremitie there appeared braue troupes of horse and foot, that came v unexpected to the rescue; and charging the assailants vpon the backe, draue them to seeke their owne safety by speedy flight. These were sent by *Eumenes*, who though he knew not what his aduersarie meant to doe, yet he knew very well what was fittest for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himselfe, prouided the remedie.

§. V.

S. V.

The conspiracie of Peucestes and others, against Eumenes his life.

BY these meanes *Eumenes* wanne great honour, and was by the whole Armie acknowledged a most expert Generall, and well worthy of the chiefe command. But *Peucestes*, and the other Capitaines, guilty of their owne much insufficiency, were so transported with enuie, that they could no longer containe their vile thoughts, but held communication, as vpon a necessary point, how they might finde meanes to murder him.

Surely, it is great iniustice to impute the mischiese contriued against worthy men, to their own proud carriage, or some other ill deseruing: For, though it often happen, that small vices do serue to counterpoise great vertues; (the sense of euill being more quick and lasting than of good) yet he shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimonie, will thinke it a part of wisdom, to finde good reason of the euills, done to virtuous men, which oftentimes haue no other cause than vertue it selfe. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtesie, of a very sweet conversation among his friends, and carefull by all gentle meanes to winne their loue, that seemed to beare him any secret ill affection. It was his meere vertue that overthrew him, which euen they that sought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he should not be slaine, before the battaile were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety, to be gouerned by his direction. Of this treason he was quickly aduertised by *Endamius*, to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he vsed to borrow money when he needed not, to the end that they should be carefull of his good, for feare of losing their owne. Considering therefore, and discouring with himselfe of the villany intended against him, he made his last Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of secret: which done, he reuolued many things in his minde, being doubtfull what course he were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royall bloud, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew no-
 thing that might encourage him to seeke their helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with *Antigonus*, had bene against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbore either to lose the battaile willingly, or to flie into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himselfe among his old friends. At length he resolved to do his best against the common enemy, and afterwards to looke to himselfe as well as he might.

S. VI.

The last battaile betweene Antigonus and Eumenes.

THE Souldiers, especially those old bands of the *Siluer-shields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victorie, but onely to bring them into the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chiefe Commanders were so mischieuously bent against him, that they could not endure to thinke of being beholding to him for the victorie. Yet he ordered the battaile so well, that, without their owne great fault, they could hardly faile of getting the vpper hand.

Before the Armies came to ioyning, a horse-man from the side of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice vnto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickedness in fighting against their own Fathers, would now be punished, as it well deserued. This was not spoken in vaine. For the *Siluer-shields* were men of threescore or seauenty yeeres old, and strengthened more by continuall exercise than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as hauing passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight. Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often bene beaten by them, and were now to trie their last hope with these resolute warriors, the most Ancient and best regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very peniue, and aduanced

heavily, suspecting their owne cause, and fearing that the threwe might utterer would prove true. *Antigonus* was now againe farre the stronger in horse, which gaue him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plaine belied field. Putting therefore himselfe and his son *Demonius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Pythion*, he did set forward couragiously against the Enemies, that were ready to see him a sharp entertainment.

Eumenes took vnto him *Peucestes*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battaile, in the face of *Antigonus*; meaning both to preuent the Traitors, his Companions, of all meanes to make head against him on the sudden; and (withall) to giue proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, opposite vnto *Pythion*, he bestowed the weakest of his Horse and Elephants, vnder one *Philip*, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reasonable retreat, expecting the euent of the other side.

So they ioyned very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himselfe master of all; *Eumenes*, to dye an honourable death, or to win such a victory vpon his open enemies, as might giue him leisure and opportunity to deale with his false friends.

The followers of *Antigonus*, being euen in their owne opinions, far inferiour to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently defeated by the *Siluer-shields*, who slew aboute five thousand of them, losing of their owne not one man. But in Horse, *Eumenes* was so ouer-matched, that he could not repell *Antigonus*, who pressed him very hard; but was faine to stand wholly vpon defence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground vpon him, vntill such time as *Peucestes*, with one thousand five hundred Horse, withdrew himselfe out of the battell, leauing his companions fighting to defend his backe.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rush amongst his Enemies, labouring to break open the way vnto *Antigonus* himselfe. And though he failed of his purpose, yet with great slaughter he did so beat vpon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in suspence, vncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a slight sandie mould, through the trampling of horses, men, and Elephants, did cast vp such a cloud of dust, as hindred the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this aduantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed vndiscovered beyond *Eumenes* his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, slenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the Army lay betwene them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Peucestes* retired himselfe no further than vnto the carriages, he might not only haue defended them, but peraduenture haue surprised those which came to surprisethem, and so haue done as good a piece of seruice as a better man. But he vvas gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the euent: and *Eumenes* was so ouer-laboured both in body and minde that he could not possibly giue an eye to euery place, being not well able to continue where he vvas.

It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himselfe euery way ouer-charged, beganne to giue backe, and withdrew himselfe and his companies in good order, to the other side of the battaile, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from losse. The *Antigonians* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come againe; as faine he would haue done.

The losse of the carriages was reported vnto him, as soon as he had any leisure to heare how things went: whereupon he presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for *Peucestes* that vvas not far off; requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby he trusted, not only to recouer their owne goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoiles of the enemies. *Peucestes* not onely refused to ioyne with him, but immediately withdrew himselfe into a safer place, vvhether he might be further from such dangerous competitions.

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By this, the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to returne into their Campes. Yet *Antigonus* conceiued hope of doing somewhat more; & therefore taking halfe his horsemen, he waited vpon *Eumenes* a part of his way homeward, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other halfe he committed to *Pytho*, willing him to set vpon the *Siluer-shields* in their retreat, which yet he forbare to do, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended, wherein *Antigonus* had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foot: but the spoyle which he got, by surprising his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

S. V I I.

How Eumenes was betrayed to Antigonus, and slaine.

E*umenes*, comming into his Campe, and finding the *Siluer-shields* extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to chere them vp, and put them in hope of recouering all with aduantage. For their braue demeanour that day had so cruised the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much lesse able to draw their Carts after him, through that great wilderness, ouer the high mountaines.

But these perswasions auailed nothing. *Peucestes* was gone; the other Captaines would needs returne into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no desire either to fight, but onely to recouer their goods: Wherefore *Tentamus*, one of the two Captaines of the *Siluer-shields*, (who had in former times readily consented vnto traitorous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as hee thought, a fit occasion of making himselfe great, and winning the loue of those bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, requesting him to restore vnto those old Souldiers their goods, which hee had taken, being the onely reward of their seruices, in the warres of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a subtile man, knew very wel, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with little entreatie, performe a great deale more than they promised; and therefore he louingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of farre greater matter than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make warre against him. This answer pleased them so well, that they forthwith deuised how to deliuer him aliue. Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, and pretending more ioy of their victorie, than sorrow of their losse, which they said they would redeeme by another fight; in the midst of this goodly talke, they leapt vpon him, caught hold of his sword, & bound him fast. So they haled him away; and stopping their eares against all perswasions, would not yeeld so far, as to loosen one of his hands and let him kill himselfe, but brought him aliue (that was their own Generall, vnder whom they had obtained many victories) as it had been in triumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The presse of men, running out of the Campe to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was faine to send a guard of horsemen and Elephants, to keep him from being smothered; whom he could not suddenly resolue, either to kill or saue. Very few they were that sued for his life; but of these, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were saued, he would soone be the chiefe in reputation, for his great abilitie. So after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded, that it was the safest way, to put him to death, which intending to haue done by famine (perhaps because he would keepe it a while in his owne power, to reuerse the sentence, as desiring, if it might be, to haue him liue his friend) haste of other businesse made him do it by the sword.

To this end came all the trauailes of that worthy Generall *Eumenes*; who had with great wisdom, fidelity, & patience laboured in vaine, to vphold the family which God had purposed to cast down. Hee is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutabilitie; but more notable was his gouernment of himselfe, in all her changes. Adversitie neuer lessened his courage, nor Prosperitie his circumspection. But all his vertue, industrie, and wit, were cast away, in leading an Army, without full power, to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered, by *Caspar de Colignie*, Admirall of *France* in our daies, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soon after in the mas-

sacre

sacre of *Peru*; That rather than to leade againe an Armie of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonus himselfe gaue to the body of *Eumenes* honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserved vengeance. One chiefe Captaine of the *Siluer-shields* he burnt aliue; many of the other Captaines he slew; and to the whole multitude of the *Siluer-shields*, that had betrayed so worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that should carry them into farre Countries, vnder pretence of vvarres; but with a priuie charge, to consume them all, as periured wretches, letting none of them returne aliue vnto his friends and kindred; or so much as once behold the Seas that beate vpon the shores of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

S. V I I I.

How Antigonus slew Python, and occupied Media. How he remoued Governours of Prouinces, and made himselfe Lord of Persia, carrying away Peucestes.

The two Armies being ioyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they spent the rest of the Winter; the common Souldier idly; the principall men intently bent vnto the businesse ensuing. *Python* began to consider his owne desertings; for that the whole warre had beene chiefly maintained by the strength and riches of his Prouince. Besides, he thought himselfe as good a man as *Antigonus*, vnlesse it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he iudged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberality. But in following this course, he was driuen by necessitie to trust many, of vvhom he stumbled vpon some, that were vnsecret; and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discouered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) dissembled his indignation; and rebuked the Informers, as breeders of dissension betweene him; and his honourable friend, vnto whom he meant to commit the Gouernment of all those Countries: his owne businesse calling him into the lower *Asia*. These reports, comming daily to his eares, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatnesse with *Alexander*; his authority in that Prouince where they lay, whereof he was Gouernor; and the loue of the Souldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintaine, euen an offensive warre. But what need had he to vse the sword, when he was likely without contention, to obtaine more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as soone as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to diuide the Prouinces with him, that meant nothing lesse than to yeeld to any such diuision. As soone as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slaine out of hand. For *Antigonus*, hauing begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting downe indifferently all that stood in his way: but swamme carelessly through the blood, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this businesse was ended, he appointed a new Gouernour in *Media*, to order the Prouince, and a Captaine, to suppress all commotions: thinking belike, that the power and authoritie, so diuided, would hardly agree in one against him, from vvhom both were deriued.

After this he marched into *Persia*, where he was entertained, as absolute Lord of *Asia*. There began he to shew how well he vnderstood his owne mightinesse. For he placed and displaced at his owne pleasure, Gouernours in all Prouinces, leauing none in Office, that were not his own creatures, exception such as lay too farre off to be lodged easly.

Peucestes, vvhom ruled in *Persia*, thought with good cheere to redeeme old offences, so he was deceiued, hauing to doe with one that could not be taken with such baits: he was carried away, and feasted with goodly vvords of promise, that neuer after tooke effect. Thus he, that enuid the vertue of his friend, was driuen to flatter (in vaine) the fortune of his enemy, after which he led a most contemptible life, till he died obscurely and forgotten.

S. IX.

How Seleucus was chased out of Babylon by Antigonus. The great riches of Antigonus.

Seleucus was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good will to Antigonus, and now gave proofe of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captaine of the Castle of Susa to meete him on the way, rendering vnto him that strong Peece, and all the treasures therein bestowed; this offer was so great, that Antigonus (though hauing in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleue it; but vsed him with excessive kindnesse, for feare of good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of Alexander, with the Jewels of the Persian Kings, which added to his former store of mony, made vp 25. thousand talents. Hauing all this, he might well account himselfe a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happiness. But large dominion was the marke at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leaue no Country behinde his backe; that should not acknowledge him for Soueraigne Lord. Comming to Babylon, he was entertained by Seleucus with all possible demonstration of loue, and honoured with presents, becomming the Maiestie of a king. All this he accepted with great grauitie, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the reuenues of that Prouince. This demand Seleucus held vnreasonable, saying, That it was not needfull for him to render vnto any man an account of that Prouince, which was giuen vnto him, in respect of his many good seruices to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that Antigonus was powerfull; who vrged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of mony, nor any other necessity, impued Antigonus to presse him thus, but onely the desire to picke matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that he should finde such issue, as Pytho and Peucestes had done. Therefore, taking with him onely fifty horse, he conueied himselfe away, and fled into Ptolomies Dominions; desiring him to protect him from such a man as went about to oppresse all, that in former times had beene his betters, or at least his equalls. Antigonus was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yeilded vnto him without battaile, whereas to fight with Seleucus for them, he wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, hauing receiued many benefites of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any iniuries. Yet it is reported, that the Chaldeans brought a strange Prophecie to Antigonus, bidding him look well to himselfe, and know, that if Seleucus did escape his hands, he should recouer Babylon, yea, winne all Asia, and kill Antigonus in battaile. Easie beleeuers may giue credit to this tale. Had it beene true, me thinkes, Antigonus rather should haue hanged those Chaldeans, for giuing him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say) that he did after him, whom the destinies preferred for so great purposes. When he had settled things at Babylon, he tooke his iourne into Cilicia, where he wintered. There he took vp ten thousand talents more of the kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found 40 his yearly in-come to amount vnto eleuen thousand Talents.

CHAP. V.

Of the great Warre betweene ALEXANDERS Captaines:
and how they assumed the name and state of Kings.

S. I.

The combination of Ptolomie, Cassander, and others against Antigonus. Their demands and his answer.



His great riches, and the rest of his power, made Antigonus dreaded, equied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new Warre. Ptolomie, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, had priuily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason than of his owne accord he seemed like to yeeld vnto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good

good presence was not giuen vnto Seleucus, giuing him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them severally, and intreating them to continue firme in their loue toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. And he cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was Ptolomy, it being likely that a good army should prouoke more than a faire rebellage. Therefore, as soone as the season of the year would permit, he tooke the way toward Syria; & was encountered by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their hands did much reioyce at his victory, obtained against Eumenes their common enemy, and the honour that he had thereby gotte. In which warre, for as much as they being his Confederates, must haue endured great losse, with hazzard of their whole Estates, if the contrary faction had preuailed; they held it very iust, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had been all aduenturers. Wherefore they desired him, that making betwixt them all an equall diuision of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some conuenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best be to eueryones liking, if he would make ouer Cappadocia, with Lycia, to Cassander; & Phrygia, bordering vpon the Hellespont, to Lyfimachus; for whereas his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those western Prouinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for Ptolomy, he would not craue any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territories: Provided alwaies, that Seleucus their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be restored to his owne, out of which he had beene driven so iniuriouly; that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly content vnto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtaine with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses receiued, he should yet be able to redeeme peace whensoever he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weake, to giue away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for feare only, lest it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to finde them worse, more than enough to defend their owne. Therefore he roindly answered the Embassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without other mens helpe had obtained. Though indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, hauing by his means kept their governments, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by Polyperchon; and the counsell of estate in Macedon. But what maruell was it, if they considered not how he had saued them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when comming to him as a fugitive, and begging succour, he was by his meere bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? Cassander did not (said he) in those daies command me to surrender Prouinces, and giue him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) desired me to pittie him, and helpe him against his enemies; which I did; by lending him an Army, and Fleet, on confidence whereof he now presumes to threaten me. As for Seleucus, how can he complaine of wrong, that durst not stay to plead his right? I did vse him well; but his conscience told him that he had deserved ill: else he would not haue fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their owne, which some of them can hardly iustifie. I am now in the way to Syria, meaning to examine Ptolomies proceedings, and after him to deale with others, if they continue to prouoke me.

S. II.

The preparation and beginnings of the warres.

When the Embassadors were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought vpon but Warre. Antigonus perceiving that he should be invaded from Europe, as soone as hee was entred into Syria, left his Nephew Ptolomy to guard the Sea-coasts, & hinder Cassander from landing in Asia; giuing him also in charge, to driue out of Cappadocia some that were already sent ouer to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into Greece & Cyprus, not vnprovided of mony; to draw friends to his side, & raise vp troubles to his enemies. Especially he laboured to make himselfe the strongest

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strongest by Sea, to which purpose he rather *hastened*, than *forethought* his iourney into Syria, that he might get possession of Mount Libanus, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Nauie. Therefore, hauing erected Beacons, and laid post-horses throughout all Asia, to giue swift aduertisement of all occurrences, he invaded Syria, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintaine the field.

Ptolomy lay in Egypt, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloued and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord; his other Prouinces he kept with a few Garrisons, better seruing to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraigne enemy. So *Antigonus* tooke many Cities, and Places, of that Country, and began to set great numbers of Artificers on worke in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these busineses he consumed a yeare and three months; not idly. For he took Ioppe, and Gaza, which were yeilded vnto his discretion, and well vsed. The strong city of Tyrus held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine, to render it selfe vpon composition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Armes, which was permitted.

Ptolomy was not asleep, whilest these things were in doing, though he kept himselfe within the bounds of Egypt, as indeed it behooued him to do. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plaine field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Neuertheless by Sea (where his enemy was as yet vnrady) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chiefe command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred saile along the coast of Syria, in the full view of *Antigonus*, and his Army, to their no little discomfort. He landed in Cyprus, which was then governed by many petty Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolomy*; therest were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the Egyptian with sharp Steele.

The same commodity of aide by Sea encouraged the President of Caria (called also *Cassander*, but not the son of *Antipater*, howsoeuer by the painfull and learned writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is by some ouersight, counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolomy* and his Confederates, and busily imploy in their quarrell all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enioyed rest; but now he threw himselfe in- to dangerous warre, choosing rather to vndergoe trouble at hand, than to fall vnder certaine ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would haue overwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

S. I. I.

How each party sought to winne the assistance of Greece. *Antigonus* his declaration against *Cassander*. *Alexander* the sonne of *Polyperchon* reuelseth from *Antigonus* who had set him vp.

IN the meane season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure vnto them the people of Greece, whose aide, which way soeuer it inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the first, *Antigonus* sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the Lacedæmonians, and other Peloponnesians, of whom hee waged eight thousand, & caused *Polyperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowle himselfe again, and taking vpon him the title of Captain of Peloponnesus, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopefull beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kinde. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, he called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the Greeks & Macedonians that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that *Cassander* had very cruelly slaine *Olympius*, mother to the great *Alexander*, and not herewith contented, had shut vp in close prison the poore Lady *Roxane*, *Alexanders* wife, and his sonne begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himselfe King ouer the Macedonians; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady *Thessalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match vsfit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to ioyne with him in marriage. That in meere despight of those dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the Olynthians, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new City by him built, and called by his own name *Cassandria*; and had re-edified the City of Thebes, which for the great treason of the inhabitants, was leuelled with the ground by

by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons he required them to make a decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute libertie the Lady *Roxane*, and her son; and should yeeld obedience to the Lord *Bicronant* General of the Empire, (by which name *Antigonus* himselfe was vnderstood) or else should be repured a traitor, and open enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of Greece should be restored into freedome; this hee did, not because he was carefull of their good, but for the need which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perswaded, that not onely the Greeks would adhere vnto him, as to their louing Patron, and fall off from *Cassander*; but that the rulers of Prouinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardfull of nothing but his own benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the most faithfull of all adherers to the Royall blood. But concerning his loyalty to the young Prince, the world was too wise to be deceived with vaine shewes. His vndertaking for the libertie of the Greeks was more effectually, and got easie beliefe, in regard of his present hatred to *Cassander*. Yet hercinalso *Ptolomy* strove to be as earnest as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himselfe that valiant Nation, which afforded men farre more seruicable in war, than were to be found in any Prouince of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point, at which both sides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all sure, deceiued himselfe, not without great cost. For hee gaue to *Alexander* the son of *Polyperchon* five hundred talents, willing him to set the war on foot in Peloponnesus, whereby it might appeare, that on his side was meant nothing else, than what was openly pretended.

In Peloponnesus, *Cassanders* men had with much blood shed, grievously afflicted the country faction; and he himselfe perceiuing, that they were more easily spoyled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way to make what he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiuing that *Alexander* came furnished with plentie of gold, wherewith he was able, not onely to win the doabysfull, but to corrupt such as might seeme best assured: he thought it a part of wisdom, to surrender vpon faire conditions, that which he could not assure himselfe to hold any long time by force. Therefore he sent one to deale with *Alexander*, about the matters in controversy, telling him, that *Antigonus* was very skilfull in setting men together by the eares, not caring who prevailed; but onely desiring to haue them weary themselves, whilest he was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might find opportunity to set vpon the stronger. Therefore *Alexander* were so wise, as to keep in his hand the five hundred talents which he had, and without stroke stricken, to receive the whole Lordship of Peloponnesus; and should be freely put into his hands by *Cassander*, provided, that he should from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*; & enter into a sure & faithfull league with *Ptolomy*, *Cassander*; & the rest of the Confederates. Otherwise he might well perswade himselfe, that the Country which his Father could not keepe, when he was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in haste be won by him, that was onely the Factor of a proud inuious man, so filling himselfe, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had liued a while with *Antigonus* since the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discover the intent, (which he did not carry very secret) of making himselfe absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soone entreated to accept of good an offer, and did not sticke to enter into that league, whereby he was to be made free Lord, and subject vnto no mans controul.

Howbeit, this his honour continued not long, as he lost both it and his life together, by reason of the Sicyonians, who thinking thereby to haue made themselves free, were soon after vanquished in battaile by *Cratippus*, *Alexanders* wife, a discreet and valiant Lady, who in reuenge of her husbands death, executed chiefe of the Citizens taken in fight; and hauing by severity taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and gouerned those places that she held, with the commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

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§. IV.

The *Ætolians* rise against *Cassander* in favour of *Antigonus*, and are beaten. A fleet and land-army of *Antigonus*, victoriously defeated by *Ptolomies* Lieutenant. In what termes the warre stood at this time. *Antigonus* drawes neerer to Greece.

Antigonus, when he found, that with so much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raise troubles to *Cassander* and his other aduersaries in Greece, by stirring vp the *Ætolians* against them: Likewise he laboured to winne to his party the Islands in the Greek Seas, by whose assistance he might be the better able to deale with *Ptolomy*, that greatly preuailed by reason of his strong Fleet. But neither of these attempts had the successe which he expected. The *Ætolians*, a factious Nation, & alwaies enuying the greatnesse of their Neighbour, were often in commotion, but so, that commonly their gaine equaled not their losses. *Cassander* wan some of their owne Country, fortified the *Acaranians* against them, & compelled *Glaucius*, King of the *Illyrians*, whom hee vanquished in battaile, to forsake their side, and binde himselfe to beare no Armes against *Cassanders* friends.

On the other side, as many petty Islands were drawne to ioyne with *Antigonus*: so the Fleet of the *Rhodians* vnder *Theodatus*, who was Admirall to *Antigonus*, passing along the coast of Asia towards Cyprus, with an Army vnder conduct of *Perillus* marching on the shore for mutuall assistance, was quite overthrowne by *Ptolomies* Nauie. *Polyphmus*, who in *Ptolomies* behalfe had been sent into Peloponnesus against *Alexander*, finding need of his seruice in that Country, because *Alexander* was come ouer to their side, returned homewards, & by the way heard of the course which these *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly surprised. Hee rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambush, wherinto *Perillus* falling was taken prisoner, with many of his men, & many were slain, making little resistance. *Theodatus* the Admirall perceiuing this, made all haste to help his fellowes that were on Land, but whilst he with all his Fleet were intentiue onely to that business, *Polyphmus* appeared at their backs; who as soon as he perceived their disorder, hastened about the Cape, and charging them behinde, suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused *Antigonus* to deale with *Ptolomy* about some composition. First, he sent Embassadors; afterwards they met in person. But *Antigonus* would not yeeld vnto the demands of *Ptolomy*: so the parley was vaine.

Hitherto each part seemed to haue indifferently sped in the warre, and thereby to haue equall cause of hope and feare. This late victory with the good successe of his affaires in Cyprus, did seem to make amends to *Ptolomy* for his losses in Syria. Likewise the mole of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equal the confederacy made between the *Ætoliens* & him; as also those petty skirmishes, that had been in Asia the lesse to *Antigonus* his aduantage, were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but aduerser to him; and by the troubles brought vpon his estates in those parts by the two *Cassanders*.

Contrariwise, *Antigonus* valued the losse of his men, money, and ships, no otherwise than as the pating of his nailes, that were left long enough, and would easily grow againe; but the enlargement of his Territory by addition of Syria, he prized at a higher rate, as if thereby he had fed vpon a limbe of *Ptolomies* his enemy; and strengthened the body of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were but too sufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceed as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no money.

That which most molested him, was the attempts of his enemies vpon Asia the lesse, wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to feare, lest the people being tied vnto him by no bond of allegiance, might vpon some speciall occasion reuolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himselfe. He prevented this, and to helpe to prosper the worke, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Army vnder his son *Demetrius*, to whom, being then but two and twenty years old, he appointed many ancient Captaines or assistants, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into Phrygia, where he meant to winter.

§. V.

§. V.

How *Lyfinaachus* and *Cassander* vanquished some enemies, raised against them by *Antigonus*. The good successe of *Antigonus* in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities against *Cassander*.

The coming of *Antigonus* into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the proesse of his business thereabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to thinke vpon molesting him in Asia: they themselves were held ouer-hardly to their owne worke on Europe side. *Senthes* a King of the *Thracians*, ioyning with some Townes that rebelled against *Lyfinaachus*, brought also the bordering *Scythians* into the field. All these relied vpon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with money and other aide. The *Ætoliens* likewise tooke courage, and rose against *Cassander*, hauing *Ascidus* lately restored to the Kingdome of *Epirus*, their assistant. But *Lyfinaachus* gaue vnto his Rebels no time to confirme themselves. Hee suddainly presented himselfe before the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne vnto their former duty. Hee fought a battaile with the *Scythians*, and wilde *Thracians*, and draue them out of the Country. Finally, hee ouercame *Senthes*; and following the trace of his victory, slew *Pausanias* in battaile, whom *Antigonus* had sent ouer vwith an Army, and all his men he did either put to ransome, or fill vp with them his owne Bands. The like successe had *Philip*, *Cassanders* Lieutenant, against the *Ætoliens*. For hee wasted their Country; fought with the *Epirotes*, that came to helpe them; and after the victory, fought againe with their forces ioynd in one, ouerthrowing them, and killing *Ascidus* that vnfourunate King. Finally, he draue the *Ætoliens* out of most of their Country, and forced them to seek their safety among the wilde Mountaines. Of the *Epirotes* he sent as prisoners to *Cassander*, the principall authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present War.

Yet these actions required sometime, and wearied *Antigonus* his aduersaries with painfull trauaile; after which they remained only sauers. *Antigonus* himselfe at faire leasure wai all Caria the whilst, and sent Armies into Peloponnesus, and other parts of Greece, bestowing liberty vpon all the Cities hee tooke out of *Cassanders* hands. The whole Country of Peloponnesus (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the Isle of *Euboea*, and many places of the firme Land, were by those means won to be his in true and vehement affection; ready to doe or suffer anything for him that had made so euident a demonstration of his readinesse, to giue them the liberty in deed, which others had promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would faine haue shewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Cassanders* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if he would passe ouer into Macedon: by which terrour hee forced *Cassander* to repaire thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leauing many good Towns of Greece so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselves, if any forraigne succour appeared. The aide which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, taking the aduantage of *Cassanders* departure, entred the Country; draue his Garrisons out of diuers Cities; forced the Gouvernour of Athens to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of Thebes, and set the people at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For Thebes had not long before bin raised out of her old ruines by the meere power of *Cassander*; of which act he was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had been some heinous crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the loue of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward vpon those hopes, which vnto they extend beyond all measure, than backward vpon their miserable nullity, that hold them vncapable of being any thing.

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§. VI.

§. VI.

Victories of Ptolomy by Sea. A great battaile at Gaza, which Ptolomy and Seleucus won, against Demetrius the son of Antigonus.

AS the presence or neernesse of *Antigonus* gaue life to his affaires in the lower Asia and Greece; so the designs of his enemies, taking aduantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great workes in the Easterne parts, where with in the yeare preceding he had ouer-topped them. The Isle of Cyprus, whose Princes wauered betwene contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their couenant with *Ptolomy*, was visited by an Egyptian Fleet, wherewith *Ptolomy*, in his owne person easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leauing a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Gouvernour of the whole Country. With the same Fleet hee ran along the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of Caria & Cilicia, with the spoiles of which he enriched his followers, and returned laden to Cyprus. *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherewith his Fathers subiects were oppressed, made all haste out of Syria to the rescue, taking only his Horse and light-armed Foote with him, because the businesse required expedition. But in vaine did hee tire himselfe and his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that by lanching out into the deep, could in a few minutes delude the labour of so many dayes, if need had so required. Answerable to the vanity of this expedition was the successe. For *Ptolomy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into Cilicia. Neither was it certain, whether hauing lightened his ships of their burthen in Cyprus, he would return vpon those maritime Countries; or make towards Syria, where his comming was expected. He was indeed gone into Egypt; and there *Seleucus* was describing a Royall Army, which he leuied with all conuenient speed, for the recouery of Syria. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore hee was faine to choose out of vncertainties the most likelihood, and returne the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for seruice in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the Cilicians. He had scarce refreshed his Men and Horses in Syria, when the newes arrived of *Ptolomies* comming with a puissant Army, to giue him battle. Hereupon he called to counsaile his principall friends, who aduised him to giue way to the time, and expect some better opportunity in the future: being a young man, and weakly furnished with meanes to resist such ancient and famous Generals, as *Ptolomy* & *Seleucus*. This counsaile seemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of those aged men that gaue it, than from any necessity growing out of the present businesse. For *Demetrius* considering himselfe to be the son of *Antigonus*, and now Generall of his Fathers Army, thought his own title weighty enough to be laid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Comanders. Neither found he much reason that should moue him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore perswading himselfe, that such oddes of number, and of great fame, would rather serue to adorne his victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the matter to triall, without expecting the aduantage of more helpe. So animating his Souldiers with hope of spoile and rewards, he abode the comming of the Enemies at Gaza, with purpose to encounter them, as soon as they had finished their wearisome iourney ouer the Deserts of Arabia.

Ptolomy and *Seleucus* issuing out of so rich a Prouince, as Egypt, came so well provided of all necessaries, that their Army felt not any great grievance of the euil way, when battaile was presented them, which confidently they vndertooke. In all things else they had the ods of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were vterly vnprovided. But how to deale with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kinde of Palisado, fastened strongly together with chaines, and sharpened in such a manner, that the Elephants could not seeke to breake vpon it, without receiuing much hurt. The rest of their forces, (which besides that they had aduantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate seruices, by them performed that yeare, whilest the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vaine iournies, or long and dulling expectation; they disposed in such order, as best answered to the forme, wherein *Demetrius* was embattailed. The fight began, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time, each part

striving

striving more to win honour, than to satisfie any other passion; as having little cause of hatred, or reuenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who vpon no necessity would needes fight a battaile with disadvantage, began to appeare by his losses. Hee had committed himselfe to Fortune, hauing more to lose by her than he could get: but in this fight hee vvas idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; vnlesse it may be said, that the terror brought vpon his men by the losse of his Elephants, was bad lucke. Those beasts were in that kinde of warre hardly to be resisted on plaine ground; and therefore at the first they made great spoile amongst *Ptolomies* men. Afterward seeking to breake through the Palisado, they were sorely hurt, and euery one of them taken. This disaster caused the Horse-men of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, & preuailed little, till now perceiving that all was laye vpon their hands, who were ill able to make their owne places good, they began to shrink, and many of them to prouide for their safety by timely flight, vvhich example the rest quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had strouen so long in vaine to make his men abide, that he himselfe was likely to be lost; he was faine to giue place to the stronger, making a violent retrait as far as to Azotus, which was about thirty miles from the place of battaile. A great part of his carriages was in Gaza, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to saue such goods, as in haste they could pack vp. This foolish couetousnesse was their destruction, and the losse of the Towne. For whilest they were full of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter-Horses, and cloyed vp the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch; others, to carry out what they had already laden; *Ptolomies* Army brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the City altogether.

This victory restored vnto *Ptolomy* the best part of Syria; a Prouince more easie in those times to get, than to keep; and opened the way vnto all the greatnesse of *Seleucus*. For betwene Gaza and Phoenicia no place offered resistance. In Coelosyria & Phoenicia, some Townes held out a while, but were soon taken in by *Ptolomy*. Among these were the great Cities of Tyrus & Sidon; of which Sidon was giuen vp by the Inhabitants; Tyrus by the Garrison, falling to mutiny against their Captaine, vvhose trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomy*, and honourably entertained, in respect of his fidelity.

§. VII.

How Seleucus reconered Babylon, and made himselfe Lord of many Countries in the highest Asia. The Era of the Kingdome of the Greekes, which began with the Dominion of Seleucus.

WHile *Ptolomy* followed this businesse with such prosperity, *Seleucus* tooke leaue of him, and went vp to Babylon, to try his owne fortune; which he found so fauourable, that recouering first his owne Prouince, he became at length master of the better part of *Alexanders* purchases.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of vnlikelihoods. His train consisted of no more than eight hundred foot, and two hundred horse, a number too small to haue been placed as Garrison, in some one of those maine great Cities, against which he carried it into the higher Asia. But little force is needfull, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of *Seleucus* was enough, whom the Babylonians had found so good a Gouernour, that none of them would finde courage to resist him; but left that worke to *Antigonus* his owne men, wishing them ill to speed. Some of the Macedonians that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, vvhich by easie compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves ioyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection so generall, it was not a safe course for the Antigoniens, to thrust themselves into the Townes of most importance: for euery man of them should haue been troubled vvith their enemies, in his owne lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treason of one principall man, who reuolted to the enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismaied the rest, that

that they did no more than seeke to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held, for his security in those quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparant. *Seleucus* quickly tooke it, and so got the entire possession of Mesopotamia and Babylon.

Antigonus had bestowed in Media and Persia, forces conuenient for defence of those Prouinces, that were the utmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about Euphrates he had not done the like: for his owne great Army lay betwene them and all enemies. Therefore when the victory at Gaza had opened vnto *Seleucus* the way into those parts; hee found little impediment in the rest of his businesse. Having now gotten what he sought; it behooued him to seeke how he might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him; his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Army in Media, ioyning vnto himselfe, out of Persia and other Countries, all needfull help, came, with ten thousand Foot; and seauen thousand Horse, either to saue all from being lost, or to driue *Seleucus* out of that which he had won.

Against this power, *Seleucus* had onely foure hundred Horse, and somewhat about three thousand Foote, wherewith to oppose himselfe: his large Conquest of vntowarlike Nations hauing yeelded him many louing Subiects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were neere to the Riuer of Tygris, hee withdrew himselfe from the place where his resistance was expected, into certaine marshes not farre off; where he lay secretly waiting for some aduantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had been fled, and was the lesse carefull in fortifying his Campe. In recompence of this vaine security, his Campe was taken by surprize, the first night of his arriuall; the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of Persia, together with sundry of the Capitaines, were slaine; hee himselfe was driuen to flee for his life into the Deserts, and the whole Army yeelded vnto *Seleucus*: whose gentle demeanour, after the victory, drew all Media, Susiana, and the Neighbour Prouinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This victory of *Seleucus* gaue beginning vnto the new stile, of *The Kingdom of the Greeces*, an accompt much vsed by the Iewes, Chaldeans, Syrians, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first yeare of this *Era*. The authority of that great Astrologer *Ptolomy*, from which there is no appeale, makes it plaine, that the five hundred and nineteenth yeare of Nabonassar, was the fourscore and two yeare of this accompt. Other inference hereupon is needlesse, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, That the first of these yeares was reckoned compleat, at Babylon, together with the end of foure hundred thirty and eight yeares after Nabonassar. With the obseruation of the *Saturne*, recorded by *Ptolomy*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding the same Planets to haue been so placed in the signe of *Virgo*, as the Chaldeans had obserued it, in the same year, which was from Nabonassar the five hundred and nineteenth, from *Seleucus* the fourscore and two yeare; and the last of the hundred thirty and seauenth Olympiad. These obseruations of the Celestiall bodies, are the surest markes of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in History, and the yeares of succeeding Princes (that are not feldome ambiguous, by reason of vnremembred fractions) if they seem to bee here-against, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these yeares of the Greeces were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between actions, related by the seuerall Authors of the two Books of the *Maccabees*, who follow diuers accompts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomy*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a 10 yeares distance.

Phil. Almag.
lib. 7. c. 8.

L. Gauric. in
annotat. ad lo-
cum citatum.

6. VIII.

6. VIII.

How Ptolomy lost all hee wonne in Syria. what the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed vnto the Macedonians, by those that had bene subiect vnto the Persian Empire. Of diuers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by Antigonus and Demetrius, with ill successe.

IN a happy houre did *Seleucus* aduenture to goe vp to Babylon, with so few men as his friend could then well spare: for had he staid longer vpon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomy* could haue spared him none at all. *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, hauing lost the battaile at Gaza, received from *Ptolomy* all his owne goods, his Pages, and Seruants, in free gift, and therewithall a courteous message, to this effect: That no personall hatred was the ground of this War, which he and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only termes of honour, wherein they would seek to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomy*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earnest desire of requiting him, with some as braue liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troups, drew as many as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in Cilicia, or other Prouinces thereabouts, and aduertising his Father of his misfortune, besought him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeeme his honour lost. *Antigonus* vpon the first newes of this ouerthrow, had said, That the victory which *Ptolomy* won vpon a bearded Boy, should be taken from him by bearded men: yet vpon desire that his son, whom he tenderly loued, should amend his owne reputation, he was content to make a stand in Phrygia. *Ptolomy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did not beleeue to follow his owne businesse in Coelosyria; thinking it enough to spend part of his Army vnder *Cilles* his Lieutenant, against the remnant of those, that had been already vanquished, when *Cilles* too much undervalued the power of such an Enemy. Hee thought that this young Gallant, hauing lately saved his life by flight, would now bee more dartsfull of hauing a faire way at his backe, than aduenturous in setting further forward, than vngodly reason should prouoke him. In this confidence he passed on without all feare; as one that were already Master of the field, and should meet with none, that would issue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this carelesse march; he took the lightest of his Army, and made his iourney with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came vpon *Cilles* vnexpected, and was on the suddaine, without any battaile, Master of his Campe: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit serued not only to repaire the credit of *Demetrius*, which his losse at Gaza had almost ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of *Ptolomy*, with equall fauour, in restoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was *Ptolomy* so weakened by this losse, nor *Demetrius* so emboldened by his victory, that any matter of consequence thereupon ensued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolomy*, and therefore he fortified himselfe in places of aduantage: *Ptolomy* on the other side was loth to engage himselfe in an enterprize, wherein he might perceiue, that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he should either be driuen to make a shamefull retrain, or a dangerous aduenture of his whole estate, in hope of not much more than already he possessed. *Antigonus* in the meane time, was nothing slow in his way towards Syria; whither hee made all haste, not so much to relieve his sonne, as to embrace him. For hee reioyced exceedingly, that the young man had so well acquitted himselfe, and being left to his owne aduice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increase the reputation of this late victory, he brought such forces, as might serue to reconquer all Syria: meaning that the honour of all, should be referred vnto the good foundation layd by his son, whom from this time forwards, he employed in matters of greatest importance. *Demetrius* had no less reason to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to him. Hee staid the Campe of *Antigonus*. Yet he made it a matter of consultation, as if he

he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines aduised him to retire into Egypt, alleaging many good arguments to that purpose: which they might well perceiue to be agreeable to his owne intent, by his propounding that course; not without remembrance of the good successe against *Perdiccas*, in the like defensive warre. So he departed out of Syria, preferring his honour, as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any suddaine passion of fear: and he departed at faire leisure, not only carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to dismantle some principall Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his backe, fell presently to *Antigonius*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: so easie was it in those times, for the Captain of a strong Army, to make himself Lord of a great Province.

We may iustly wonder, that these Kingdomes of Syria, Media, Babylon, & many other Nations, (which the victory of *Alexander* had ouer-run, with so hasty a course, as gaue him not leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not onely by himselfe, but by the Captaines of his Army after him. The hot contentions for superiority betweene the King of Israel, and those of Damascus; betweene Egypt, and Babylon, Babylon and Ninue; the Persians, and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to haue once bene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, fought for, won, lost, and againe recovered by contentions Masters; as if they had no title to their owne heads, but were borne to follow the fortune of the Macedonians. This will appeare the more strange, if we shall consider, how the seuerall States of Greece (many of which had neuer possessed so large Dominion, as might cause their spirits to swell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of liberty: and how these proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, desiring to haue them rather friends than seruants, for feare of further inconuenience.

It must therefore be noted, that most of these Countries had alwayes bene subiect vnto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the Babylonians and Persians long since had rooted out, and held them in such bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Masters. This had vtterly taken from them all remembrance of home borne Princes, & incorporated them into the great body of the Persian Empire: so that wandring within themselves all foueraigne power, or high authority, the life and spirit of euery Estate, they lay as dead, and were bereaued of motion, when that Kingdome fell, whereof they lately had been members.

Why the Persian *Satrapa*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the Macedonian Captains, after the death of *Alexander*, stricke to lay hold vpon those Provinces, which had many ages bin subiect vnto them, & scarce fourte years in quiet possession of their engines; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did cease to affright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossesse them of their new purchases: it is a question, wherein, who is not satisfied, may finde no lesse reason to suspect the History, than authority to confirme it. For we seldome read, that any small Kingdome, preuailling against a farre greater, hath made so entire a conquest, in the compasse of ten years, as left vnto the vanquished no hope of recovery, nor meantes to rebel; especially when such disorders, or rather vtter confusion hath ensued, by the fury of ciuill warre among the Victors.

The cause why the Macedonians held so quietly the Persian Empire, is well set down by *Machiavel*; and concernes all other Kingdomes, that are subiect vnto the like forme of Government: the summe whereof is this, Wherefoeuer the Prince doth hold all his Subiects vnder the condition of Slaues, there is the conquest easie, and soone assured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is won. Examples of this are the Turkish Empire, and the Kingdome of France. If any Inuader should pretend to farre vpon Turkey, that the great Sultan and his Children (for Brethren he vsueth not to suffer aliue) were taken on him; the whole Empire would quickly be wonne, and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Bassaes, how great soeuer they may seeme, are meere Slaues; there is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personall regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, whose hope of priuiledge should not counteruaile

counteruaile all apparant matter of feare. Contrariwise, in France, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Country, and were by farre the stronger in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royall blood, there are in that Kingdome store of great men; who are mighty in their seuerall Countries, and hauing certaine Royalties and Principalities of their owne, are able to raise Warre in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will alwayes stirre vp and inflame them: so that vntill euery one piece were won, and euery one (an endlesse worke) of the chiefe Nobility, brought vnder or destroyed, the victory were not compleat, nor wel assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobility, doth often-times make way for an Inuader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a faire entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten: for they looke to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and hauing what they would, they soone returne to their old allegiance, vpon condition to keepe what they haue, vnlesse they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himselfe. The Turke, on the other side, needs not to feare any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principal men. The greatest mischiefe that any of them could worke against him, were the betraying of some frontier Towne, or the wilfull losse of a battaile: vvhich done, the Traitor hath spent his sting, and must either flye to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold; or else, in hope of doing some further harme, he must aduenture to excuse himselfe vnto his Master, who seldome forgives the Captaine, that hath not stricken by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great Sultan, and so ioyning themselves vnto any Inuader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them haue any followers or dependants at all, other than such, as are subiect vnto them, by vertue of their Offices, and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principall men, doth leaue vnto them no meanes, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their Prince, so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giuing him assistance, if aduersity should make him stand in need of them. For there is scarce any one among the Turks Bassaes, or Proinciall Gouernours, that knowes either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the losse & vtter ruine of the Turkish Empire, can lose any foore of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the subiect, which is also a Kingdom vnto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conquerer, who hath no other deuice painted on his Ensigne, than the picture of slavery.

As in the Turkish Empire, so was the Persian, voide of liberty in the Subiects, and vtterly destitute of other Nobility, than such as depended vpon meere fauour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall blood, and others, descended from the Princes that ioynd with *Darius*, the Sonne of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: these were men of reputation in Persia, but their reputation consisted only in their Pedegree, and their safety in not meddling with affaires of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these Persian Princes were held, it may appear by this, that the Kings Vncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaues*, and so did stile themselves, in speaking vnto these great Monarchs. That vpon euery light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaues; it is easie to bee discerned, in that example of cruelty, practised by *Xerxes* vpon his owne brother *Masties*, which hath bene formerly noted, in place more conuenient. As for the *Satrapa*, or Gouernours of the Provinces, it is needlesse to cite examples, prouing them to haue bene meere slaues: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was governed.

To this want of Nobility in Persia, may be added the generall want of liberty conuenient among the people: a matter no lesse auailable, in making easie and sure the conquest of a Nation, than is the cause assigned by *Machiavel*. For as *Aesop* his Ass did not care to run from the enemies, because it was not possible, that they should load him with heauier burthens, than his Master caused him daily to beare: so the Nations, that are in the worst vnder their owne Princes, are not greatly fearfull of a forraigne yoke; Nor

Nor will be hasty to shake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accustomed. This was it that made the Gascoignes bear such faithfull affection to the Kings of England; for that they gouerned more mildly than the French: this enlarged the Venetian Iurisdiction in Lombardy; for the Towns that they wan; they wan out of the hands of Tyrannous opprestours: and this did cause the Macedonians, with other Nations, that had been subiect vnto the posterity of *Alexanders* followers, to serue the Romans patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eased of many burthens, which had been imposed vpon them by their owne Kings.

So that of this tamenesse, which we finde in those that had been subiects of the Persian Kings, the reasons are apparant. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the Macedonians: for they had not indeed been absolutely conquered by the Persian. Such were the Sogdians, Bactrians, and other Nations about the Caspian Sea. Such also were the Arabians bordering vpon Syria: against whom *Antigonus* sent part of his Army; thinking therewith to bring them vnder, or rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that he sent, fell vpon the Nabathæans, at such time as they were busied in a great Mart; wherein they traded with the more remote Arabians, for Myrre, Frankincense, & other such commodities. All or most of these rich wares, together with fise hundred talents of silver, and many prisoners, the Macedonians laid hold vpon: for their coming was sudden & vnexpected. But ere they could recover Syria, the Nabathæans ouertook them, & finding them weary with long marches, made such a slaughter, that of foure thousand foote, and sixe hundred horse, onely fifty horse escaped. To reuenge this losse, *Demetrius* was set out with a greater power: yet all in vaine; for he was not resisted by any Army, but by the naturall defence of a vaste Wildernesse, lacke of water, and of all things necessary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he lost not much honour: for they craued it, and gaue him presents. Returning from the Nabathæans, he viewed the Lake Asphaltites, whence he conceiued hope of great profit that might be raised, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandry of his son, *Antigonus* was well pleased, and appointed men to the worke: but they were slaine by the Arabians, and so that hope vanished.

These petty enterprises, with the ill successe accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage against *Ptolomy*: when the newes of *Selenus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the losse of those great & wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it safe to transport the warre into the parts beyond Euphrates, wherby Syria and the lower Asia should haue been exposed, to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and *Demetrius* with fiftene thousand foot and three thousand horse, was sent against *Selenus*. These forces being sent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his son did lesse. For *Selenus* was then in Media; his Lieutenants about Babylon withdrew themselves from necessity of fight; some places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without setting in Garrison more men than he could spare, neither did he get much, and therefore was faine to set out the brauery of his expedition, by burning and spoiling the Country, which he did thereby the more alienate, and as it were acknowledge to belong vnto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his owne assured.

Antigonus had laid vpon his son a peremptory commandement, to returne vnto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seeme) that in such an vnsettled state of things, either the Warre might be ended, by the fury of the first brunt; or else it would be vaine to strine against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of necessities should frustrate the valour, that by strength of time was like to become lesse terrible to the Enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leauing behinde him fise thousand foot, and a thousand horse, rather to make shew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himselfe, with greater forces could doe little more than nothing, forsooke the enterprise, and went backe to his Father.

§. IX.

§. I X.

A general peace made and broken. How all the house of Alexander was destroyed.

These ambitious heads, hauing thus wearied themselves with vneffectual trauaile, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no priuate hatred, but mere desire of Empire had moued them to enter into the warre; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but onely a dulnesse growing vpon the slow aduancement of their seuerall hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occasion might better serue to fight againe.

Besides that maine point, Of retaining the Provinces which euery man held, there vvere two Articles of the peace, that gaue a faire, but a false colour, to the businesse; That the sonne of Alexander by *Roxane*, should be made King, when he came to full age; and, That all the Estates of Greece should be set at liberty. The aduancement of young Alexander to his Fathers kingdom, seemes to haue bin a matter, forceably extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was discovered a purpose, to make himselfe Lord of all. But this, indeede, more neerely touched *Cassander*. For in his custody was the young Prince and his Mother: neither did he keepe them in sort answerable to their degree; but as close prisoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had scene the old Queene *Olympias* taken and murdered, that sought to put them in possession of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and feare betweene them, rooted in these grounds, of injuries done, and reuenge expected; vpon this conclusion of peace, grew vp faster than any time before, in the heart of *Cassander*: who saw the Macedonians turne their fauourable expectation, towards the sonne of their late renowned King.

All this, either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince must first haue possession of Macedonia: whereby *Cassander* should be reduced to his poore office, of Captaine over a thousand men, if not left in worse case. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done vnder *Alexander*; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne strength. He in the meane time, by his readiness to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himselfe from that ill-fauoured imputation, of seeking to make himselfe Lord of all that Alexander had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, of restoring the Greeks to their liberty. This liberty had hitherto bene the subiect of much idle discourse: but it neuer tooke effect. *Antigonus* held scarce any Towne of theirs, *Cassander* occupied most of the Countie: which if he should set free, he must be a poore Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell against him, as against a Disturber of the common peace.

In the meane season, the Countie lying between *Euphrates* and the Greeke seas, together with a great Armie, and many enough to entertaine a greater, might serue to hold vp the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raise his hopes, as high as euer they had bene.

With much disadvantage doe many men contend, against one that is equall to them all in puissance. *Cassander* friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not doe without: for where euery one mans helpe is necessary to the warre, there may any one make his owne peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are weary. The best was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becomming Subiect vnto any man; much lesse to the sonne of an Asiaticke woman, of whom they had long since refused to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a short course, and caused both the child and his Mother to be slaine: freeing thereby himselfe in a trice, from the dangerous necessity of yeelding vp his gouernment, which he must haue done when the child had come to age. *Roxane* was a Lady of singular beauty, vvhich vvas perhaps the cause, why *Perdiccas* desired to haue her sonne, being as yet vnborne, proclaimed Heire to the great Alexander. Immediately vpon the death of Alexander, she had vsed the fauour (if it were not for) of *Perdiccas*, to the satisfying of her owne bloody malice, vpon *Stasivra*, the Daughter of King *Darius*, whom Alexander had likewise married, according to the custome of those Countie, wherein pluralitie of wiues is held no crime. For hauing by a counterfeite letter, in Alexanders name, gotten this poore Lady into her hands, he did, by assistance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Sister, and threw their bodies

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bodies into a Well, causing it be filled vp with earth. But now, by Gods iust vengeance, were she and her son made away, in the like secret fashion; euen at such time, as the neer approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer vnto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander* was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly it was pleasing vnto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords, of all that they had vnder them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of warre; wherein euery one persecuted himselfe of successe, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had worke enough at home) began to rowze themselves: as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his owne stocke. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were busie in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: while their Master was carefull in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the liberty of *Greece*: yet did the same argument minister vnto *Ptolomy*, matter of quarrell, against both him and *Cassander*; *Ptolomy* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garrisons into some Townes, which ought, in faire dealing to be set at liberty. Vnder colour of redressing this enormity, he sent an Army into *Cilicia*, where he wan foure Townes, and soon after lost them, without much labour of his owne or his enemies.

After this, putting to Sea with a strong Fleet, he ran along the coast of *Asia*, winning many places: & in that voyage allured vnto him a nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requital of his seruices) whom finding shordly, as false to himselfe as he had been to his owne Vncle, he was faine to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the *Greekes* at liberty, appeared not so plaine, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered, by his molesting *Antigonus* in *Asia*. Therefore to get the loue of that valiant Nation, he made at the last an expedition into *Greece* it selfe: where hauing set free some little Ilands, and landed in *Peloponnesus*, he raised so great an expectation of finishing the long desired work, that *Cratesipolis*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polyperchons* son, gaue vp into his hands the Towns of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

Ptolomy had conceiued a vaine belief that the *Greekes*, emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart, and rise vp in armes: whereby with little labour, their liberty might be gotten; & he be acknowledged as Author of this immortal benefit. But long seruitude had well neere extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recover freedome, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stirre in pursuit therof; but fate idly flit, as wishing it to fall into their mouthes.

The *Lacedemonians*, about these times, began to fortifie their Towne with wals, trusting no longer in their vertue (for both it, & the discipline that vpheld it were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Towne and Territory.

The *Athenians* were become as humble seruants, as they had been, in times past, insolent Masters: erecting as many statues in honour of *Demetrius Phalerens*, as there were daies in the yeare. This *Demetrius* was now their Gouernour; & he gouerned them with much moderation: but in spight of their hearts, as being set ouer them by *Cassander*. By this base temper of the principall Cities, it is easie to gather, how the rest of the Country stood affected. *Ptolomy* could not get them to set their helping hands to their own good, and to furnish him with the promised supplies of mony and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliuer them from thralldome, as iudging the commodity that would arise by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight, than the losse that *Cassander* should receiue thereby, who could hardly retaine them, if once *Antigonus* took the worke in hand. But when he found such difficulty in the businesse, he changed his purpose: and renewing his former friendship with *Cassander*, he retained *Sicyon* and *Corinth* in his owne possession.

Before the coming of *Ptolomy* into *Greece*, *Cassander* had beene held occupied with very much worke. For (besides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) hee found meanes to allure vnto himselfe, the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: making his owne advantage, of their discontentments. By the like skilfull practice, hee freed himselfe from a greater danger, than those

those murders which he had committed seemed lesse odious, by teaching his enemies to doe the like. Old *Polyperchon*, that had made so great a stirre in the reigne of *Alexander*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her Child, enter againe vpon the Stage leading in his hand another sonne of the great *Alexander*; and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Barfine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*; but had beene lesse esteemed than the sonne of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of the fauour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympius*, did beare vnto *Roxane*. At this time the death of his brother had moued such compassion, and regard of his being *Alexanders* onely living child, had procured vnto him such good will, that the demand which *Polyperchon* made in his behalfe, was deemed very iust and honourable. There were indeed more hands than hands, that ioyned with this young Prince: yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him that least ought, had not beene most false. *Cassander* had raised an Armie, to withstand his entrie into *Macedon*: but little trust could he repose in that Armie, whose wishes he perceiued to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he assailed *Polyperchon* himself, with gifts and promises, wherewith at length he preuailed so far, that the old Villaine was contented to murder his Pupill; choosing rather with many curses, and foule dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, and Commander of an Armie; than to purchase a Noble fame with dangerous trauaile, in maintaining his faith, vnto both his dead and liuing Soueraignes.

Antigonus had not all this while beene asleepe, though his losses were hitherto the chiefest winnethings, of his hauing bene a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present, to retaine his owne: and therefore tooke order for the recouerie of those places, which *Ptolomy* had taken paines to winne. As for the rest, it no way grieved him, to see *Cassander* incur the generall hatred of men by committing those murders of which the profit was like to redound vnto him that was the most powerfull, or to see *Polyperchon* and *Ptolomy* sweat, in a busie warre against *Cassander*. If they would haue continued their quarrels, he could well haue afforded them leisure, and haue thought to the time well spent, in beholding their contentions. For he was thoroughly perswaded that when the rest had wearied themselves in vaine with long strife, his armies and treacherie conceits, he demeaned himselfe among his followers; looking big vpon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to reuolt from him: but it was no great losse to be forsaken by those that looked with enuious eyes vpon that fortune whereon their owne should haue depended. Against this enuie of his men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedy, such as was like to giue him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra, Sister vnto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*: vvhom he had a great desire to take to wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howe soeuer she discovered much vnwillingnesse thereunto, yet was she in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpose, to get her by compulsion meanes: either because his fancie, being on old man, was not ouer-violent; or rather because his ambition, wherunto all his affections had reference, could haue made small vse of her, by doing such apparant wrong. She had beene married vnto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whose death she came to her brother in *Asia*; hoping belike, to finde a new husband in his Campe. But neither any of those braue Captaines, that were, in times following, so hot in loue with her, durst then aspire vnto her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himselfe with providing her of an husband. She therefore, being a lustie widow, suffered her blood, so farre to preuaile against her honour, that she supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a iest: saying, That she was his sister, and must be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death, the Empire lay in a manner, void, and the portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had beene: then did many seeke to obtaine her, while she her selfe desired onely a proper man, with whom she might leade a merry life. To this purpose did she inuite *Leontus* vnto her; who made great haste; but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long

carrying, she had her choise of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, being all her earnest wooers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had wiues already; *Ptolomy* had many wiues, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wiues, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindered not his suite: peradventure it advanced it, by giuing to *Cleopatra*, some hope of mutuall toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed her self, and vvas taking her iourney from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputie in that Citie, made her to stay, vntill his Masters further pleasure should be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolfe by the eares; he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her goe. She would not be his wiue; he had no honest pretence to force her; and to keepe her prisoner, had bin the way, by which to he might haue incurred a generall hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Lady lesse respected than *Alexanders* own sister) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death: for to let any other enioy the commoditie of so faire a title to the kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Gouverneur of *Sardes*, willing him in any case to doe it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certaine women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as mischieuous conspirers against the life of that good Lady. So vvas *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least, in his owne opinion: but the world was lesse foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murder was detected, we need not aske: for seldome is that bloody crime vnto reuealed, and neuer so ill smothered, as when great persons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great extinguished, and it vvas extinguisht by the hands of such as thought vpon nothing lesse than the execution of Gods iustice, due vnto the cruelty of these powerfull, but mercilesse Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, vpon so wicked foundations of innocent blood, were soone after cast down, ouer-whelming themselves or their children, vwith the ruines, as the sequelle will declare.

§. X.

How *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Antigonus*, gaue libertie to *Athens*, expelling the Garrison of *Cassander* out of those parts. The immoderate honour decreed by the *Athenians* to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*.

None being left aliue, that had any title to the Kingdome; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Prouinces, acknowledging no Superiour, should freely professe themselves Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill becomed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbear it: neither seemed it conuenient in the iudgement of *Antigonus*, to crowne his last action with such a title, as if he had attained vnto greatnesse by that foule murder, the infamie whereof he was carefull how to discharge from his owne head. He purposed therefore to vndertake a plausible enterprize, euen the liberty of *Greece*: where-by it was apparant, that he might get such honour as would not onely drowne all bad reports, but make him be thought equall to any name of royalty, vvhich in seeming modestie, he vvas not couetous. To this purpose, he deliuered a strong Armie, with a Nauie of two hundred and fiftie saile, and fise thousand talents of siluer, vnto *Demetrius* his sonne: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceede, in setting all the Countrey free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected: so that without resistance he entered the Hauen; it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolomy*, *Cassanders* good friend, had bin arriued. But when it was knowne, both who he vvas, and vwhat vvas the cause of his comming, the ioy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations; *Demetrius Phalerens* forsooke the Towne, and withdrew himselfe to *Thebes*, vnder safe conduct; only the Garrison in *Munychia* stroue to make good that piece, which after a while was wonne vpon them by force. During the siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garrison of *Cassander*, and so restored the Citie to libertie.

I thinke it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seeme better than mere trifles: for euen by trifles, are the qualities of great Persons as well

disclosed

disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly straine themselves, to the obseruance of generall commended rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Lady *Cratesipolis* lay in *Patrae*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*. Having helike that she might, by his meanes, better her estate, and recouer her Townes of *Sicion* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomy*; to vvhich Lieutenant, in those places *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered money for the surrender of them. For the onely businesse pretended was loue. He being added thereto, left his souldier in the Countrey of *Megara*, and taking a company of his light-armed, for guard of his person, made a long iourney to meete with her. This troupe alway leagued to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might see her vwhen she came out closely as the businesse was carried. Some of his enemies had gotten knowledg, whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any tearmes of ransom by taking his deare sonne prisoner. Their proiect fell but a little short of the effect. For they came so suddenly vpon him, that he had no better shift, than to myste himselfe in an old cloake, and escede away disguised, leaving them to ransacke his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medley of conditions, especially an extreame dissolute and wanton pleasures and a painefull industry in matter of warre. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in deuising Engines of warre, and curious in working them with his owne hands. He knew better how to reuerse his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For aduerse fire made his valour more prosperous, pushed him with due weening, wherein he thought, that he might do what he listed. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like a wheele, vntill he had wound vnto the thread of his life, in such manner as becometh to be shewed.

Relating to his Campe, and finishing his businesse at *Megara*; he resolved no longer to attend the issue of a siege, to assaile *Munychia* by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of *Athens*, which vntill it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the Citie. *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through helpe of their Engines that beured the wals, prevailed vpon the resolution of those that lay within, and wan the place in two dayes. The wals, and all the defence of that piece against the Citie, were heuelled with the ground, & so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was giuen their liberty, with promise to adde them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was blowder, than of any other victory, gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill & industry. For the *Athenians*, hauing forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make vp that defect with their tongues: conuerring to base flattery, that eloquence of theirs, which the vertues of their Ancestors had fured vnto more manly arguments.

They decreed, vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the name of Kings; they consecrated the place, in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entered their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius* the a-ligher; they called them by the Names of the gods their Saniours, ordaining that every yeare, their should be chosen a Priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadors, but *Theori*, or *Consulters with the gods*, as were they, whom they sent vnto the Oracle of *Iupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a friuolous diligence, to rehearse all their flatteries; these being so grosse. Hereby they not onely corrupted the young Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would haue pleased the old man, to be of no vse. For he could not handsomely take vpon him the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*; vnlesse he would seeme to approve their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was he so tickled with his fine handling him, that when their *Theori*, or *Consulters* came shortly after, desiring him to relieue them with Corne, & Timber to build ships, he gaue them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheate, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So glorious was his first Oracle: or rather, so weak is great power in resisting the assaults of flattery.

CHAP. VI. §. I. The first Oracle of *Demetrius* was, that he should be King of *Greece*.

The great victory of Demetrius against Ptolemy in Cyprus. How Antigonus and Demetrius took upon them the side of King; wherein others followed their example.

From this glorious worke, Antigonus called away Demetrius vnto a businesse of greater difficulty, meaning to employ his seruice against Ptolemy, in Cyprus. Before his departure out of Greece, he was willed to establish a generall Counsaile, that should treat of matters concerning the common good of the Countrey. About the same time Antigonus withdrew his owne Garrison out of Iulias, committing their libertie entire, into the peoples hands, whereby it might appeare, that as he would not permit any other to oppress the Greeces, so would he be faire from doing it himselfe. This was enough, to holde his reputation high, among these new purchased friends: it followed, that he should conuert his forces, to the winning of ground vpon his Enemies.

A pittifull Tragedy had lately hapned in Cyprus, through the indiscretion of Menelaus, Ptolemies brother, and his Lieutenant in that Isle. Nicoles, king of Paphos, was entred into some practice with Antigonus: yet not so farre that he thought himselfe past excuse, by which confidence, he was perhaps the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the false-hearted King of Paphos at one blow, Menelaus was sent thither: who surrounding Nicoles his house with Souldiers, required in Ptolemies name, to haue him yeelded to the death. Nicoles offered to cleare himselfe; but Menelaus tolde him, that dye he must, and bad him come forth quietly. This desperate necessity, moued the vnhappie King to rid himselfe of life: and his death strooke such an impression into his wife, that she not onely slew her selfe, but perswaded the wives of her husbands likewise to do the like. Also those Brethren of Nicoles, vnto whom Ptolemy had intended so ill, being amazed with the sodainnesse of this calamity, did shut vp the Palace, and setting it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and then fled together.

Whatsoeuer the crime obiected was, Nicoles perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though Menelaus desired the blame, for his rigorous proceeding: yet it is to be thought, that much dislike fell also vpon Ptolemy: as men that are grieved, cast an illlection, euen vpon those, that gaue the farthest remoued occasion.

Not long after this, Demetrius came into Cyprus, with a power sufficient, against any opposition that Ptolemy was like to make. The Cyprians did little or nothing against him: either because they had final strength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being sure that they should not themselves haue the rule of their owne Countrey. Menelaus therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew forth an Army, and fought with Demetrius. But he was beaten, and driuen to saue himselfe within the wals of Salamis, where he was so hardly besieged, that without strong succour, he had no likelihood to make good the place, much lesse to retaine possession of the whole Island. His greatest helpe at the present was the fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good vsage (when any of them were taken prisoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the first opportunitie. Most of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in Egypt, which was enough to keepe them faithfull. Yet could not this resolution haue stood long, against the odds of number, which Demetrius had of men as resolute; and against his terrible Engines of battery, if Ptolemy had not hastied to the rescue.

Ptolemy brought with him, a hundred and forty Gallies, besides two hundred ships of burden, for transporting his Army and Carriages. This Fleete made a terrible show, when it was descried a farre; though more than halfe of it was vnfit for seruice, in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadfull, Ptolemy sent vnto Demetrius, a threatening message: willing him to be gone, vnlesse he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But his young Gallant repaid him with words of as much brauery, promising to let him escape, vpon condition, that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of Sydon and Corinth.

Demetrius had no more than one hundred and eightene Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of Ptolemy; better stored with weapons fit for that seruice,

and very well furnished with Engines in the prow, to beate vpon the enemies. Nevertheless he stood in great doubt of threescore Gallies that lay in the Harboure of Salamis, lest Menelaus with them should set vpon his backe, in which case it was very likely that all should go very ill with him. Against this mischiefe, he bestowed some of his owne Gallies in the mouth of that Hauē, to keepe Menelaus from issuing forth, and sending his horsemen on the shore, to give what assistance they could, he willed the rest of his Fleet to go to Sea against Ptolemy.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtful success. The Generals were not ranged opposite one to the other, but hid each of them at the left side of his own fleet. Each of them preuailed against the Squadron wherewith he was opposed; but the success of Demetrius was to better purpose. For his victory in one part was such, as caused others to fall out of order, and finally draue all to betake themselves vnto speedy flight. As for Ptolemy, hee was faine to leave his advantage vpon the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might relieve or animate those of his own which needed him in another. Wherein he found his loss ouer-great to be repaired, by continuing any longer against the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to keepe himselfe, in hope of better euent, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battell no vnusuall accident; yet was the victorie greater than could haue been expected. The occasions wherof were, partly the great skill in Sea-war, which the Greeces and Phœnicians, that were with Demetrius, had, aboue those which followed Ptolemy: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherewith consisted no lesse than in the quality of those, with whom they were manned. Further, we may readily iudge, that the two hundred ships, of but then, carrying the strength of Ptolemy's Army did not more encourage his own men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and stood aloofe. For though it were fitting, that they should so do, yet a multitude, prepossessed with vaine conceits, wil commonly apprehend very slight occasions, to think themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation, that Menelaus issuing with his fleet out of Salamis, should charge the enemies in sterne, was vtterly frustrated. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to bar vp the mouth of the Hauē: which they manfully performed, as great necessity required.

Such disappointment of expectation, doth much abate the courage of men in Fight; especially of the assailants: whereas on the contrary, they that finde some part of their feares vaine, do easily gather hopeful spirits, and conceiue an opinion of their own ability, to do more than they thought vpon, out of their not suffering the harme that they had imagined.

Whatsoeuer the causes of this victorie were, the fruit was very great. For Ptolemy had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his fleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did Menelaus any longer stricke against the violence of fortune, but yeelded vp all that hee held in Cyprus, together with his Army, consisting of twelve thousand foote, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the Harboure of Salamis. The same deiection of spirit was found in the common Souldiours, as well as was taken at Sea, as that had serued the Egyptian by Land; none of them relying any more confidence in Ptolemy, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whose Army they now increased.

It was generally beleecued, that much more depended on the euent of this fight, than the life of Cyprus; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was greatly especially Antigonus, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a yeare, till he were aduertised of the issue. In this mood Aristodemus, a noble flatterer, whom Demetrius had honoured with the Messidge of these good newes. Aristodemus had bethought himselfe of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his ioyfull errand: He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; he himselfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the ship; and so all alone, he went forward looking very sadly that no part of his tidings might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arriuall (for it was not known where he had been) came presently to Antigonus, who sent Messenger after Messenger, to meete him on the way, and bring speedy word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much as a look, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could bee won from this demure

desire Gentleman. Thus marched he faire and softly forward with a great throng of limboles (which he set out his Pageant) vntill he came in sight of *Antigonus*, who should yet remaine himselfe, but went downe to meete him at the Gate, and heartily desired him to be welcome. vpon whose bidding, with a high voyce saluted him the name of King, vntill the greatnesse of the victorie (with as much pomp, as before he had done) he was silent in the hearing of all the people, who with loude acclamations gaue that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his sonne *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in the midst of the long suspense, wherein *Antigonus* had helde him, said: That in this time, all the while he receiued his reward. But the Title of King, which he had wonne, he would not take, but would haue the Diadem, which his friends did set on his head; he could not thinke of a more honourable title, wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his sonne: and on the same day, he was crowned King.

When it was once noised abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings, it was not long ere their followers were ready to follow the good example: For his friends would by no means endure, that their Lord should be thought a man dejected for the losse of a state; therefore they saluted him also King. *Lyfymachus* had boldnesse enough, to put the Diadem about his own head: *Seleucus* had before this time, among the barbarous people, taken vpon him as King; but now he vied the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Onely *Cassander* held himselfe contented with his own name: whereby howsoeuer he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his truely against his Masters house. But the name which he forbore, his sonnes after him, were bold to vsurpe, though with ill success, as will appeare, when they shall enter vpon the Stage, wherein these *Antigonians*, vnder new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their part, with bigger looks, and more boisterous actions, nor with greater grace and iudgement, than in the Scenes already past.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Warres betweene the kings of Egypt, Asia, Macedon, Thrace, and others: vntill all Alexanders Princes, were consumed.

S. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus against Egypt, with ill successe.



ALL the rest of these Kings had taken that name vpon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himselfe, as becomming his greatnesse: Which was such as gaue him hope to swallow them vp, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his owne strength, he resolved to single out *Ptolomie*, and make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand, vwhen the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose he prepared an Armie of eightene thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with fourscore and three Elephants: as likewise a fleet of a hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hundred ships of burthen. The Land forces he commanded in person: of the Navy *Demetrius* was Admirall.

When all was ready for the iourney, the Sea-men aduised him to stay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleiades*. But his hastie desire to preuent all preparations for resistance that *Ptolomie* should make, reiected this counsaile, imputing rather to their feare than skill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Towne which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his own name, that was soone changed into *Sidon*, by his mortal enemy) and came to *Gaza*, where he met with his Fleet. The next day that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haste, he made: thinking by celeritie to preuaile more than by his great power. He caused his Souldiers to carrie some dayes provision of Victuals; and had many Camels loaden with all necessaries for passing the Desert,

over which he marched with no small toyle, though he met with no resistance. At *Moudra* *Casim*, which is neere adioyning to *Nilus*, he saw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not farre from the shore, in ill case, and many shippes wanting: It had bene sorely beaten with foule weather, wherein some were lost, others driuen backe to *Gaza*, or scattered elsewhere into such creeks, as they could recouer: *Demetrius* himselfe, with the best and strongest vessels, did so long beat it vp against the wind, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremity, he and all his must haue perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in sight, from whom these ouer-wearied, thirsty and Sea-beaten Souldiers receiued reliefe. After these painfull trauailes, there followed a warre no lesse painfull than to little purpose, for *Ptolomie* had so fortified all the passages vpon the River of *Nilus*, as he assured himselfe either to end the warre there, or if his guards should happen to be forc't, yet could it not be done, but so much to the weakning of the *Assaians*, as he should afterward, with a second Armie (which he held entire) entertaine the labour vpon aduantage enough. All that *Antigonus* sought, was to come to blowes speedily: *Ptolomie* on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gaue him water enough, but wood he had none to warme it, and while *Antigonus* assailed the Rampiers raised vpon the River in vaine, *Ptolomie* assailed the faith of his souldiers, with good successe, for with great gifts & greater promises, he ferried them over so fast, as had not *Antigonus* thrust some assured Regiments, vpon the passages next the enemy, and in the meane while taken a resolution to returne, *Ptolomie* had turned him out of *Egypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeede he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extreme torments, but in all likelihood with the same ill successe that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he inuaded *Egypt*: had he not readily remoued his armie further off, from the noise of their entertainment, that had already bin won from him. To preuent therefore as wel the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forc't retreat, he secretly practised the aduice of his Councell, vpon whom the burthen must be laid of his entrance, and leauing *Egypt*.

It is indeede lesse preiudiciall in such like cases, that errors, dishonours, and losses, be laid on Counsellors & Captaines, than on Kings, on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious, than that of a Vassall. *Charles* the first, as many other Princes haue done, laid the losse and dishonour he receiued in the inuasion of *France*, by the way of *Prouence*, to *Antonie de Lena*, whether iustly or no, I know not; but howsoeuer, all the Historians of that time agree, that the sorrow thereof cost that braue Captaine his life. Certainly to giue any violent aduice in doubtful enterprises is rather a testimony of loue, than of wildome, in the giuer; for the ill successe is alwaies cast vpon the Councell, the good neuer wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I haue sometime known it, that great Commanders, vwho are for the present in place of Kings, haue not onely bene disswaded, but held, in a kind by strong hand, from hazarding their own persons, and yet haue those kinde of Mutiners neuer been called to a Marshalls Court.

S. II.

How the Citie of Rhodes was besieged by Demetrius.

THIS departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead carcasses, and a great deale of ioy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomie* held a solemne Feast, and sent Messengers abroad, laden with glad newes, to *Seleucus* *Lyfymachus*, and *Cassander* his Confederates: strongly encouraging all that side, with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defensiu Warre. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himself vwith another interpretation, calling the ioyes of his enemies for witness of his owne greatnesse, seeing they arose but from so little things: his enemies being but bare sauers by the last bargain, and himselfe, as he supposed, hauing lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retraite. Howsoeuer it were, yet he meant to follow his assayres hencefoorth in another fashion; for that which he could not cleaue a-sunder by great blowes, he purposed by little and litle to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the Tree it selfe with the more facilitie. To effect which, he resolved (leauing the great ones to grow a while) to roote vp the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, vvhom the

the foreranked Confederates should be forc'd, either to relieue, or to lose; and hereby he doubted not, to draw them into the field, where the aduantage of power, and of all other warlike prouisions, promised him victorie.

At this time the Citie of *Rhodes* was very mightie; being well gouerned, and hauing long held it self in good Neutralitie; it drew the better part of all the trade of those parts, and therein a great deale of riches to it selfe; to maintaine which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed shippes, by which it not onely beate off all Pyrates and petty Theeues, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the neighbour Princes sought their alliance and confederacie.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must either refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendlesse and apart, or ioyne themselves to some one; and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had growne) their affections carried them to the *Egyptian*: both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus* his disposition, greatnes, and neighbourhood was fearefull vnto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages, more apparant; gaue argument of quarrell to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himself against them by petty iniuries, of taking some of their shippes, with such other grieuances, while he made a more weighty preparation, to pursue the warre against them, openly and strongly. All things soon after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprise, he employed his sonne *Demetrius* against them in their owne Iland, who brought such terror vpon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance & seruice, against whomsoever. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perswaded by feare, & not by loue; raised his demands to an intolerable height, requiring a hundred Hostages to be deliuered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many shippes of warre as himselfe pleased. These conditions more properly to bee imposed vpon a State already conquered, than on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored vnto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, & made them resolute to defend their libertie to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bondmen, and wisely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themselves fellow-slaves with them.

Demetrius hauing refused the faire conditions offered, (as the *Rhodians* the fearefull ones propounded vnto them) makes preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carrie the place in furie, he set in hand with his Engines of batterie; in the inuention and vse of which, he did neuer shew himselfe a greater Artisan, than in this warre. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the assaults given them for a whole yeare, after many braue fallies out of the Towne, and the famine vvich they endured within the Towne, which had proued farre more extreame, if *Ptoleme* had not with many hazards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embassadors, gaue ouer the siege; a hundred Hostages they gaue him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrates and Officers of the Citie.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the vsuall policie of warre, and state: for while with the flowre of all his fathers forces he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recovered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Cassander* make the warre as in former times, by practice and surpris, but by a strong and well compounded armie, which he himselfe ledde as farre as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed & indangered *Athens* it selfe. On the other side (though with lesse successe) did *Polyperchon* invade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous vndertakings vpon *Greece*, aduised the *Athenians* and *Etolians* to dispatch their Embassadors towards *Demetrius*, and aduised *Demetrius*, rather to abandon the enterprise of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten, by setting all *Greece* at libertie.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the Iland, than that the *Rhodians* erected statues in honour of *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander*; but for *Ptolemy*, whom they most affected, and from whom they receiued their most relief, they consulted with the Oracle of *Iupiter*, whether it were not lawfull to call him a god. The Priests which attended in the Temple of *Hammoo*, gaue the same fair answer for *Ptolemy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his

his Master; for as *Alexander* consulted the Oracle with an Army at his heeles, so was *Ptolemy* at this time Lord of the soile: and yet was this a far more cleanly creation, than that done by the *Athenians*, who Deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when so many of *Alexanders* Captaines could not content themselves with the stile of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

§. III.

How Demetrius preuailed in Greece. Cassander desires peace of Antigonus, and cannot obtaine it. Great preparations of warre against Antigonus.

Demetrius comming with a strong Fleet and Army into *Greece*, quickly draue *Cassander* out of *Attica*; and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the straits of *Thermopylae*. Herein his reputation did much auaille him, which was so great, that five thousand of his enemies Souldiers reuoluted vnto him. So partly by the greatnesse of his name, partly by force, he recovered in short space all that *Cassander* held in those straits, and giuing liberty vnto the people, he bestowed vpon the *Athenians* those peeces, which had been fortified against them, to blocke them vp. Then went he into *Peloponnesus*, where he found the like, or more easie successe: for he suddenly tooke *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the most of the Country, bestowing liberty vpon such as needed it. The Towne of *Sicyon* he translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old seat into another place, and called it after his owne name *Demetrius*. This done, he betooke himselfe to his pleasure. At the *Isthman* games, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed Captaine Generall of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had bene in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) hee despised all others, making it a matter of iest, that any, saue himselfe or his father, should vsurpe the name of King. But in his behauiour he was so farre vnlike to a King, that in all the time of his leisure, he deserued none other name than of a drunken Palliard. Yet were the *Athenians* as ready as euer to deuise new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, that whatsoeuer King *Demetrius* should command, ought to be held sacred with the gods, and iust with men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great feare, lest the war should fall heauily vpon him in *Macedon*: which to auoid, he knew no better way than to make peace with his Enemies betimes. And to that purpose he sent *Emballadors*; but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, than that he should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and he bourn hard in solliciting his friends, both to assist him, and take heed to themselves; neither found he them slow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lyfimachus* knew that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soon be master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that, which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himselfe in quiet possession of those Prouinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with ioynt forces they should all together set vpon the common Enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That he would as easily scatter them, as a flocke of birds are driuen away with a stone. With these conceits he pleased himselfe, & no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies, who at that time in his Towne of *Antigonia* (a name that it must shortly lose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glory. But thither was brought vnto him the tumultuous newes of *Lyfimachus* his victories about *Hellepont*. For *Cassander* had committed vnto *Lyfimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to passe ouer into *Asia*, while he himselfe with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lyfimachus* passing the *Hellepont*, began to make his warre vpon the subiects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to ioyne with him by faire meanes: winning others by force, and wasting the Country round about.

To repress this v unexpected boldnesse, *Antigonus* made hasty iournies, and came soon enough to recouer his losses, but not strong enough to driue *Lyfimachus* home, or compell him to come to battaile. *Lyfimachus* waited for the comming of *Seleucus*; keeping

ping himselfe the whilest from necessity of fighting. But *Babylon* was farre off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to be soone in a readinesse. The Winter also did hinder his journey: which enforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspense, & bred much expectation. Yet might all haue come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* bin so forward, that he refused to yeeld vpon any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neere with a mighty Armie of his owne (for he had gathered strength in that long time of leysure, which *Antigonus* had giuen him) and with great aid from *Ptoleme*, that was ioynd with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull case, *Demetrius* was called ouer into *Asia* by his Fathers letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander*, vpon reasonable termes: to the end he might not be driuen to leaue any part of his Army for defence of the Countrey; and that his iourney might be without any such blemish of reputation, as if he had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of *Greece* should be at libertie. *Cassander* was glad to be so ridde of an Enemy that was too strong for him. Yet would this league haue done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise than they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred vnto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, euery one found meanes to cleere himselfe of all incumbrances else where, to the end that each of them might freely apply himselfe to the triall of the maine controuersie in *Asia*.

6. II. III.

How *Antigonus* was slaine in a great battaile at *Ipsum*, neere vnto *Ephesus*; wherein his whole estate was lost.

Seleucus, with his sonne *Antiochus*, ioyning with *Lyfimachus*, compounded a great Armie, which was (all considered) not inferiour to that of the Enemy. In greatness of name (that helpeth much in all warres, but especially in the 30 Ciuill) they were rather vnanswerable, than vnequall to their aduersaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them vnder with a mastering spirit, and had bin reputed a King indeed, when the rest were held but Vsurpers of the title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a braue Commander, hauing giuen prooffe of his worth in many great seruices of all kinds, and enriched the Art of war with many inuentions, which euen his enemies, and particularly *Lyfimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had sometimes flattered *Antigonus*, & fearefully stolen away from him to saue his life; with young *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this iourne; and *Lyfimachus*, that had liued long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yeilded to their opposites: yet so, that as ancient Captaines vnder *Phillip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough, to receiue any benefit that fortune might giue, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experieice.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardy & well exercised: many of them hauing serued vnder *Alexander*; though of those old Companies, the long space of two and twenty yeares had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections, the followers of *Seleucus* were easily perswaded, that in this battaile they must either get the vpper hand, or put in extreame danger all that belonged vnto the Considerate Princes: whereas *Antigonus* his men could discern no other necessitie of fighting, than the obstinate qualitie of their Lord, that needes would be Master of all. *Antigonus* had about three-score and ten thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and three-score and fiftene Elephants. His enemies were fixe thousand horse of him in number of their foot, in horse they had the oddes of five hundred; of Elephants they had four hundred; and an hundred and twenty armed Chariots of warre: which helpe, though they little had auailed the *Persians*, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captaine.

Antigonus himselfe, either troubled with the vnexpected greatnesse of his enemies forces, or presaging little good like to ensue, grew yet peniue, committing much in

pride with his sonne whom he commended to the charge of his battaile, for the most part he had neuer been so iocular, as to reward his sonne with a battaile, nor had he been so iocular to make his sonne, or any other, private to his counsaile, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad lucke, heid forth going to the fight, or afterwards deuiding his holden goodlesse to reboute. *Diana* of *Ephesus* dwelt neere to the place of battaile, whose goddesse in many great fights; and therefore likely to haue been thint into the fable, if any more, shee resemblied a miracle, had chanced. In this battaile, the two Gallant Armies, containing well neere all the strength of *Demetrius* to the Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by such vnder Commanders, and whom the issue thereof did highly concerne. Yet a few of the particular docters in ane lisse in regard of the much variety, wherewith euery sort of abundance in this kinde. The most memorable things in the battaile, were these: *Demetrius* with his best force of horse charged valiantly vpon young *Antiochus*; whom he had had smoke and pitee sight; he was so transported with the heat of his good fortune, that he could not be so much as to see him; but hee rather naked, and lost the victory, and the victory. By this means, *Demetrius* was vnder his advantage, hee entered his Elephants, between *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many purposes of his, hee sought to break vpon the enemies battaile, wherof euer it lay most open, hee sought to make the King's Armies; that a great part of them rather chose to re-
10 pect their Lord, than to follow him, and so they were easily inuaded, and so the fury of the
11 danger was inuaded. This was the first, or rather reason of some, discouraged o-
12 nes, and finally, cast them all into flight, exposing their Generall to the last end of
13 his life. *Demetrius* was then foure score yeares old, very fat and vnweildy; so that
14 he was not for fight; his high spirit should haue beene restrained by thought thereof; he
15 had shew him some of his most trusty followers, and as many others as hee could
16 hold together. When one that perceived a great troupe miking towards his person, told
17 him, that hee was in danger, hee said, hee would rather be killed, than to see his sonne
18 slain. Hee was then in the last of his life, and so hee was killed. Thus expecting, to the very last, that his
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100 son should be the last of his life, hee was killed. Thus expecting, to the very last, that his

friends. Yet was he faine to giue good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Hauens, of which he now stood in great need, & therefore was faine to speak them faire, that sometimes had grossly flattered him. But he shal liue to teach them their old language, & speake vnto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he sailed to the *Isthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were euery where broken vp; the Souldiers hauing betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Army and Fleet, without money or meanes wherewith to sustaine him & his follo wers any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in diuiding among the Conquerors, and those few places which as yet held for him (hauing not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieue: for to put himselfe into the field on that side of the Sea, he had no power; and to inclose himselfe in any of them, how strong soeuer, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to bury himselfe and his estate: He therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest briars, fell vpon a corner of *Lyfimachus* his Kingdome, whereof hee gaue all the spoyle that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his owne losses hauing beene too great to be repaied againe by small prizes.

In the meane while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to busie themselves, in the partition of those Prouinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords; wherein *Seleucus* had a notable aduantage by being present, and Master of the field, for neither *Ptolomy* nor *Cassander* were at the ouerthrow giuen, hauing onely sent certaine troupes to re-inforce the Army which *Seleucus* led, who tooke hold of a part of Asia the lesse, and all Syria, being no otherwise diuided from his owne Territory, than by the Riuer of Euphrates. For there had not any order beene taken by the Confederates, for the diuision of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that warre, which they made onely in their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that hee could of the victory, at which, neuertheless others did repine; and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the ouer-greatnesse of *Seleucus* brought no lesse danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted vpon the same reason of State as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined; for he read it in the Law vniuersall of Kingdomes and States, needing no other intelligence. Herevpon they forget friendships on all sides, and cure themselves of all vnprofitable passion, the hatred of each to other, and their loues being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so far too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day slaine *Antigonus* the father, and driuen *Demetrius* the son out of Asia, sought to morrow how to march himselfe with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his daughter, and so by *Demetrius* to serue his turne against *Lyfimachus*.

The story of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the sonne of *Seleucus* fell so passionately in loue, and so distempered, as *Seleucus* his father, to saue his sonnes life, gaue her (though she were his wife) vnto him; and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance betwene *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; betwene *Ptolomy* and *Lyfimachus*; betwene *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; betwene *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*; though for the present it brought him againe into the ranke of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the marriages betwene Christian Kings haue done in later times, namely betwene the Austrians, the Aragonians, the French, & other Princes; neither haue the Leagues of those elder times beene found more faithfull, than those of the same later times haue beene; as in the stories of *Charles* the eighth of France, and of *Charles* the Emperour, of *France*, the first, and of the Kings of Naples, Dukes of Millan and others, the Reader may obserue: betwene whom from the yeare of our Lord, One thousand, foure hundred, ninety and five, when *Charles* the eighth vnderooke the Conquest of Naples, to the year One thousand five hundred fifty and eight, when *Henry* the second died; the Histories of those times tell vs, that all the bonds, either by the Bedde or by the Book, either by Weddings, or Sacramentall Oathes, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit by giuing his daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recovered Cilicia from *Pisistrarchus*, the brother of *Cassander*, who had gotten it

himselfe in the diuision of *Antigonus* his possessions: for that *Seleucus* was not strong enough to hold it by his proper forces from him, that caused vnder it a lawfull Heire; neither would *Seleucus* lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Confederacy hee should haue done against the common enemy. So *Pisistrarchus* with very angry complaint, as well against *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went vnto *Cassander*; whither *Phila*, their sister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keepe all quiet; being sent for that purpose by *Demetrius* her husband, that was not strong enough to deale with *Cassander*; and therefore glad to make vse of that bond of aliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne prosperity, he neuer tooke notice to the others good. About the same time hee tooke to Wife a daughter of *Ptolomy* (plurality of Wiues being familiar with these Macedonians, that had learned it in their Easterne conquests) and so was hee by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than strengthened with two friends; for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise than might seeme to aduance their owne ambitious desires.

Seleucus and *Ptolomy* could both of them haue been contented better, that *Demetrius*, with helpe of their countenance, should seeke his fortune somewhat farther off, than settle his estate vnder their noses. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that Cilicia lay very fitly for himselfe: and *Ptolomy* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Isle of Cyprus. Now whether it were so, that *Seleucus* would faine haue set his new father-in-law vpon the necke of *Lyfimachus*; or whether he were indeede greedy of the bargain, he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchase of Cilicia. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not harken, but meant to keep as much Land as he could, hauing already found in Cilicia twelue thousand talents of his fathers treasure, that would serue him to make sport a while. This refusall so displeased *Seleucus*, that in angry terms he demanded the Cities of Tyre and Sidon, to be surrendred vnto him; which were the busie places in Syria, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaile. Instead of giuing them vp, *Demetrius* took present order to haue them better manned; and spake it stoutly, That were he overcome a thousand times, yet would he not hire *Seleucus* to become his Son-in-law. In this quarrell *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would breake friendship with his Father-in-law for two Townes, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to gouerne. But the fire consumed it selfe in words, which had it fastned vpon armes, like it is that the weaker should haue found friends out of enuie to the stronger.

§. V I.

How *Demetrius* won the City of Athens, and preuailed in Greece, but lost in Asia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of *Cassander*.

IN the meane while, the Athenians not knowing how to vse the liberty, which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, vnder the tyranny of *Learchus*. Through which alteration their distempered City was so weakened, that it seemed ill able to keepe off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This aduantage hastened him, whom they had once called their God and Saviour, to present himselfe vnto them, in the habit of a reuenging fury. He brought against them all the force that hee could well spare from other employments; which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Easterne friends, were vnwilling to giue impediment to any business, that might entangle him in Greece. His first enterprise in Athens had ill success; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But he soone repaired the losse; and (after some victories in Peloponnesus, where he wan diuers Towns that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprise, wasted the Country of Attica, and cut off all reliefe from the City both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it any long time: for it stood in barren soile, and wanted now the command of those Ilands, and places abroad from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals, being also destitute of means to keep such a Name, as might bring in supply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolomy*, who (trusting thereby to win the heart of Greece) had loaden a hundred and fifty ships with corne, and sent them to relieue

the hungry City: But this hundred and fifty were vnable to deale with three hundred good fighting ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore hasted them away betimes, as hauing done enough, in aduenturing to come to neere that they might be desiered. This brake the heart of the people, among whom the famine was so extreame, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Moule, which dropped downe between them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embassadors to yeeld vp the Towne, and craue pardon, hauing so farre offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capitall offence, to propose any motion of peace. Yet were they faine to abolish this decree: rather because they knew not what else to do, than because they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victory, did not only forbear to take away the liues of these vnthankfull men, which they had submitted vnto his mercy; but out of his liberality gaue them food, & placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Neuertheless he was growne wiser than to trust them so far as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Hauens, and dispose of them at his pleasure; hee was ready to lay hold vpon the word, & leaue a sure Garrison within their wals, to keep them honest perforce. After this he went into Peloponnesus, vanquished the Lacedaemonians in two battailes, and was in very faire possibility to take their City: when the dangerous newes called him in all haste, of *Lyfimachus* and *Ptolomy*; that preuailed faster vpon him elsewhere, than himselfe did vpon his enemies in Greece. *Lyfimachus* had won many Towns in Asia; *Ptolomy* had gotten all the Isle of Cyprus, except the City of Salamis, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children & Mother, that were straightly besieged. While he was bethinking himselfe which way to turne his face, a notable piece of businesse offered it selfe, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Cassander was lately dead in Macedon, and soon after him, *Philip* his eldest son, whose two younger brethren, *Antipater* & *Alexander*, fought for the Kingdome. In this quarrell *Theffalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had married, seemed better affected to *Alexander*, than to her elder son: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his owne Mother. The odiousness of this fact gaue a faire lustre to *Alexanders* cause: drawing the generality of the Macedons to take his part, as in reuenge of the Queens death, vpon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was so strongly backed by *Lyfimachus*, whose daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without some forraigne aide. For which cause he called in both *Pyrhus* and *Demetrius*, who how they dealt with him, it will soon appeare in the following Tragedy, of him and his brother. Their Father *Cassander* had been one that shifted well for himselfe, at such time as euery man fought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered diuision of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, & a good Souldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely haue made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head against a wal, vpon some opinion of contempt. With *Olympius* he had an hereditary quarrell, deriued from his Father, whom he could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by cruelty, that she vsed against his friends, both aliue and dead, as it made him aduenture vpon shedding the Royall blood: wherewith, when once he had stained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that course of murder. His carefulnesse to destroy those women and children, whose liues hindered his purpose, argues him to haue been rather skillfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man: such cruelty being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a far off the dangers, that may quietly passe away: and seeks to auoide them by base and wicked meanes, as neuer thinking it selfe safe enough, vntill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympius* and *Roxane* it may be said, that they had well deserved the bloody end which ouer-tooke them; yet ill befieemed it *Cassander* to doe the office of a Hang-man. But *Alexanders* children had by no law of men, deserved to die for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his bed, yet the diuine Iustice brought swords vpon his wife and children, that well reuenged the cruelty of this bloody man, by destroying his whole house, as he had done his Masters.

§. VII.

Of *Pyrhus* and his doings in Macedon: The death of *Cassander* his children: *Demetrius* gets the Kingdome of Macedon preuailes in warre against the Greeks; Loseth reputation in his warre against *Pyrhus*; and in his ciuill Government; and prepares to reuise Asia. How all conspire against *Demetrius*. *Pyrhus* and *Lyfimachus* invade him, his Army yeelds to *Pyrhus*, who shares the Kingdome of Macedon with *Lyfimachus*.

Pyrhus, the Sonne of that vnfortunate Prince *Eacides*, which perished in warre against *Cassander*, was hardly preserued, being a suckling Infant, from the fury of his Fathers enemies. When his Fosterers had conueighed him to *Glancius* King of *Illyria*, the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would haue bought his life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his Heire: *Glancius* was so farre from betraying *Pyrhus*, that he restored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelue yeares of age. Within the compasse of sixe yeares, either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, draue him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the worlde anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his sister) became his Page, followed him a while in his warres; was with him in the great battell of *Ipsus*, whence he fled with him to *Ephesus*; & was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomy*. In *Egypt* he so behaued himselfe, that he got the fauour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomies* principall wife, so that he married her Daughter, & was thupon sent home, with mony & men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolomy*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdome of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell out this businesse betwixt the children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into Macedon.

Antipater, the eldest of *Cassanders* Sonnes, was so farre too weak for *Pyrhus*, that hee had no desire to attend the committing of *Demetrius*; but made up hasty agreement, and diuided the Kingdome with his younger brother *Alexander*, who likewise felt the aide of *Pyrhus* so troublesome, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such another helper. For *Pyrhus* had the audacity to request, or take as granted, by strong word, *Ambacia*, *Acarania*, and much more of the Country, as the reward of his pains; leauing the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessity enforced the brethren to composition; but their composition would not satisfie *Demetrius*, who took the matter haينiously, that he was sent for, and made a foolke, to come so farre with an Army, and finde no vantage for it. This was a fruitlesse complaining, whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to doe as *Pyrhus* had done; and for much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a wise course, to reuenge this most diligent friend, by murthering him vpon some aduantage. This *Demetrius* reported the story, and it might be true, though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, beleued it not. But hee knew, that *Alexander* himselfe was feasted and won by *Demetrius*, who took his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; & because he faced so well, by telling his owne danger, and what a naughty man *Cassander* had bene; that all the Macedonians grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lyfimachus* was busied in warre with King of the wilde Thracians; for the which he was compelled to seek peace of *Demetrius*, in which to obaine he caused the remainder of Macedon to be giuen vpon this; the King belonging to *Antipater* his Son-in-law. At this all bargain *Antipater* grievously minded, though he knew not how to mend it; yet still he stormed, vntill his Father-in-law to save the labour of making many excuses, took away his troublesome life. Thus *Antipater*, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to auoide molestation, vvere slaine the children of *Cassander*: of *Cassander* that had slaine his owne Masters children, in a wise sort of policy, with careful meditation, so much the more wicked as the more long shewing how to erect his owne house, that fell downe vpon his graue, ere the earth on it was broughtly settled.

It might be thought, that such an access of Dominion, added much to the greatness of *Demetrius*. But indeed it shewed his infirmity, and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of ciuill Government; but thought followed by his actions that he thought the vse and fruit of a Kingdome, to be none other,

(vvhho is highly commended for a wise and vertuous Lady) did poyson her selfe, vpon desperate griefe for his misfortune. The first, vpon whom he attempted to shew his anger; were the Athenians that had well deserved it. He began to lay siege to their Town: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philosopher, whom they had made their spoker-man, & taking faire words in stead of satisfaction; passed ouer into Asia, vvvith eleuen thousand Souldiers; meaning to trie his fortune against *Lyfimachus*, for the Prouinces of Lydia and Caria.

At his first comming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile vpon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulsion, yeelded to his obedience. There were also some Capitaines that fell from *Lyfimachus* to him, vvvith their companies and treasures. But it was not long ere *Agathocles* the sonne of *Lyfimachus*, came vpon him with an Army so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his last stocke against it. Wherefore, he resolved to passe through Phrygia and Armenia, into Media, and the Prouinces of the higher Asia; trusting to finde a Kingdome somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsaile was grieuouly impeached by *Agathocles*: who pursued him close, and cut off all his provisions, driving him to take which waies he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes *Demetrius* vanquished this troublesome Enemy: neuertheless, he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poore titulary King, with extreame famine. At length, in passing the river *Euxus*, so many of *Demetrius* his men were lost, that he could no longer make resistance: but were driuen to trauaile with such speed as might well be called a plain flight. So that with famine, pestilence diseases following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest, with their Capitaine, escaped into Cilicia. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of Cilicia, whilst *Demetrius* was occupied in Greece: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand; to lay claime to the Country; but with vehement and humble letters he besought his son-in-law, to call to mind their alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These letters, at the first wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how *Demetrius* had carried himselfe, when he recovered strength after the battell at Ipsus, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Army.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none took effect, though the loulie of *Seleucus*. Therefore, mere desperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man, and his furles got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sickness tooke and held him forty daies; in which time, a great number of his few men, ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding he still held out, and once had like to haue taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his comming been discovered by fugitiues, that gaue alarme. Finally, when all his Army had forsaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himselfe, he was compelled by the last of those adherents (for euen some of those few forsooke him) to yeeld vnto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceedingly glad, and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his owne humanity, by his followers, was such, as renewed his ieaious thoughts, and hindered him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence; though otherwise he vfed him with as much fauour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept vnder sure guard in a deny Island; wherein were goodly Walkes, Orchards, and Parks for hunting. Hee had all that he asked royally; and friendly allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his liberty was reserved vnto the comming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonice*, one of the high Countiees. In this fort he spent three yeares, liuing merrily all the while (as one that now enjoyed the happinesse, which with so much trauaile and blood-shed, hee had sought in vaine) and then dyed, leaving to his sonne, *Antigonus*, the same which his father had left vnto himselfe, that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in Corinth; his qualities haue appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his Houle will shew it selfe hereafter, in times and places conuenient.

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S. I X.

The death of Ptolemy, of Lyfimachus, and of Seleucus, that was last of Alexanders Captaines: with other occurrences.

About the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptolemy* King of Egypt, a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. He had, by many Wiues and Concubines, many children, out of whom he selected *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and caused him to reigne together with himselfe, two or three years before he died, that so he might confirm him in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, *Ptolemy Ceraunus* (for all of that house assumed the name of *Ptolemy*) was grieuouly incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gaue him louing entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexanders* Captaines left, *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus*. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liuet of that braue Company. The true ground of their quarrell, was, their neere equality of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lyfimachus* had committed vpon many of his Nobles, together with his poysoning *Agathocles* his eldest son: whose wife and children fled vnto *Seleucus* for aide.

The Macedons after seuen Moneths pause, hauing spent their first heat of admiration, began to harken so well to *Lyfimachus*, their naturall Country-man, that they forsooke *Pyrhus*, vpon none other ground than because he was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gaue him. *Lyfimachus* had reigned about five yeares alone, when the City of *Lyfimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earth-quake, appeared by euents, to haue foreshewed the fall of his house. His owne ieaiousie, and the mitigation of a Mother-in-law, caused him to poyson his Son *Agathocles*; which drew vpon him that War, wherein (after the losse of all his fifteen children that were taken away by diuers accidents) he perished himselfe.

Seleucus was encountered by *Lyfimachus* on Asia side, where one battell concluded the warre, with *Lyfimachus* his death. It pleased *Seleucus* more than the victory, that he was the last of all the great Heroes that followed *Alexander*. For now he seemed to himselfe as Lord and Heire of all the conquered World. So he passed ouer into Macedon, to take possession of Europe, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his dayes, and within seauen Moneths followed *Lyfimachus*, and other of his fellows, by a bloody death, being treacherously slaine by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, whose friend and Patron he had bin. Seuentie and seuen year old he was, when he fought with *Lyfimachus*, and *Lyfimachus* was seuentie and foure. With them ended the generation of old Capitaines; that had seen the daies as it were of another World vnder the Persian: yet was there left one equall to any of them in the Art of Warre: euen *Pyrhus* the Epirot, of whom we spake before; that is now ready to enter into warre with the Romans, a more warlike people, than *Alexander* himselfe did euer encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a story more important, than any likely to enue in Greece, or in the great Kingdomes that were held by *Alexanders* Successours, with lesse (and still decreasing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome: and setting of the Easterne Kingdomes.

S. I.

From the Romans enlarged their Dominion in Italy, from the death of Tullus Hostilius, vnto such time as they were assailed by Phyrrius.



OW Rome was founded by *Romulus*; settled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many, though small, victories, it gathered strength; vnto such time as it became the head of Latium, by the conquest of Alba, in the reigne of *Tullus Hostilius*: it hath bene already noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the Roman greatnesse beginneth to encounter the power of Greece; and extending it selfe out of Italy, to ouerwhelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it conuenient (as in like cases I haue done) briefly to set downe the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation, of those many actions, which could not haue been deliuered in the ages, wherein they were severally performed, without much interruption of the History, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* (who when he had reigned two & thirty years was burnt together with his house by lightning) *Anclus Martius*, Grandchilde to *Numa Pompilius* by his daughter, and not much vnlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdom of Rome. He walled the City about; enlarged it with the hill Aucutine, which he enclosed; built a bridge ouer Tybris, & the City of Ostia vpon the Sea, sixtene miles distant from Rome. Finally, hauing reigned foure and twenty yeares, he died, and by his last Will he left his children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the son of *Damaratus*, a Corinthian, who auoyding *Cypselus* King of Corinth his tyranny, had fled into Hetruria, & dwelt in Tarquinii, by the name of vvhich Towne he was afterwards called *Tarquinus*. From that City in Hetruria comming to Rome, & encouraged by some ominous occurrences, together with his wife *Tanaquil's* prophecy, he grew a favorite of *Anclus Martius*; by his Grecian wit humouring the factions of the Romane Court, in somuch that after his decease, he became not only Protector to the children, but Gouvernour to the City. He doubled the number of Senatours, and enlarged the Centurions of Horsemen: neither was he lesse eminent in warre, than in peace: for he preuailed often against the Tuscans, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph tooke their originall. When this *Lucius Tarquinus* had reigned eight and thirty yeares, he was slaine by the sons of *Anclus Martius*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tanaquil* his wife, perceiving who was discontented the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and sicke; but not dangerously. And withall signified vnto them, that in the intention of his sickness, one *Seruius Tullius*, whom from his birth she alwaies prophesied to be borne to great hopes, (the sonne of *Corniculani* and *Orcisus*, a well descended, but captiue woman) brought vp in her house, and husband vnto her daughter; should supply her husbands place, in governing the State, vntill his recovery: vvhich government, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards vsurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourescore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, hee managed the Kingdom in as good sort, as if it had been a priuate household. At length, hauing two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outrageous; and finding also that the two sonnes of *Tarquinus Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had bene committed vnto his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; hee (willing to adde water, not oyle, to fire) gaue the milde daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed sonne; and the violent, to *Aruns* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it hapned; the two milde ones being made away, the furious naturcs were readily ioyned in marriage: who

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soone concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claime to the Kingdom. Vpon this tumult, *Seruius Tullius* hastning to the Senate, (where hee thought by authority to haue bridled insolency) was throwne downe the staires, and going home sore bruised, was slain by the way, when he had reigned forty and foure years. Then *Tullia* his daughter, first proclaiming her husband *Tarquinus Superbus* king; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to driue his Chariot ouer her fathers corpes; whereupon the street had the denomination of wicked street. This *Tarquinus*, exercising cruelty without iustice, and tyranny without mercy, vpon the people and Senators; hauing tired himselfe and them at home, vsed the same rage of treachery vpon his borders. He tooke *Orciculum*, *Suefla*, *Pometia*, and the *Gabij*. The issue of besieging *Ardea*, a towne eightene miles distant from Rome, was of bad successe. In the heat of which warre, his sonne *Sextus Tarquinus* violently rauished that chaste Lady *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatines* wife: who in way of expiation for so vnchaste a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamy with her owne blood; so (hauing first bequeathed the reuenge vnto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her husband *Collatinus*, & *Immius Brutus*) she kild her self: whereupon (chiefly by *Immius Brutus* his resolution) *Tarquinus Superbus*, with his wife and children, was deposed and banished; and fled to *Porcenna* king of Hetruria for succour, in the five and twentieth yeare of his reigne, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City: in which space Rome had scarce gotten possession of fiftene miles round about her.

Immius Brutus by the helpe of *Collatinus*, hauing expelled *Tarquinus*, and freed his Countrey from that heauie yoke of bondage, enforced the people by solemne oath, neuer to admit any government by Kings amongst them: whereupon they ransacked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the State vpon *Brutus* and *Collatinus*. But because the name of King was odious in their cares, they changed the manner of their government; from perpetuall to annuall, and from a single gouernour to a double; lest perpetuall or sole dominion might bee some motiue to vsurpation; & in stead of Kings they called them Consuls, signifying, as it may be interpreted, Prouiders: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to bee alwayes mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard feeling of troubled warre, that the people, after this innouation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their owne security, enforced *Tarquinus Collatinus* to resigne vp his authority, fearing that tyranny would bee hereditary, and supposing that the very name and affinity with the house of *Tarquinus*, sauoured already of their condition. In his room was substituted *Valerius Publicola*, who that hee might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the peoples eyes, gaue liberty, in matters of controuersie, to appeale from the Consuls to the people: and that hee might as well in goods as in person, auoide occasion of suspicion, caused his owne house to bee pulled downe, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had bene a Cittadell. Neither was *Brutus* any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples safety, as their fauour: for hauing got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first ranke his owne sonnes, were itching after innouations, hoping to restore the banished kings; hee called them, publicly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to bee brought all vnpartially to the blocke.

Hereto the Romans, hauing by the vnblemished integrity of *Brutus*, wel appealed all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter employ their military designements, against *Fortunus*, first, for their liberty; secondly, for enlarging of their possessions; and lastly, for defending their confederate Prouinces, and extending their Empire. For Rome, situated as it were in the mid-way betweene Latium and the Tuscans, hauing as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, could not but giue occasion of offence to her neighbours; vvhich by maine opposition, hauing preuailed against her borderers, shee vsed them as instruments, whereby to obtaine the rest.

Their first warre, in the first yeere of Consuls, was against *Porcenna* king of Hetruria: who being over-perswaded by *Tarquinus* lamentation, came to Rome, together with the banished king, and with great forces, to seate him againe in his Kingdom.

In the first conflict, *Horatius Coclus*, hauing long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies, caused the bridge ouer *Tybris*; at length, feeling himselfe too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into

into the River, like a hunted Stagge, refreshed his hot spirits, and returned safely to his followers, with the like resolution to sustain a new charge. *Porcena*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Laniculus*, which in the very entrance into the City, and found the victory, in a manner, assured by his power; yet, admiring their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of *Mucius Scaevola*, who, having by error slain *Porcena* his Secretary, in stead of the King himself, did in some of his threats, burne off his myne hand, he thought it not any whit prejudiciall, either to his safety, or credit, to enter league with them at this worst hand, and so the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleen, was not quite abated, though *Drusus* his sonne, and *Brutus* his enemy, in single combat, had slaine each other: And here the Romans, although they lost *Brutus*, got the field; and their Ladies, whose Champion he was, for their chastity, not for beauty, mourned the losse of him one whole yeare, till his place for the residue of his yeare, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*, and in his roome (deceasing naturally before the yeare expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*, a young man, who had beene chosen

Tarquinius upon his overthrow, feeling the faces of his countrymen, thought it no boot to dispute against the stream, but spent the residue of his time, which was about fourteene yeares, privately at Tusculum. Yet his sonne-in-law *Marcus Tullius*, a stomachie and full of those iller pulses, because *Porcena* had made peace with the Romans, and pleased him, then he contrived, that *Tarquinius* muste dvp his *Drusus*, & gaue buttell to the Romans at the Lake Regillum; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue vncertaine, vntill *Posthumus*, the Roman Dictator, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consuls, purposely for this Warre, when first it was expressed) to exasperate his Soldiers courage, threw their owne Ensignes amidst the enemies; and *Cassius* or *Spartacus* (master of the Horse-men, an assistant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover againe their Ensignes. This fight was so well performed, that a report went of *Caster* and *Pollux*, two gods, who came on milke-white Steeds, to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow-belpers of their victory; for the Generall consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their paines. After this the Romans fierce spirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected vpon themselves at home; and the sixteenth yeare after the Kings expulsion, vpon instigation of some desperate hacketrons, shoking the misdeeds wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an vpreare in the holy Mount; vntill by *Mucius Scaevola*, his discreet allusion, of the inconuenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion; they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might haue some new Magistrates created, to whom they might appeal in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controuersies, the Consuls authority notwithstanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this amonement among themselves, they had continuall Wars with the Latines, concerning their boundes and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Amongst these, the Volscians and Equi held them longest, who made many of themselves vpon the Romans: whereby they lost the best City, and had whole nation diction, *Corioli*.

In this conquest, *T. Manlius* got the surname of *Cincinnatus*, a name honorable then, derived from a great victory, although, by reason of the poverty of the Towne, a Roman Generall, in after times, would haue bin ashamed of the title. But yet these great labours bin no occasion of disparagement, had he not after words in a great time of dearth, added to sell corne, which they procured from Sicily, at too high a rate to the people, whereupon, *Mucius Scaevola*, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him; and after iudgement had shamed him, *Coriolanus* lying to the Volscians, whom lately before he had vanquished, incited them to rattle their forces againe; which being continued vnto him, and to *Antiochus*, he prevailed in field, so far forth, that he was some within foure or five miles of the City. Incamping there, he made so sharp war, and was at such distance with his Country, that he would not relench by any supplication of Embassadors, vntill his Mother *Veturia*, & *Voluntia* his Wife, with a pittifull weene of deprecation, shewing them selves better Subiects to their Country, than friends to their Son, and thus did these most able able to Rome, than was any force of Armes. Hereupon *Coriolanus* and his Army, was after put to death among the Volscians, as a Traitor, for people of such lucke opportunity (as others for misdeeds) living with them vntill old age, he did not had a full life, yet not

Not long after this, the Veij in *Hetruria*, prouoked the Romans, against whom the Fabii three hundred and sixe in number, all of one Family, were gathered, and obtained, that they only might be employed; as it had bin in a priuato quarrell. These Fabii, after some good seruice, lying incamped at *Cremora*, were circumueated, and all slaine; one only of them whole house, had bin left, by reason of infancie, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In process of time, the Romans were also troubled with the Volscians, at the hill of *Algidum*, twi miles from Rome, where *Lucius Minutius* their Consul, with his whole Army, had bene discomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* chosen Dictator, and taken from the plough to the highest honour in Rome, with successe answerable to his expedition, dispersed his enemies, & freed his Country in the space of sixteen daies. In the continuance of this Volscian warre it was, that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two yeares before chosen Governours of the State, and inactors of *Solons* lawes amongst them, procured from Athens (abrogating in the meane while the Consuls, & all other Magistracies) would haue rauished *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginianus*, Captaine of a company, and lying then in Campe at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people, in an vprour,ooke the Hill *Auentine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men, to resigne vnto their authoritie againe, to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or desire to reuenge old losses, drew the Romans into a new war, against the Veientes, and their adherents, vpon whom having tried their forces, with diuersie of Captaines, and varietie of euent, they vanquished the Faliscians, and the Veientes, and vterly subdued the Veientes. In conquering the Faliscians, *Furius Camillus* shewed no lesse integritie than fortitude. For when a Schoolemaster, by trayning forth into the Roman campe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yeelding them all vp as Hostages: *Camillus* deliuered this Traitor bound vnto his Schollers, willing them to whip him backe into the Citie, which forthwith yeelded vnto him in reuerence of his iustice. The siege of Veij was ten yeares, and so trouble some, that the Romans were there first enforced to winter abroad vnder beasts skins (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they received pay) & to make vowes to return without victorie.

At length winning the City by a Mine, they got so large spoiles, that they consecrated their sepulchs to *Apollo Pythius*: & the whole people in generall, were called to the ransacking of the Citie. But yet they were no lesse vntankfull to *Camillus* for his seruice, than before they had bene to *Coriolanus*; For they banished him the Citie, vpon some occasion of inequality in diuiding the spoiles: yet he requied their vnkindnesse with a new piece of seruice, against the fury of the Gaules, who being a populous Countrie, and very healthfull, the fathers (as sometimes now) liued so long, that the sonnes, destitute of means, were enforced to roaue abroad, seeking some place, where to set vp their rest: and withall being a Nation vaste in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandered as Routers ouer many Countries. Some of them lighting on Italy, set vpon *Clusium*, a Town in *Hetruria*: whereof Rome hauing information, (and being carefull of her Confederate Townes) sent Embassadors, warning them to desist from such inuious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, vpon some iniurie offered by the Romane Embassadors, conuerted their forces from *Clusium* towards Rome; and giuing a great ouerthrow vnto the Romans, by the River *Allia*, vpon the sixteenth day before the Calends of August (which day was after branded for vnlucky, and called *Allicensis* in the Romane Kalendar) they hastened towards the Citie. Then was Rome the true map of miserie and desolation. For some leaving the Citie; some creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and euery one shifting for himselfe, ere the enemy came; Rome was abandoned, as indefensible. The Vestall Virgins, in this tumult, were safely conueyed away; the Ancients of the Citie, gathering boldnesse out of desperate feare, did put on their Robes, and taking their leaue of the world, did seat themselves in Thrones, in their feuerall houles, hourly expecting the messengers of death, & meaning to dye, as they had liued, in State. The younger sort, with *M. Manlius* their Captaine,ooke vpon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this, the Gaules were entred the Citie, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoyle, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senatours, they fate in their Maestic, with a grauer resolution: hauing

Having first reuerenced them as gods, anon they tried whether they would dye like men. When the Citie was thoroughly tiled, they attempted the Capitoll: which held them worke for the space of seuen moneths. Once they were like to haue surprized it by night, but being detected by the gabling of Geese, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed vpon: the Gaules being weary, and the Romans hungry. The bargain was, that the Gaules should take a thousand pound weight in gold, to desist from their siege. Whilest the gold was in weighing, the Gaules, with open insolencie, made their weights too heauie: *Brennus*, their Capitaine, casting his sword into the ballance, and, with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this cauilling came *Furius Camillus*, with to an Armie, from Ardea, (where he had liued in his banishment) and fell vpon the Gaules, with such violence, that hee dispersed their troupes, quenched the fire of the Citie with their blood, forcing them to restore the spoyle with aduantage, and forbore the gold, in accepting which, they had lately beene so nice. Further hauing rid the Citie of them, he so hotly pursued them, through a great part of Italie, that the remainder of their Armie, which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the Gaules, which followed this first, had the like ill successe. They were often beaten by the Romans; especially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in single fight slew a feuerall Champion of the Gaules) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the Romans. *Camillus*, for his notable seruice, was afterwards accompted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their Citie, were earnestly bent to goe to the Veij to inhabite; but *Camillus* dissuaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of Veij, they changed their gouernment from Consuls to militarie Tribunes. The gouernment of these also, after some yeares, was by ciuill dissension interrupted: so that one while Consuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchie: Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled againe, till after many yeares expired, the Consular authoritie was established, it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should alwaies be a Plebeian. This was after the building of the City 365. yeeres. And now Rome by suppression of her neighbour countries, creeping well forward out of her Minoritie, dares set forth against the warlike Samnites, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirtie miles off: situated between Campania and Apulia. These did so strongly invade the Campanians their Neighbours, that they forced them to yeld themselves subiects to Rome, and vndergoe any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoever else to obtaine protection: which the Romans, although both Countries had beene their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should deuoure the lesse, easily allowed of; aiming themselves at the good situation of Campania, the abundance of Corne and Wine, pleasant Cities and Townes, but especially Capua it selfe, the fairest Citie then in all Italie.

The families of the *Papyrij* and *Fabij* were most employed in the managing of this warre; which endured the space of fiftie yeeres. And in this season were the Romans oftentimes dangerously encountered by the Samnites, as when *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumus* were Consuls, and discomfited by *Pontius* at Caudium, with no small ignominy: and when *Q. Fabius Gurgus* lost the field with three thousand men. But for those losses, many great victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The Samnites drew the Hetrurians into their quarrell. But the force of the Samnites was well broken, ere the Hetrurians (the greater and richer, but lesse warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length, tributary to Rome. In the continuance of this long warre it was, (though in time of truce between the Romans and Samnites) that the Latines began to challenge equall freedom in the Corporation of Rome, and right in bearing office, so that they required to haue one of the Consuls yeerely chosen out of them.

This demand of the Latines, was not vnreasonable. For the Romans themselves were a Latine Colonie; besides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to bee all called Romans. But the Romans were too proud, to admit any such capitulation. So a great battaile was fought betweene them: wherein the fortune of Rome preuailed, by the vertue of the Consuls.

Manlius

Manlius Torquatus, and the elder *Decius*, were then Consuls, whom the Soothsayers advertised, that the side should be victorious which lost the Generall in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Consull, exposed his life to the Enemie, and purchased victorie (as was beleeued) by his death. In which kinde of deuoting himselfe for his Armie, the sonne of this *Decius* being after Consull, did imitate his father, in the Hetrurian warre, But (as *Tullius* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Deijs*, that purchased victorie, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a religion, as required the liues of so worthy Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Countrie. The discipline of *Manlius* was no lesse resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemie. For breach of which order he caused his owne sonne to be put to death, who had slaine a Capitaine of the Latines, being challenged in single fight.

When the Latines, the *Equi*, *Volsci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other people, were brought vnder obedience; it was a vaine labour for any people of Italie, to contend against the Romans.

Yet the Sabines aduentured to trie their fortune; and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the Roman Consull, waiting all their Countrie with fire and sword, from the *Riuer Nar* and *Velia*, to the Adriatique Sea, brought them into quiet subiection.

The last of the Italians, that made trial of the Roman Armes, were the Tarentines, and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as mediators, betweene the Romans and Samnites; with a peremptorie denunciation of Warre, vnto that partie, which should dare to refuse peace, by them tendered. These threats which discouered their bad affection, vnto Rome, ended in words; but when the Samnites were vterly subdued, matter enough of quarrell was found, to examine their abilitie of performance.

The Romans complained that certaine ships of theirs were robbed, and sent Embassadors vnto Tarentum, to require amends. Vpon some wrong done to these Embassadors, was laid the foundation of that Warre; wherein the Lucans, Messapians, Brutians, and Apulians, ioyning with the Tarentines, procured the Samnites, and other Subiects of Rome, to rebell, and take their part. But some experience of the Roman strength, taught all these people to know their owne weaknesse. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus* by whose aide (being a Grecian, as the Tarentines also were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of Rome should be confined, vnto more narrow bounds, than all Italie, which already, in a manner it did ouer-spread.

§. II.

How *Pyrrhus* warred vpon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battails.

Pyrrhus, forsaken by the Macedonians, and vnable to deale with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to liue in rest: which hee abhorred no lesse than a wiser Prince would haue desired. Hee had a strong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that vast estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdome: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so encreased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom, to make an offensive warre vpon him, without farre greater forces. *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, held Corinth at the same time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his fathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand: Vpon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might haue wonne; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serue to giue some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of employment, and couetous desire of finding it, the Tarentine Embassadors came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with braue offers, as needing no other aide than his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would cast themselves vnder his protection. They had in their company, some of the Samnites, Lucanians, Messapians, and others, which promised, in behalfe of their feuerall Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that hee might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward, and fill by one victorie open the gate vnto another. To which effect it is said, that once he answered *Cyneus* his chiefe Counsaillour, asking what hee meant to doe after euery one of the victories which he hoped to get: that hauing wonne Rome, hee would soone bee Master of all Italie; that, after Italie hee would quickly get the Ile of Sicily; that

out of Sicill, he would passe over into Africa, and winne Carthage, with all the rest of the Countie; and being strengthened with the force of all these Prouinces, he would be too hard, for any of those, that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cynus* enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all: Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would lue merrily; a thing (as *Cynus* then told him) that they presently might doe, without any trouble, if hee could be contented with his owne.

Neuerthelesse, this Italian expedition seemed vnto *Pyrrhus*, a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholasticall disposition. Wherefore he prepared his Armie, of almost thirty thousand men, well fortified, and well trained Soldiers: part of which he sent ouer before him vnder *Cynus*, with the rest he followed in person. At his comming, he found the Tarentines very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, vnterly carelesse to prouide for the War. Wherefore he was faine to shew vp their Theater, and other places of pleasure and resort; enforcing them to take Armes, and making such a strict muster, as was to them very vnpleasing, though greatly behouing to their estate.

Whilest hee was occupied with these cares, *Leuius* the Romane Consull drew neere, and began to waste Lucania, a Prouince confederate with the Tarentines in this Warre.

The Lucanians were not readie to defend their own Countie; the Samnites were carelesse of the harme, that fell not (as yet) vpon themselves; the Tarentines were better prepared than they would haue beene, but their valour was little: all of these had beene accustomed to shrinke, for feare of the Roman fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more vpon his owne forces, than the issue of their vaunting promises. Hee was now driuen, either to set forward, with those that himselfe had brought into Italie, and the assistance of the Tarentines, wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his owne sufficiencie, which by all meanes hee was carefull to vp-hold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had beene scattered by foule weather at Sea, were safely come to him: with which hee resolved to assay the valour of the Romans, against whom he proudly marched.

Leuius the Consull was not affrighted, with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and giue him battaile, ere all his adherents should be ready to ioyne with him. This boldnesse of the Roman, and the slacknesse of the Messapians, Lucanians, Samnites, and others, whom the danger most concerned, caused *Pyrrhus* to offer a treatie of peace: requiring to haue the quarrell betwene the Romans and his Italian friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to winne time, that the Samnites and their fellowes might arriue at his Campe; or whether, considering better at neere distance, the weight of the businesse, which he had taken in hand, hee were desirous to quit it with his honour; the short answer that was returned to his proposition, gaue him no meanes of either the one or the other: for the Romans sent him this word, that they had neither chosen him their Iudge, nor feared him their enemy.

Hercupon, both Armies hastened their march vnto the Riuer of Siris: *Leuius* intending to fight before the arriual of the Samnites; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from passing that Riuer, vntill his owne Armie were full. Vpon the first view of the Roman Campe, it was readily conceiued by *Pyrrhus*, that hee had not now to doe with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a braue discipline of warre: which caused him to set a strong Corps de garde, vpon the passage of the riuer; that hee might not be compelled to fight, vntill hee saw his best aduantage. But hee quickly found, that this new enemy was not onely skilfull in the Art of war, but couragious in execution. For the Roman Armie entered the Foord, in face of his Corps de garde; and their horse, at the same time, began to passe the Riuer, in sundrie places: which caused the Greekes to forsake the defence of their banke, and speedily retire vnto their Campe.

This audacitie forced *Pyrrhus* to battaile; wherewith hee thought it best to present them, ere the whole Armie had recouered firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Captaines how to marshall his battailes; himselfe with the horse, charged vpon the Romans: who stoutly receiued him, as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the dutie of a carefull Generall; nor his prouidence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personall valour. It behoued him indeed to do his best; for he neuer met with better

opposers.

opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slaine vnder him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the vse of his Kings armour, which was torne from his backe. This accident had almost lost him the battaile: but hee perceiuing it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the Romanes their vaine ioy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater losse (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his side, as long as onely speare and sword were vsed. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose vnusuall forme & terrible aspect, the horses of the Romanes (vnaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustaine; then was the victorie quickly gotten. For the Roman battailes, perceiuing their horse put to rout, and driuen out of the field; finding also themselves both charged in flanke, and ouer-borne, by the force and huge bulke of those strange beasts; gaue way to necessity, and saued themselves, as well as they could, by hasty flight: in which consternation, they were so forgetfull of their discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Campe, but ran quite beyond it, leauing both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victorie was soon spread ouer Italie; and the reputation was no lesse than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a Roman Consull, with a select Armie, should lose in plaine battaile, not only the Field, but the Campe it selfe, being so notably fortified, as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more brauely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his Italian friends, saue the vnwarlike Tarentines. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he took, in hauing the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at such time as he blamed the Lucans & Samnites, for comming (as we say) a day after the faire. Neuerthelesse, hee wisely considered the strength of the Romans, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whilest with his honour he might; and to that purpose he sent vnto them *Cynus* his Embassadour, demanding only to haue the Tarentines permitted to liue at rest, and himselfe accepted as their especiall friend. This did *Cynus*, with all his cunning, and with liberal gifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in Rome, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recouering their captiues, or their danger, by the rising of many States in Italy against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blind Senatour, did stirre them vp to make good their honour by war. So they returned answer, that whilest *Pyrrhus* abode in Italy, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report, that *Cynus* made at his return, of the Roman puissance and vertue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus*, a great desire of confederacie, with that gallant Citie. Hereupon many kinde Offices passed between them: but still when he vrged his motion of peace, the answer was, *He must first depart out of Italy, and then treat of peace.*

In the meane season, each part made prouision for war; the Romanes leuying a more mighty army than the former; & *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with access vnto his forces, of all the East parts of Italy. So they came to triall of a second battaile, wherein (though after long and cruel fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants gaue to *Pyrrhus* a second victorie. But this was not altogether so ioyful as the former had been: rather it gaue him cause to say, that such another victorie would be his vtter vndoing. For he had lost the flower of his Armie in this battaile: and though he draue the Romanes into their Campe, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of pre-ailing against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilest he should be driuen to spend vpon his old stock. Neither could he expect, that his Elephants should alwaies stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight, would soon teach the Romanes, that were apt Schollers in such learning, how to make them vnseruiceable. Wherefore hee desired nothing more, than how to carry his honour safe out of Italy: which to doe (seeing the Romanes would not helpe him, by offering or accepting any faire conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a slight occasion, presented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

§. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How Pyrrhus, being invited into Sicill, forsake Italie, won the most of the Ile; and lost it in short space. Pyrrhus returns into Italy, where he is beaten by the Romanes, and so goes backe to his own Kingdome.

When *Ptolomie Ceraunus* had traiterously murdered his Benefactor & Patron *Seleucus*, he presently seized vpon all the Dominions of *Lyfimachus* in Europe, as if they had bin the due reward vnto him, that had slaine the Conquerour. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lyfimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in Macedon any man of strength and reputation enough, to aduance himself against *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lyfimachus* were rather pleased to haue him their King, that had (as hee professed) reuenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousness of his fact, by which they were freed from subiection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that vpon remembrance of his Fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perswading themselves that his reigne might proue good, though his entrance had been wicked. These affections of the Macedonians did serue to defeat *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt vpon the kingdome. As for *Antigonus* the sonne of *Seleucus*, he was farre off, and might be questioned about some part of Asia, ere he should be able to bring an Armie neere vnto Europe. Yet he made great shew of meaning to reuenge his Fathers death: but being stronger in money than in armes, he was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murderer. While these three stroue about the kingdome, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made vse of their dissention: threatening warre, or promising his assistance, to euery one of them. By these meanes he strengthened himselfe, and greatly aduantaged his Italian voyage, which he had then in hand: requesting mony of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and souldiers of *Ptolomie*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of Macedonian Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to haue them restored at two yeares end) more for feare than for loue: that so he might free himselfe from trouble, and quietly enioy his kingdome.

Thus *Ptolomy* grew mighty on the suddaine; and the power that by wicked meanes he had gotten, by meanes as wicked he encreased.

All Macedon and Thrace being his, the strong Citie of *Cassandria* was held by *Asium* his sister, the widow of *Lyfimachus*, who lay therein with her yong children. Her circumuenienced by making loue to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinitie) taking her to wife, with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to performe; for it was not long, ere hee slew them, and draue her into exile.

In the pride of this good successe, which his villanie found; vengeance came vpon him from a farre, by the furie of a Nation, that he neuer heard of. *Belgius* a Captaine of the Gaules, hauing forced his passage through many Countries, vnto the confines of Macedon, sent a proud message to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwise, to look for all the miseries of warre. These Gaules were the race of those, that issued out of their Countrie, to seeke new seats in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* tooke and burnt the Citie of Rome. They had diuided themselves, at their setting forth, into two Companies; of which the one fell vpon Italie; the other passing through the Countries that lye on the Northerne side of the Adriatick Sea, made long abode in Pannonia, and the Regions adioyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeeme peace with tribute, as now they would haue compelled *Ceraunus* to doe; vnto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight yeares after such time as their fellows had taken Rome.

When their Embassadours came to *Ptolomie*, asking what he would giue: His answer was, That he would be contented to giue them peace, but it must bee with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as hostages, and yelde vp their armes; for otherwise, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor giue any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the Gaules did laugh; saying, That they would soone confute with deeds, the vanitie of such proude words. It may seeme strange, that

that he, who had giuen away part of his Army vnto *Pyrrhus*, for very feare; should bee so confident in vndertaking more mighty enemies. The king of the Dardanians offered to lend him twentie thousand men against the Gaules: but he scorned the offer; saying, That he had the children of those, which vnder the conduct of *Alexander*, had subdued all the East. Thus hee issued forth against all the barbarous people, with his famous Macedonians, as if the victorie must needs haue followed the reputation of a great name. But he soone found his great error, when it was too late. For the enemies were not onely equall in strength of body, and fiercenesse of courage, but so farre superiour to the Macedonians in number, that few or none escaped their furie. *Ptolomie* himselfe grievously wounded, fell into their hands, whilst the battell continued; and they presently strooke off his head, which they shewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their vtter astonishment.

The report of this great ouerthrow filled all Macedon with such desperation, that the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole countrey as lost. Onely *Sophones*, a valiant Captaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Armie, with which he many times got the vpper hand, and hindred *Belgius* from vsing the victorie at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would haue made him King; which title he refused, and was contented with the name of a General. But (as mischiefs doe seldome come alone) the good successe of *Belgius*, drew into Macedon, *Brennus*, another Captain of the Gaules, with an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; against which mightie Army, when *Sophones* with his weake troups made opposition, hee was easily beaten, and the Macedonians againe compelled to hide themselves within their wals, leauing all their Countrie to the spoyle of the Barbarians.

Thus were the Macedonians destitute of a king, & troden down by a Nation, that they had not heard of; in lesse than fiftie yeares after the death of *Alexander*, who sought to discover and subdue vnkown Countries, as if all Greece, and the Empire of Persia, had been too little for a king of Macedon.

Very seasonably had these newes been carried to *Pyrrhus* in Italy, who sought a faire pretext of relinquishing his warre with the Romanes; had not other tydings out of Sicill distracted him, and carried him away in pursuite of neerer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned ouer the whole Island, the Carthaginians sent an Armie to conquer Sicill, out of which, by him, they had beene expelled. This Armie did so fast preuaile, that the Sicilians had no other hope to auoyde slavery, than in submitting themselves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, beeing a Grecian, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to liue vnder the well knowne heauie yoke of Carthage. To him therefore, the Syracusans, Leontines, and Agragentines, principall Estates of the Isle, sent Embassadours, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions, of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so vnluckily, both at one time. Yet whether hee thought the businesse of Sicill more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps hee beleued (as came after to passe) that his aduantage vpon Macedon would not so hastily passe away, but that he might finde some occasion to lay hold on it, at better leisure, ouer into Sicill he transported his Armie, leauing the Tarentines to shift for themselves, yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a Garrison in their Town, to hold them in subiection.

As his departure out of Italy, was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature aduice; so were his actions following, vntill his returne vnto Epirus, rather many and tumultuous, than well ordered, or more worthy. The Armie which he carried into that Isle, consisted of thirty thousand foote, and two thousand five hundred horse: with which, soon after his descent into Sicill, he forc't the Carthaginians, out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He also won the strong Citie of Eryx, and hauing beaten the Mamertines in battell; he began to change condition, and turne Tyrant. For he draue *Sofra* (to whom his cruelty was suspected) out of the Island, & put *Theron* of Syracuse to death, being ialous of his greatnesse; which two persons had faithfully serued him, and deliuered the great and rich Citie of Syracuse into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as he serued himselfe, and salued the disreputation of his leauing Sicill, by an Embassage sent him from the Tarentines, and Samnites, imploring his present helpe against

against the Romans, who since his leauing Italy, had well-neere dispossessed them of all that they had.

Taking this faire occasion, he embarked for Italy; but was first beaten by the Carthaginian Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assailed in Italy it selfe, by eightene hundred Mamertines, that attended him in the straits of the Countrie. Lastly, after he had recovered Tarentum, he fought a third battaile with the Romans, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious ouer him, and forc't him out of Italy, into his owne Epirus.

A Prince he was far more valiant than constant, and had he beene but a Generall of an Armie, for some other great King or State, and had beene directed to haue conquered any one countrey or kingdome, it is to bee thought, that hee would haue purchased no lesse honour than any man of warre, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Captaine, or a valiant man, hath beene nowhere found. But hee neuer staied vpon any enterprise; which was, indeede, the disease hee had, whereof not long after hee died in Argos.

S. IIII.

How Antigonus, the sonne of Demetrius, deliuered Macedon from the Gaules. How Pyrrhus wounne the Kingdome of Macedon from Antigonus.

THe vertue of *Sosthenes* being too weake to defend the kingdome of Macedon, and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Belgus*, failing him in his attempts against *Brennus*: the Macedonians were no lesse glad to submit themselves vnto the government of *Antigonus*, than they had been formerly desirous to free themselves from the impotent rule of his Father *Demetrius*. His comming into the Countrie, with an Armie, Nauie, and Treasure beseeming a king, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driuen to vse against the Barbarians, onely those forces, which he brought with him, hauing none other than good wishes of the Macedons, to take his part. *Brennus*, with the maine strength of his Armie, was gone to spoyle the Temple of *Apollo* at Delphos, hauing left no more behind him, than he thought necessary to guard the borders of Macedon, and Pannonia; which were about fiftene thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of their fellowes: and therefore sent vnto *Antigonus*, offering to sell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Cerannus*, hee had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was vnwilling to weaken his reputation, by condescending to their proud demands: yet hee iudged it vsfit to exasperate their furious choler, by vn courteous words or vsage, as *Cerannus* had ouerfondly done. Wherefore hee entertained their Embassadors in very louing and sumptuous manner, with a royall feast: wherein he exposed to their view, such abundance of massie gold and siluer, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the vessels, wherein it was serued. He thought hereby, to make them vnderstand, how great a Prince hee was, and how able, if need required, to wage a mightie Armie.

To which end, he likewise did shew vnto them his Campe and Nauie, but especially his Elephants. But all this brauery serued onely to kindle their greedy appetites; who seeing his ships heauie laden, his Campe full of wealth, and ill fortified, himselfe (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage inferior vnto the Gaules, thought all time lost, wherein they suffered the present possessours, to spend their riches which they accomplished assuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their Companions, with none other newes in their mouthes, than of spoyle and purchase: which tale, carried the Gaules head-long, to *Antigonus* his campe, where they expected a greater booty, than the victory ouer *Cerannus* had giuen to *Belgus*. Their comming was terrible and suddaine; yet not so suddaine, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who, distrusting the courage of his own men, dislodged somewhat before their arriual, and conueighed himselfe, with his whole armie and carriage, into certaine woods adioyning, where hee lay close.

The Gaules, finding his Campe forsaken, were not hastie to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the emptie Cabines of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched euery place in vaine, angrie at their

lost

lost labour, they marched with all speed towards the Sea-side; that they might fall vpon him, whilst he was busie in getting his men and carriages a ship-board. But the successe was no way answerable to their expectation: For being proud of the terrour which they had brought vpon *Antigonus*, they were so carelesse of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoyle of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in couer; and had saved it selfe by getting aboard the fleet: in which number were some well experienced men of war: who discovering the much aduantage offered vnto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, tooke courage, and encouraged others, to lay manly hold vpon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gaue so braue a charge vpon the disordered Gaules, that their contemptuous boldnesse was thereby changed into suddaine feare, and they, after a great slaughter, driuen to cast themselves into the seruice of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this victorie, caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertaine their ancient beliefe of the Macedonian valour: by which, the terrible and resistlesse oppressors of so many Countries, were ouerthrowne.

To speake more of the Gaules in this place, and to shew how, about these times, three Tribes of them passed ouer into Asia the lesse, with their warres and conquests there; I hold it needlesse: the victorious armies of the Romans, taming them hereafter, in the Countries which now they wanne, shall giue better occasion, to rehearse these matters briefly.

How soeuer the good successe of *Antigonus* got him reputation, among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading, had wonne this victory, could not thereupon be perswaded to thinke him a good man of warre: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the seruice, wherein his conduct was no better, than creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appeare) was greatly helpfull vnto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not so much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affaires in Italie stood vpon hard termes, had sent vnto *Antigonus* for helpe: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was hee sure to get, either a supply, wherewith to continue his warre against the Romans, or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake Italie, vnder colour of making his word good, in seeking reuenge. The threats which he had vsed in brauery, meer necessity forced him, at his returne into *Epirus*, to put in practise.

Hee brought home with him, eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse: an armie too little to be employed, by his restless nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had meanes to keepe in pay. Therefore he fell vpon Macedon; intending to take what spoyle he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this businesse, two thousand of *Antigonus* his Souldiers revolted vnto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, receiued him. Such faire beginnings, easily perswaded the courage of this daring Prince, to set vpon *Antigonus* himselfe, and to hazard his fortune, in triall of a battaile, for the whole kingdome of Macedon.

It appeares, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight with this hot warriour; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the Countrey. For *Pyrrhus* overooke him in a straight passage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the Gaules, and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength: a manifest prooffe that he was in retrait. The Gaules very brauely sustained *Pyrrhus* his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slaine) after a sharpe fight: wherein it seems that *Antigonus* keeping his Macedonian Phalanx within the straight, and not aduancing to their succour, tooke away their courage by deceiuing their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken soone after; who finding themselves exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the Gaules, yielded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus*, and his Macedonians, to their great discomfort; which emboldened *Pyrrhus*, to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the Phalanx could be charged onely in a front, it was a matter of extreame difficulty (if not impossible) to force it. But the Macedonians had seene so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*; who discovered so well their affections, that hee aduentured

adventured to draw neere in person, and exhort them to yeelde. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refused to become his follower. All forooke *Antigonus*, a few horse-men excepted, that fled along with him to Thessalonica; where he had some small forces left, and money enough to entertaine a greater power, had he knowne where to leuie it. But whilst he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the Gauls into his seruice; whereby he might repaire his losse: *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Pyrhus*, came vpon him, and easily defeating his weake forces, draue him to flye from the parts about Macedon, to those Townes a farre off in Peloponnesus, in which hee had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himselfe a King.

This good successe reuiued the spirits of the Epiror, and caused him to forget all sorrow of his late misfortunes in the Roman warre: so that he sent for his sonne *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of Tarentum) willing him to come ouer into Greece, where was more matter of conquest, and let the Italians shift for themselves.

S. V.

How Pyrrhus assailed Sparta without successe. His enterprise vpon Argos, and his death.

Pyrhus had now conceiued a great hope, that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing, that in open fight, he had vanquished the Gauls, beaten *Antigonus*, and wonne the Kingdome of Macedon; There was not in all Greece, nor, indeede, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had wonne, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserved to bee set vpon against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might doe what hee pleased. He raised therefore an Armie, consisting of five and twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and foure and twentie Elephants; pretending warre against *Antigonus*, and the giuing libertie to those Townes in Peloponnesus, which the same *Antigonus* held in subiection; though it was easily discouered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some designe more important, than warre against a Prince already vanquished, and almost vtterly deiected. Especially the Lacedaemonians feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countie, had betaken himselfe to *Pyrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his kingdome. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrhus* make shew of any displeasure that hee bare vnto Sparta; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to haue two of his owne younger sonnes trained vp in that Citie, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, euen till he entred vpon Laconia; where presently he demeaned himselfe as an open enemy: excusing himselfe and his former dissembling words, with a iest; That hee followed herein the Lacedaemonian custome, of concealing what was truly purposed. It had been, indeede, the manner of the Lacedaemonians, to deale in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatnesse, they sought to oppresse: but now they complained of that, as falshood, in *Pyrhus*, which they alwaies practised in wisdom, till it made them distrustful, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Neuerthelesse, they were not wanting to themselves in this dangerous extremitie. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne, causing such as could beare armes, to reserue themselves fresh against the assault: which *Pyrhus* had vnwisely deferred, vpon assurance of preuailing.

Sparta was neuer fortified, before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: soon after this, (it being built vpon vneuen ground, and for the most part, hard to approach) the lower & more accessible places, were fenced with wals; at the present, only trenches were cast, & barricadoes made with Carts, where the entrance seemed most easie. Three daies together it was assailed by *Pyrhus*, exceeding fiercely; and no lesse stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preferred the Town the first day, vntill the violence of *Pyrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindefull of saving the person of their King, than of breaking into the City, though already they had

come

come in sander the Barricadoes. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captaines got into Sparta with a good strength of men, and *Arenus* the king returned out of Crete (where hee had beene helping his friends in warre) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Countie stood, vntill hee was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the Spartans, than kindle in *Pyrhus* a desire to preuaile against all impediments. But the third daies worke shewed, how great his error had beene, in forbearing to assault the Towne at his first comming. For he was so manfully repelled, that he saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an Armie, though not strong enough to meete the enemy in plaine field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made *Pyrhus* doubtfull what way to take; being diuersly affected, by the difficultie of his enterprise in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilst hee was thus perplexed, letters came from Argos, inuicing him thither; with promise to deliuer that City into his hands.

Ciuill dissention raging then hotly in Argos, caused the heads of seuerall factions to call in *Pyrhus* & *Antigonus*; but the coming of these two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hand of such powerfull Assistants, as each of the two kings pretended himselfe to bee. *Antigonus* told the Argiues, that he came to saue them from the tyranny of *Pyrhus*: and that hee would bee gone if they needed not his helpe. On the other side, *Pyrhus* would needes perswade them, that hee had none other errand, than to make them safe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

The Argiues tooke small pleasure, in hearing the Foxe and Kite at strife, which of them should keepe the Chickens from his enemy: and therefore prayed them both, to diuert their powers some other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condescended, and gaue Hostages to assure his word: for hee was the weaker, and stood in neede of good will. But *Pyrhus* thought it enough to promise: Hostages hee would giue none, to his inferiours: especially, meaning deceit. This made them suspect his purpose to bee such, as, indeede, it was. Yet hee lesse regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of assurance, by giuing such a bond, as he intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citie should bee opened by night vnto *Pyrhus*, by his Complices within Argos: which was accordingly performed. So his Armie without any tumult, entred the Citie: till the Elephants, with Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to passe the Gate. The taking off, and setting on againe, of those towers, with the trouble thereto belonging; did both giue alarme to the Citie, and some leasure to take order for defence, before so many were entred, as could fully master it. Argos was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the Gauls (that had the Vanguard) being ignorant of the wayes, in the darke night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much aduantage, by their knowledge of euery by-passage: and setting vpon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great losse, and more trouble.

Pyrhus therefore, vnderstanding by the confused noyse, and vnequall shoutings of his owne men, that they were in distresse, entred the Citie in person, to take order for their reliefe, and assurance of the place. But the darknesse, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, vntill breake of day. Then began he to make his passage by force, and so farre preuailed, that he got into the Market place. It is said, that seeing in that place, the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in such posture as if they had beene combattant, hee called to minde an Oracle, which threatened him with death, when he should behold a Bull fighting with a Wolfe: and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indeede, the coming of *Antigonus* to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his owne men; with diuers ill accidents, gaue him reasonable cause to haue retired out of the City, though the Wolfe and Bull had beene away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gaue backe, so did others thrust forward, and the Argiues pressing hard vpon him, forced *Pyrhus* to make good his retreat, with his owne sword.

sword. The tops of the houses were covered with women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her owne son in dangdrous case; fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore, she took a tile-stone, or slate, and threw it so violently down on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to ground astonished with the blow, and lying in that case, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the restless ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life. And thus returned the Kingdome of Macedon to *Antigonus*; who forthwith possessed the armie, the body, and the children of his enemy. The body of *Pyrrhus* had honourable buriall, and was given by *Antigonus* vnto *Helennus* his son; which yong Prince he graciously sent home, into his fathers Kingdome of Epirus. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdome of Macedon; the posterity of *Seleucus* reigned ouer Asia and Syria; and the house of *Ptolomie* had quiet possession of Egypt: vntill such tyme, as the Citie of Rome, swallowing all vp, digested these, among other Countries, into the body of her owne Empire.

Finis Libri quarti.



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM
the setled rule of *ALEXANDERS* Successers in the
East, vntill the *ROMANS*, preuailing ouer all,
made Conquest of *ASIA* and
MACEDON.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Punicke Warre.

§. I.

Adiusion of that probleme of Liuius; Whether the Romans could haue resisted the great Alexander. That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equall valour to the English.



THAT question handled by *Liuius*, whether the great Alexander could haue preuailed against the Romans, if after his *Battle* conquest, he had bent all his forces against them, hath bin, & is, the subiect of much dispute; which (as it seemes to me) the arguments on both sides doe not so well expaine, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath giuen of the Roman power, in his dayes. For, if he, a Commander (in *Hannibals* iudgement) inferior to Alexander, though to none else, could with small strength of men, & little store of money, or of other needfull helpes in warre, vanquish them in two battailes, and endanger their Estate, when it was well setled, & held the best part of *Italie*, vnder a confirmed obedience: what would Alexander haue done, that was abundantly prouided of all which is needfull to a Conquerour, wanting onely matter of employment, comming vpon them before their Dominion was halfe so well setled? It is easie to say, that Alexander had no more, than thirty thousand foot, & foure thousand horse (as indeede, at his first passage into *Asia*, he carried ouer, not many more,) and that the rest of his followers were no better than base effeminate *Asiaticques*. But he that considers the Armes of *Perdicus*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes* *Ptolomie*, *Antigonus*, and *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, euery one of which (to omit others) commanded onely some fragment of this dead Emperours power, shall easily finde, that such a reckoning is farre short of the truth.

It were needlesse to speake of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of batterie, and
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the like: of all which, the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having nought, save men and armes. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punicke* warre, were trained, in the rudiments of Navigation; sitting vpon the shore, and beating the sand with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oare, as not daring to launch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; wil easily conceiue, how farre too weake they would haue proued in such seruices.

Now for helpers in warre; I doe not see, why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not wel deserue to be layd in ballance, against those parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subiection. To omit therefore all benefit, that the Easterne world, more wealthy, indeede, than valiant, could haue afforded vnto the *Macedonian*: let vs onely coniecture, how the States of *Sicill* and *Carthage*, neere neighbours to such a quarrell (had it happened) would haue stood affected. The *Sicilians* were, for the most part, *Grecians*, neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily haue submitted themselves vnto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what termes they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is that *Alexanders* comming into those parts, would haue brought excessive ioy, to them that were faine to get the helpe of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his subiects. As for the *Carthaginians*; if *Agathocles*, the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne besieged Citie, could, by aduenturing to faile into *Africke*, put their Dominion, yea and *Carthage* it selfe, in extreme hazard; shall we thinke that they would haue bene able to withstand *Alexander*? But, why doe I question their abilitie, seeing that they sent Embassadors, with their submission, as farre as *Babylon*, ere the warre drew neere them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some other few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none, that forsooke them not, at some time, both before and after this) haue opposed their valour, and good militarie discipline, against the power of all Countries, to them knowne, if they would haue made resistance. How they could haue sped well, in vntaking such a match; it is vncasie to finde in discourse of humane reason. It is true, that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is against cowardly fooles, and the vnforgotten: for whosoeuer contends with one too mightie for him; either must excell in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or else must looke, both to be ouercome, and to be cast downe so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman*, or the *Macedonian*, were in those dayes the better Souldier, I will not take vpon me to determine: though I might, without partialitie, deliuer mine owne opinion, and preferre that Armie, which followed not onely *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of warre; before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune; who can giue a rule that shall alwayes hold? *Alexander* was victorious in euery battaile that he fought: and the *Romans* in the issue of euery warre. But foras much as *Linie* hath iudged this a matter worthy of consideration; I thinke it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italy*: where in three yeares after his death, the two *Roman* Consuls, together with all the power of that State, were surprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yeeld vp their armes. We may therefore permit *Linie* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Captaines of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equall to his followers: that the same conceit should blind our iudgement, we cannot permit without much vanitie.

Now in deciding such a controuersie, me thinkes it were not amisse, for an *Englishman*, to giue such a sentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) betwene the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that strove about a piece of land, saying, That it belonged vnto neither of them, but vnto the *Romans* themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman*, were the best Warriour? I will answer: The *Englishmen*. For it will soone appeare, to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no aduantage of weapon; against no savage or vnmanly people; the enemy being farre superiour vnto vs in number, and all needefull prouisions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of warre.

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In what sort *Philip* wan his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Persians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquished; as likewise of what sorte the *Macedonian* *Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, against such armes as are commonly encountered: any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing storie of them, doth sufficiently vnderstand. Yet was this *Phalanx* neuer, or very seldome, able to stand, against the *Roman* Armies: which were embattailed in so excellent a forme, as I know not, whether any Nation besides them haue vsed, either before or since. The *Roman* weapons likewise, both offensive and defensive, were of greater vse, than those with which any other Nation hath serued, before the fiery instruments of Gun-powder were knowne. As for the enemies, with which *Rome* had to doe: we finde, that they, which did ouer-match her in numbers, were as farre ouer-matched by her, in weapons, and that they, of whom she had little aduantage in armes, had as little aduantage of her in multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well obserueth) was a part of her happinesse; that she was neuer ouer-laid with too great warres at once.

Hereby it came to passe, that hauing at first increased her strength, by accession of the *Sabines*; hauing won the State of *Alba*, against which she aduentured her owne selfe, as it were in wager, vpon the heads of three Champions: and hauing thereby made her selfe Princess of *Latiun*: she did afterwards, by long warre, in many ages, extend her Dominion ouer all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well-neare oppressed her: but her Souldiers were Mercenarie; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their own doores. The *Ætolians*, and with them all, or the most of *Greece*, assisted her against *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his helpe, to beat the same *Ætolians*. The warres against *Antiochus*, and other *Asiaticques*, were such as gaue to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of ioy: for those opposites were as bafe of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicill*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands, by vsing her aide, to protect them against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not neede to speake of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when she had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I say, That among all their wars, I finde not any, wherein their valour hath appeared, comparable to the *English*. If my iudgement seeme ouer-partiall; our warres in *France* may helpe to make it good.

First, therefore it is well knowne, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world besides) had neuer any so braue a Commander in warre, as *Iulius Cesar*: and that no *Roman* armie was comparable vnto that, which serued vnder the same *Cesar*. Likewise, it is apparant, that this gallant Armie, which had giuen faire prooffe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* warre, when it first entred into *Gaul*; was neuertheless vtterly disheartned, when *Cesar* led it against the *German*s. So that we may iustly impute, all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Cesars* men, to their long exercise, vnder so good a Leader, in so great a war. Now let vs in generall, compare with the deedes done by these best of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principall seruice, the things performed in the same Countrie, by our common *English* Souldiers, leui'd in haste, from following the Cart, or sitting on the shop-stall: so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deale fairely, and belecue *Cesar*, in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Historians to witnesse, what actions were performed by the *English*. In *Cesars* time, *France* was inhabited by the *Gauls*, a stout people, but inferior to the *French*, by whom they were subdued; euen when the *Romans* gaue them assistance. The Countrie of *Gaul* was rent in sunder (as *Cesar* witnesseth) into many Lordships: some of which were gouerned by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such sort as might make it applicable to the nearest Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not onely in generall through the whole Countrie, but betwene the petty States, yea in euery Citie, and almost in euery house. What greater aduantage could a Conquerour desire? Yet there was a greater. *Ariouistus*, with his *German*s, had ouer-run the Countrie, and held much part of it in subiection, little different from meere slavery: yea, so often had the *German*s preuailed in warre vpon the *Gauls*, that the *Gauls* (who had sometimes bene the better Souldiers) did hold themselves no way equall to those daily Inuaders. Had *France* bene so prepared vnto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it selfe, by this time, and long ere this

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the Islands in the Mediterranean Sea, to the west of Sicill; and of Sicill, the better part. It flourished about seven hundred and thirty yeares, before the destruction thereof by Scipio: who besides other spoiles, and all that the Souldiers referred, carried thence four hundred and seventy thousand weight of silver, which make of our money (if our pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious Citie ran the same fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest pieces of the world, fore-shewes the dissolution of the whole.

About one hundred yeares after such time as it was cast downe, the Senate of Rome caused it to be rebuilt: and by Gracchus it was called *Iunonia*: it was againe and againe abandoned and repeopled, taken and retaken; by Gensericus the Vandal, by Belisarius under Iustinian, by the Persians, by the Egyptians, and by the Arabians. It is now nothing. The seat thereof was exceeding strong: and while the Carthaginians commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compassed it about, saving that it was tied to the maine by a necke of land; which passage had two mile and more of breadth (Appian saith, three mile, and one furlong) by which we may be induced, to beleue the common report, that the Citie it selfe was about twenty miles in compass; if not that of Strabo, affirming the circuit to have been twice as great.

It had three wals, without the wall of the Citie; and betwene each of those, three or four streets, with vaults vnder ground, of thirty foot deepe, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: ouer these they had stables for four thousand horse, & Granaries for their prouender. They had also lodgings in these streets, betwene these out-walles for four thousand horse-men, and twentie thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline vsed now by those of China) neuer pestered the Citie. It had towards the South part, the Castle of *Byrsa*, to which Scrinus giues two and twentie furlongs in compass, that make two mile and a halfe. This was the same piece of ground, which Dido obtained of the Libyans, when she got leave to buy only so much Land of them, as she could compass with an Oxe hide. On the west side it had also the salt Sea, but in the nature of a standing poole; for a certaine arme of Land, fastned to the ground, on which the Citie stood, stretched it selfe towards the west continent, and left but twenty foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this standing Sea was built a most sumptuous Arsenal, hauing their ships and gallies riding vnder it.

The forme of their Common-weale resembled that of Sparta; for they had titularie Kings, and the Aristocratically power of Senators. But (as Reginus well obserueth) the people in later times vsurped too great authoritie in their Councils. This confusion in gouernement, together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruin, were their auarice and their cruelty. Their auarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinary tributes) the one halfe of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not vpon gentle & mercifull persons, but vpon those who could best tyrannize ouer the people, to augment their treasures. Their cruelty appeared, in putting them to death without mercy, that had offended through ignorance: the one of these rendred them odious to their vassals, whom it made ready, vpon all occasions to revolt from them: the other did breake the spirits of their Generals, by presenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to passe, that many good Commanders of the Carthaginian forces, after some great losse received, haue desperately cast themselves with all that remained vnder their charge, into the throat of destruction, holding it necessary, either to repaire their losses quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them haue dared to manage their owne best proiects, after that good forme, wherein they first conceived them, for feare lest the manner of their proceeding should be misinterpreted: It being the Carthaginian rule, to crucifie, not only the vnhappy Captaine, but euen him, whose bad counsaile had prosperous euent. The faults, whether in generall, they of Carthage are taxed, by Roman Historians, I finde to be these; lust, cruelty, auarice, craft, vnfaithfulness, and periurie. Whether the Romans

themselves

themselves were free from the same crimes, let the triall be referred vnto their actions. The first league between Carthage and Rome, was very ancient: hauing bin made, the yeare following the expulsion of Tarquine. In that league, the Carthaginians had the superiority, as imposing vpon the Romans, the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the Romans should not so much as haue trade, in some part of Affrick, nor suffer any ship of theirs to passe beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *saire Promontorie*, vnlesse it were by force of tempest: whereas on the other side, no Hauen in *Italie* was forbidden to the Carthaginians. A second league was made long after, which (howsoever it hath pleased Linie to say, that the Romans granted it, at the Carthaginians intreatie) was more strict than the former: prohibiting the Romans to haue trade in any part of Affrick, or in the Island of Sardinia.

By these two treaties, it may appeare that the Carthaginians had an intent not only to keepe the Romans (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the state of Affrick; but to countenance & vphold them, in their troubling all Italy, whereby they themselves might haue the better meanes to occupie all Sicill, vvhilst that Island should be destitute of Italian succours. Hereupon we find good cause, of the ioy that was in Carthage, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twenty and five pound, sent from thence to Rome, vvhhen the Samnites were ouerthrowne. But the little state of Rome preuailed faster in Italy, than the great power of Carthage did in Sicill. For that mighty Armie of three hundred thousand men, which Hannibal conducted out of Affrick into Sicill, was only two Cities therein: many great fleets were denoued by tempests; and howsoever the Carthaginians preuailed at one time, the Sicilians, either by their owne valour, or by the assistance of their good friends out of Greece, did at some other time repaire their owne losses, & take reuenge vpon those Inuaders. But neuer were the people of Carthage in better hope of getting all Sicill, than when the death of Agathocles the Tyrant, had left the whole Island in combustion; the estate of Greece being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible, for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilst the Carthaginians were busie, in making their aduantage, of this good opportunity, Pyrrhus, invited by the Tarentines, and their fellowes, came into Italy, where he made sharp warre vpon the Romans. These newes were vnpleasing to the Carthaginians, who, being a subtle Nation, easily foresaw, that the same busie disposition, vvhich had brought this Prince out of Greece into Italy, would as easily transport him ouer into Sicill, as soone as he could finish his Roman warre. To preuent this danger, they sent Mago Embassador to Rome, vvhho declared in their name, that they were sorry to heare, vvhath misaduenture had befallen the Romans, their good freinds, in this war with Pyrrhus; and that the people of Carthage were very willing to assist the state of Rome, by sending an Army into Italy, if their helpe were thought needfull, against the Epirots.

It was indeed, the maine desire of the Carthaginians, to hold Pyrrhus so hardly to his worke in Italy, that they might at good leisure, pursue their businesse in Sicill: vvhich caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the Romans were too high-minded: and refused to accept any such aide of their friends, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seeme vnable to stand by their owne strength. Yet the message was taken longly, as it ought; and the former league betwene Rome and Carthage renewed, with covenants added, concerning the present businesse; That if either of the two Cities made peace with Pyrrhus, it should be with reseruatiou of liberty, to assist the other, in case that Pyrrhus should inuade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same Mago went and treated with Pyrrhus, vsing all meanes to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one vpon euery new occasion changeth his owne purposes) yet Pyrrhus found leisure to make a steppe into Sicill: wher, though in fine he was neither getter nor sauer, yet he cleane defeated the power of Carthage, leauing them at his departure from thence, as farre from any end, as when they first began.

So many disasters, in an enterprize, that from the first vndertaking had bin so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well haue induced the Carthaginians to beleue, that an higher prouidence resisted their intendment. But their desire, of winning that fruitfull Island, was so inueterate, that with vnwearied patience, they still continued in hope, of so much the greater an harvest, by how much their cost and paines therein buried had bin the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and

a In Pol. Hist. l. 2. c. 9.
b The Targers, at this day, doe also take the one halfe of the poore mans corne, that labors the earth: yea, they take tribute both of the bodies, and of the soules of the Christians their Vassals, by bereauing them of their ablest children, and bringing them vp in the Mahometan Religion. The Irish take the fourth share: and were wont to cate vp with their horsemen, footmen, and dogges, what they pleased, of the other three parts remaining. The husbandman and the yeoman of England, are the freest of all the World. And reason good: for of them haue the bodies of our victorious armies bin compounded. And it is the freeman, and not the slave, that hath courage and the sense of shame deferred by cowardise.
How free the English yeomen haue bene, in times, not long since past, Pyrrhus hath shewed in his praise of our Countreys laws. But I may say, that they are more free now than euer: and our Nobilitie and Gentrie more secure. For, since the excuse of bravery, and vaine experience of our Countreys, hath taught them to raise their Rents, since by Inclosures, and dismembring of Mannours, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Princes of the Countreys haue bene dissolved, the Tenants, hauing payed into their Lords their racke Rents, are themselves at all, and (perchance) a little looe.

Liu. Dec. l. 7.

Xenoph. Grac. hist. l. 1.

and by force by practice, recovered in few yeares, all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, that so they might the better enable themselves to deale with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had serued vnder *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messana* as friends, & finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, tooke aduantage of the power that they had to doe wrong; and with perfidious crueltie, slew those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wiues, of those, whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meere desperation, of finding any that would approue their barbarous treachery, added rage vnto their stoutnelle. Hauing therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than the law of the stronger, they ouer-ranne all the Countrey round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend *Messana* against the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate; to wit, against the *Syracusians*, and others, but they rather wan vpon them, yea, and vpon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbor places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her backe to these *Mamertines*, the *Syracusians* wan fast vpon them, & finally, confining them within the walls of *Messana*, they also with a powerfull Armie besieged the Citie. It hapned ill, that about the same time, a contention began, betweene the *Syracusan* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and Gouernors of the Common-wealth; which proceeded so far, that the Armie elected two Gouernours among themselves, to wit, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his yeares excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrary to the policie of that State, to approue any election made by the Souldiers, yet for the great clemencie he vsed at his first entrance, was by generall consent established and made Gouernour. This Office, he rather vsed as a Scale, thereby to clime to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preferment.

In briefe, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himselfe within the Citie; and somewhat without it, that gaue impediment, to his obtaining, and safe keeping, of the place he sought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troupes of Souldiers without; often and easily moued to sedition & tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himselfe, he tooke to wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest estimation and authoritie among the *Syracusians*. For the second, leading out the Armie to besiege *Messana*, he quartered all those Companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the Citie; and leading the rest of his horse and foot vnto the other side, as if he would haue assailed it in two severall parts, he marched away vnder the couert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cur in pieces by the assieged: So returning home, and leuying an Armie of his owne Citizens, well trayned and obedient, he hastned againe towards *Messana*, & was by the *Mamertines* (grown proud by their former victory over the Mutiners) incouraged in the plains of *Mylenus*, where he obtained a most glorious victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captiue into *Syracuse*, himselfe by common consent was elected and saluted King. Here vpon the *Mamertines*, finding themselves vtterly infeebled, some of them resolved to giue themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to craue assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom, the severall factions dispatched Embassadors for the very same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soone ready to lay hold vpon the good offer: so that a Capitaine of theirs got into the Castle of *Messana*, whereof they that had sent for him gaue him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement; that this Capitaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doores, and the Towne rescued for other Masters.

These newes did much offend the people of *Carthage*, who crucified their Capitaine, as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Armie to besiege *Messana*, as a Towne that rebelled, hauing once bin theirs. *Hieron*, the new-made King of *Syracuse* (to gratifie his people, incensed with the smart of injuries lately receiued) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entred in to a league, for exterminating the *Mamertines*.

Mamertines out of *Sicil*. So the *Mamertines* on all sides were closed vp within *Messana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Nauie at Sea, and with an Armie on the one side of the Towne, whilst *Hieron* with his *Syracusians*, lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger, came *Appius Claudius* the Roman Consul, with an Armie to the streights of *Sicil*: which passing by night with notable audacitie; he put himselfe into the Towne, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying vnto them, that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to giue them protection, euen by force of warre, if reason would not preuaile.

This message was vtterly neglected; And so beganne the vvarre betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein, it will then be time to shew, on which part was the iustice of the quarrell, when some actions of the *Romans* lately foregoing this, haue beene first considered.

§. III.

The beginning of the first Punick Warre. That it was vnjustly undertaken by the *Romans*.

When *Pyrrhus* began his wars in *Italie*, the Citie of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirots*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize vpon it in that busie time, sought aide from the *Romans*, & obtained from them a Legion, consisting of 4. thousand Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a Roman Prefect; by whom they were defended & assured for the present. But after a while, this Roman Garrison, considering at good leisure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Messana*, (a Citie in *Sicil*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwise diuided than by a narrow Sea, which seuereth it from *Italie*) and rather weighing the greatnesse of the bootie, than the odiousnesse of the villanie, by which it was gotten; resolved finally, to make the like purchase, by taking the like wicked course. Confederating therefore themselves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; diuiding the spoile, and all which that State had, among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the world made a more seuerer profession of iustice, than they did, during all the time of their growing greatnesse) resolved, after a while, to take reuenge vpon the offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italie* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulness of their fact, hopelesse of pardon) defended themselves with an obstinate resolution: yet in the end, the assailants forced them; and those which escaped the present furie, were brought bound to *Rome*, where, after the vsuall torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custome of the Countrey, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders; and the people of *Rhegium* were againe restored to their former libertie and estates.

This execution of Iustice being newly performed, and the same thereof sounding honourably through all quarters of *Italie*: messengers came to *Rome*, from *Messana*, desiring helpe against the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracusians*, that were in a readinesse to inflict the like punishment vpon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. A very impudent request it was, which they made: who hauing both giuen example of that villanie to the Roman Souldiers, and helpen them with ioint forces to make it good, doe intreat the Iudges to giue them that assistance, which they were wont to receiue from their fellow-theues.

The *Romans* could not suddenly resolve, whether the vway of honestie or of profit, were to be followed; they euermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered, how contrary the course of succouring the *Mamertines* was to their former counsells, and actions: seeing for the same offences they had lately put to torment, and to the sword, their owne Souldiers, and restored the oppressed to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the description of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the best part of *Africa*, of the Mediterran Ilands, of a great part of *Spain*; and some part of *Sicil* it selfe; whilst also they feared, that *Syracuse* therein

therein seated (a Citie in beauty and riches, little, at that time, inferiour to *Carthage*, and farre superiour to *Rome* it selfe) might become theirs; the safetie of their owne estate spake for these *Mamertines*: who, if they (driuen to despair by the *Romans*) should deliuer vp *Messana*, with those other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand betweene *Carthage*, and the Lordship of *Sicil*: for *Syracuse* it selfe could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten vpon that passage from the maine Land. It was further considered; that the opportunity of *Messana* was such, as would not onely debarre all succours out of the continent, from arriuall in *Sicil*; but would serue as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might haue entrance into *Italie*, at their owne pleasure.

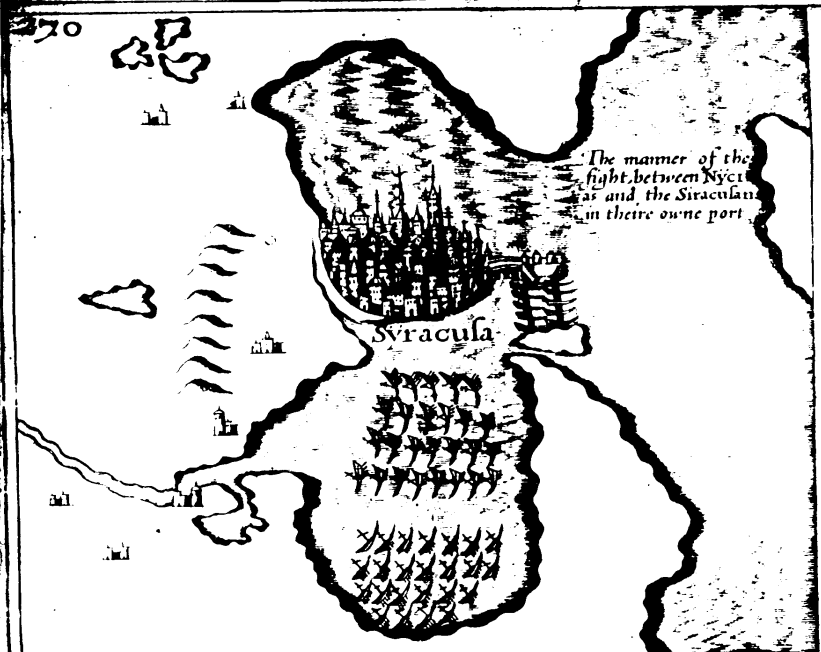
These considerations, of profit at hand, and of preuenting dangers, that threatened from a farre, did so preuaile, about all regard of honestie, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacie with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consull, presently dispatcht away from *Messana*: into which he entred, and vnder-tooke the protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arriuall; and lesse moued, with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did farre exceede him in number of men; The whole Iland was ready to relieue them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Towne. All this *Appius* himselfe well vnderstood: and against all this he thought the stiffemetall of his *Roman* Souldier, a sufficient remedie. Therefore, he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his comming vvas to send them away from the Towne; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieue another in distresse. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, wherein to he had wilfully cast his owne mutinous followers, not long before: onely he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by vnexpected sallie, to surprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battaile, wherewith he presented him. The *Syracusan* wanted not courage to fight; but surely, he wanted good aduice: else would he not haue hazarded all his power against an enemy, of whom he had made no triall; when it had beene easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that he thought to get honor, wherewith to adorn the beginning of his reigne. But he was well beaten, and driuen to saue himselfe within his Trenches: by which losse, he learned a point of wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in good stead, all the daies of his life. It was a foolish desire of reuenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so busie, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

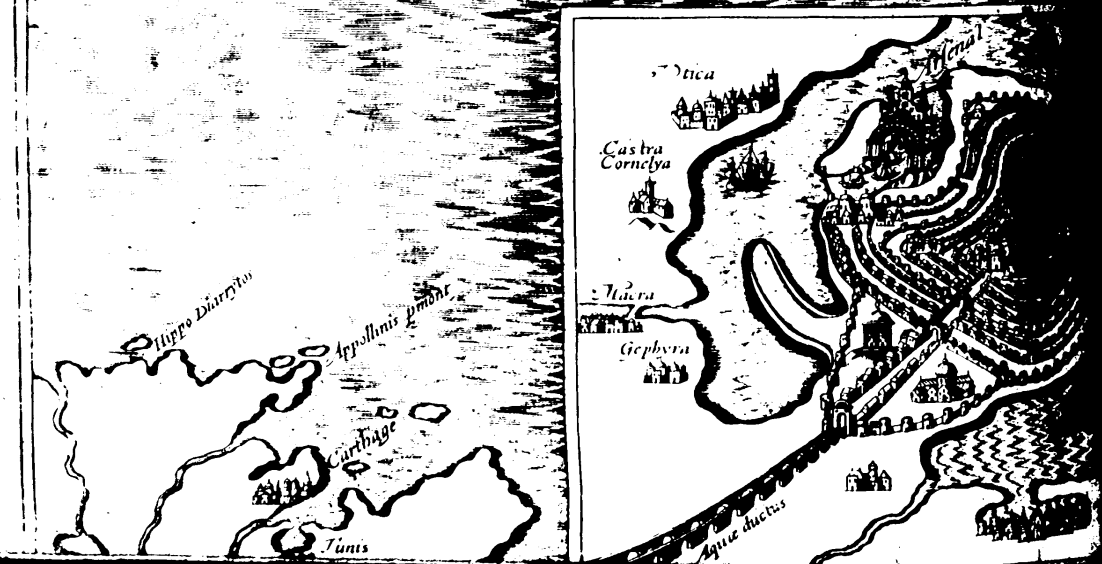
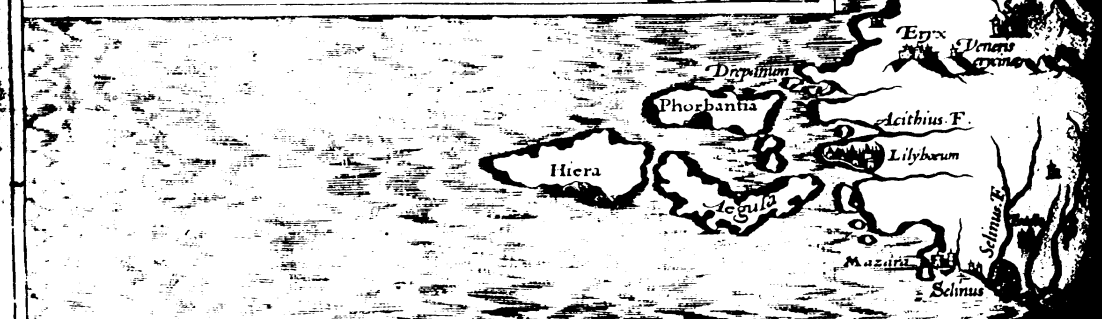
Had *Messana* bin taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it selfe must haue sought helpe from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mightie Cities) but a small stocke, which it behooued him to gouerne well: such another losse would haue made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake vp his Campe, and retired home: intending to let them stand to their aduentures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiuing the *Sicilian* Armie gone, did with great courage, and with much alacritie of his souldiers, giue charge vpon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enemy forsooke both field and campe, leauing all the Countie open to the *Romans*; who hauing spoyled all round, without resistance, intended to lay siege vnto the great Citie of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoeuer they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes, of attaining to greater matters, than at the first they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour in the Citie of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost, than what had bin prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, without any suspition of Warre from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this warre; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honesty (for questionlesse the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict tearmes of lawfulness; whereupon they built all



The manner of the
fight between Nicias
and the Siraculans
in their owne port



all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yeeld themselves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde, how the messengers of those folke, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendrie, in the publike name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull surrendrie of themselves and their possessions, were become subiect vnto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assist the *Mamertines*, against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might haue aided the *Campanes*, against the *Samnites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point seruing to cleare this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtlesse it is, that no company of Pyrates, Theeues, Out-lawes, Murderers, or such other malefactors, can by any good successe of their villanie, obtaine the priuiledge of ciuill societies, to make league or truce, yea or to require faire warre: but are by all meanes, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take vpon me, to maintaine that opinion of some *Ciuitians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince, or State, can giue protection to such as these, as long as any other is vsing the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessary to their crimes. Wherefore, we may esteeme this action of the *Romans*, so farre from being iustificable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of Murderers and Theeues, into their protection, they iustly deserued to be warred vpon themselves, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Messana* had bin taken, and the *Mamertines* all slaine; ere any newes of the Confederacie had bene brought vnto the besiegers. The great *Alexander* was so farre perswaded heerein; that he did put to sword all the *Branchiada* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their Citie, notwithstanding that they ioyfully entertained him as their Lord and King, because they were descended from a Companie of *Milesiens*, who to gratifie king *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and Countie, which these of their posteritie enioyed. Neuerthelesse, in course of humane iustice, long and peaceable possession giues *ius acquisitum*, a kind of right by prescription, vnto that which was first obtained by wicked meanes: and doth free the descendants, from the crime of their Ancestors, whose villanies they doe not exerceise. But that the same generation of Theeues, which by a detestable fact hath purchased a rich Towne, should be acknowledged a lawfull companie of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For euen the Conquerour, that by open warre obtaineth a Kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by those victories which gaue him first possession: but length of time is requisite, to establish him, vnlesse by some alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claime; as did our King *Henric* the first, by his marriage with *Maude*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Matargaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Iron-side*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had so good) of iustice, in this quarrell, than had the *Gotbes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandalls*, and other Nations, of the warres that they made vpon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her selfe, in the time of her visitation, was burnt to the ground.

S. II II.

Of the Iland of *Sicil*,

§. I.

The qualitie of the Iland: and the first inhabitants thereof.

THE defence of the *Mamertines*, or the possession of *Messana*, being now no longer, since the first victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage*, are about to contend: it will be agreeable vnto the order, which in the like cases wee haue obserued, to make a briefe collection, of things, concerning that noble Iland, which hath bene the stage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this present Warre..

That

That *Sicil* was sometimes a *Peninsula*, or *Demie-Isle*, adioyned to *Italie*, as a part of *Bruttium* in *Calabria*, neere vnto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempest severed from the same: it is a generall opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this diuision happened, there is no memoriall remaining, in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Dionysius*, affirme, that it was caused by an earthquake; *Silius* and *Cassiodorus*, doe thinke it to haue beene done by the rage and violence of the tide, and furies of the Sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was *Eubœa* severed from *Æolia*; *Atalante* and *Macris*, from *Eubœa*; *Siblie* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Cornwall*; and *Britaine* it selfe (as may seeme by *Veslegahs* arguments) from the opposite continent of *Gaul*. But for *Sicil*, they which lend their cares to fables, doe attribute the cause of it to *Nep-tune* (as *Eustathius* witnesseth) who with his three-forked Mace, in fauour of *Æolus*, the sonne of *Æolus*, diuided it from the maine land, and so made it an Island, which before was but a *Demie-Isle*; that by that meanes, he might the more safely inhabite, and possesse the same. *Diodorus Siculus*, moued by the authoritie of *Hesiodus*, ascribeth the labour of fundering it from *Italie*, to *Orion*: who, that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountains) first opened the *Sicilian* streights, as *Hercules* did those of *Gibraltar*.

They which value the Islands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantitie and content, doe make this the greatest, as *Eustathius* and *Strabo*, who affirme this, not onely to excell the rest for bignesse, but also for goodnesse of soyle. As concerning the forme of this Island, *Pomponius Mela* saith, it is like that Capitall letter of the *Greeke*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally knowne to be true. That the whole Island was consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, all old writers with one consent affirme. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of setting and sowing of Corne: to *Proserpina*, not so much, for that she was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as because (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Pluto*, as soone as she, vncouering her selfe, first shewed her selfe to be seene of him, gaue her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertilitie and riches of this Countrey, there is a famous testimonie written by *Cicero*, in his second Oration against *Verres*, where he saith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granarie*, and *Store-house of the Common-wealth*, and the *Nurse of the vulgar sort*. The same *Cicero* doth adde in that place; that it was not onely the store-house of the people of *Rome*; but also that it was a well-furnished treasure. For without any cost or charge of ours (saith he) it hath vsually cloathed, maintained, and furnished, our greatest Armies, with leather, apparell, and corne. *Strabo* reporteth almost the same thing of it. Whatsoeuer *Sicilie* doth yeeld (saith *Solinus*) whether by the Sunne, and temperature of the aire, or by the industrie and labour of man, it is accounted next vnto those things that are of best estimation: were it not that such things, as the earth first putteth forth, are extremely ouer-growne with saffron. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that in the fields neere vnto *Leontium*, and in diuers other places of this Island, wheat doth grow of it selfe without any labour, or looking to of the husbandman. *Martianus* sheweth, that there were in it fixe Colonies, and fixtie Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found scatteringly in many good Authors.

Now besides many famous acts, done by the people of this Island, as well in peace as warre; there be many other things, which haue made it very renowned, as the birth of *Ceres*; the rauishing of *Proserpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the mount *Etna*, *Scylla*, & *Charybdis*, with other antiquities, and rarities; besides those learned men, the noble Mathematician *Archimedes*, the famous Geometrician *Euclides*, the painfull Historian *Diodorus*; and *Empedocles* the deepe Philosopher.

That *Sicil* was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants *Laestrigones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and vnciuill; all histories and fables doe ioynly with one consent auerre. Yet *Thucydides* saith, that these sauage people dwelt onely in one part of the Island. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spaine*, possessed it. That these *Sicani* were not bredde in the Isle (although some so thinke,) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* doe very constantly auouch.

Of these it was named *Sicania*. These *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driuen by the *Pelassi* from their owne seates, and finding no place vpon the Continent, which they were able to

master and inhabite, passed over into this Island, three hundred yeeres before the *Greekes* sent any Colonies thither: and (saith *Philistus*) eighty yeeres before the fall of *Troy*. These *Siculi* gaue the name of *Sicilia*, to the Island; and making warre vpon the *Sicani*, draue them from the East and Northerne part thereof, into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the Citie *Zancle*, afterward called *Messena*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Syracuse* it selfe, beating from thence the *Ætolians*, who long before had set vpon a Towne in that place. As for the name of *Syracuse*, it was not knowne, till such times as *Archias*, of *Corinth* (long after) wonne that part of the Island from the *Siculi*. Neither did the *Siculi* at their first arriuall dispossesse the *Ætolians* thereof, but some hundred yeeres after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named, with *Nex*, *Hybla*, *Trynacia*, and diuers others.

After these *Siculi* came another nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*, who were thence driuen by the *Oenotrians*. These sate downe in that part of *Sicil*, where they afterward raised the Cities of *Morgentum*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were diuided, and by a ciuill war greatly infiebled. Among these ancient stories, we finde the last voyage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Creet*: *Thucydides*, an Historian of vnquestionable sinceritie, reports of *Minos*, that he made conquest of many Islands: and some such businesse, perhaps drew him into *Sicil*. But the common report is, that he came thither in pursuit of *Dadalus*. The tale goes thus: *Dadalus* fleeing the reuenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil* to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*, & during his abode there, he built a place of great strength, neere vnto *Megara*, for *Cocalus*, to lay vp his treasure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a *Kamine* in gold, that was set vp in the Temple of *Venus Erycina*, which hee did with so great Art, as those that beheld it, thought it rather to bee liuing, than counterfeite.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dadalus*, prepares to invade the Territories of *Cocalus*; but when he was arriued, *Cocalus* doubting his owne strength, promiseth to deliuer *Dadalus*. This he performes not, but in the meane while, kills *Minos* by treason, and perswades the *Cretans*, *Minos* his followers, to inhabite a part of *Sicil*; the better (as it seems) to strengthen himselfe against the *Siculi*. Hereunto the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gaue their consent, and builded for themselves the Citie of *Minda*, after the name of their King *Minos*. After, they likewise builded the Towne of *Engium*, now called *Gange*; and these were the first Cities, built by the *Greekes* in *Sicil*, about two ages before the warre of *Troy*; for the grand-children of *Minos* serued with the *Greekes* at the siege thereof.

But after such time as the *Cretans* vnderstood, that their King had by treason beene made away; they gathered together a great Armie, to invade *Cocalus*: and landing neere vnto *Camicus*, they besieged the same five yeeres, but in vaine. In the end (being forced to returne, without any reuenge taken) they were wrackt on the coast of *Italie*; and hauing no meanes to repaire their ships, nor the honour they had lost, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, betwene the two famous Ports of *Brundisium* & *Tarentum*. Of these *Cretans* came those Nations, afterward called *Iapyges* and *Messapii*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Agestus* and *Elymus*, brought with them certaine troops into *Sicil*; and seated themselves among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of *Agesta* and *Elyma*.

It is said, that *Æneas* visited these places in his passage into *Italie*; and that some of the *Troianes*, his followers, were left behinde him, in these Townes of *Sicil*: whereof there want not good Authors, that make *Æneas* himselfe the founder.

About the same time, the *Phoenicians* seized vpon the Promontories of *Pachinus*, & *Lilybaum*, & vpon certaine small Isles adioyning to the maine land: which they fortified, to secure the trades that they had with the *Sicilians*, like as the *Portugals* haue done in the East India, at *Goa*, *Ormus*, *Mosambiq*; and other places. But the *Phoenicians* staid not there; for after they had once assured their descents, they built the goodly Citie of *Pactenium*, now called *Palermia*.

These we finde were the Nations that inhabited the Isle of *Sicil*, before the warre of *Troy*, and ere the *Greekes* in any numbers began to straggle in those parts. It may perchance seeme strange to the Reader, that in all ancient storie, he findes one

Saxo Gramma-
ticus.

Totale Re-
furrexio.
Saxo Gramma-
ticus.

* Syracus, as
Cicero testifies,
was the great-
est and most
goodly City
of all that the
Greeks posselt.
For the situa-
tion is both
strong, and of
an excellent
prospect from
every entrance,
by Land, or
Sea. The Port
was (for the
most part) en-
circled with
beautiful build-
ings: and that
part which
was without
the City, was
on both sides
bankt up, and
furnished with
beautiful walls
of Marble.

The City it
selfe was one
of the greatest
of the World:
for it had in
compass (as
Syracus report-
eth) without
the triple wall
thereof, 180.
furlongs,
which make
of our miles
about 18. It
was compoun-
ded of foure
Cities, (Syracu-
sa, Epiphan-
sia, Neapolis,
Acadina, Ty-
che, and Nea-
polis: of which
the greatest, the
ruines & founda-
tions of the
walls doe yet
witness.

and the same beginning of Nations, after the flood; and that the first planters of all parts of the World, were said to be mighty and Giant-like men; and that, as Phœnicia, Egypt, Libya, and Greece, had Hercules, Orpheus, Antæus, Typhon; and the like; as Denmark had Starbaterus, remembered by Saxo Grammaticus; as Scythia, Britannie, and other Regions, had Giants for their first Inhabitants; so this Isle of Sicily had her Lestrigones and Cyclopes. This discourse I could also recite of fained and fabulous; did not Moses make vs know, that the Zamzummims, Emims, Anakims, and Og of Basan, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountaines and Desarts of Moab, Ammon, and Mount Seir, were men of exceeding strength and stature; and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that Terentian, S. Augustine, Nicephorus, Procopius, Isidore, Plinius, Diodore, Herodotus, Solinus, Plutarch, and many other Authors, have confirmed the opinion. Yea, Vespasian, in his second Navigation into America, hath reported, that himselfe hath seene the like men in those parts. Again, whereas the selfe-same is written of all Nations, that is written of any one, as touching their simplicitie of life, their meane fare, their feeding on acorns and rootes, their poore cottages, the couering of their bodies with the skins of beasts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their first passages over great Rivers & armes of the Sea, vpon rafts of trees tied together, and afterward, their making boats, first, of twigs and leather, then of wood; first, with Oares, & then with Sailes; that they esteemed as gods, the first finders out of Arts; as of Husbandrie, of Lawes, and of Politie: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all liued in the same newnesse of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankind. For other teaching had they none, that were remooued farre off from the Hebrewes, (who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs.) than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees, to finde out the causes: from whence came Philosophie Naturall; as the Morall did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from crueltie and oppression.

But it is certaine; that the Age of Time hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things, than the Infancie: For wee haue now greater Giants, for vice and iniustice, than the World had in those daies, for bodily strength; for cottages, and houses of clay and timber; we haue raised Palaces of stone, we carue them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold; in so much as men are rather knowne by their houses, than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes, to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkenness; from the couering of our bodies with the skinnies of beasts, not onely to silke and gold, but to the very skinnies of men. But to conclude this digression, Time will also take reuenge of the excessse, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longior, auxit, longissima subruet; Long time brought forth, longer time increased it, and at time, longer than the rest, shall ouerthrow it.*

T. II.

The plantation of the Greekes in Sicily.

When the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all Sicily: it happened, that one Theocles, a Greeke, being driuen vpon that coast by an Easterly wind, and finding true the commendations thereof, which had bene thought fabulous, being deliuered onely by Poets; gaue information to the Athenians of this his discouerie, & proposd vnto them the benefit of this easie conquest, offering to become their guide. But Theocles was as little regarded by the Athenians, as Columbus, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the English. Wherefore he took the same course that Columbus afterwards did. He ouerlaboured not himselfe in perswading the Noble Athenians (who thought themselves to be well enough already) to their owne profit, but went to the Chalcidians, that were needie and industrious, by whom his proiect was gladly entertained. By these was built the Citie of Naxos, and a Colony planted of Eubœans.

But the rest of the Greekes were wiser than our western Princes of Europe: for they had no Pope, that should forbid them, to occupie the void places of the World. Archias of Corinth followed the Eubœans, & landed in Sicily; nere vnto that Citie, called afterward * *Syracuse* of which, that part onely was then compassed with a wall, which the

Etolians

Etolians called *Homothermon*; the Greeks, *Naxos*; the Latines, *Insula*. He with his Corinthians hauing ouercome the Siculi, draue them vp into the Country; and after a few years, their multitudes increasing, they added vnto the City of the Iland, that of Acradina, Tyche, and Neapolis. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many ships, as any Haven of that part of Europe, as by the fertility of the soyle; Syracuse grew vp in great haste, to be one of the goodliest Towns of the world. In short time the Greeks did possesse the better part of all the Sea-coast; forcing the Sicilians to withdraw themselves into the fast and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their Royall residence in Trinacia.

Some seuen yeares after the arriual of Archias; the Chalcidians, encouraged by the successe of the Corinthians, did assaile, and obtaine the city of Leontium, built and posselt by the Siculi. In brieft, the Greeks win from the Siculi, and their Associates, the cities of Catana and Hybla, which, in honour of the Megarians that forc't it, they called *Megara*.

About 45. yeares after Archias had taken Syracuse; Antiphemus and Entimus, the one from Rhodes, the other from Crete, brought an Army into Sicily, and built Gela; whose Citizens, one hundred and eight yeares after, did erect that magnificent and renowned city of Agrigentum, gouerned according to the Lawes of the Dorians.

The Syracusians also, in the seuentieth year after their plantation, did set vp the city of Acra, in the Mountaines; and in the ninetieth year Casimena, in the Plaines adioyning; and againe in the hundred and thirtieth yeare of their dwelling in Syracuse, they built Camerina; & soon after that, Enna, in the very Center of the Iland. So did the Cumani about the same time, recover from the Siculi the city of Zancle, which they had founded in the streight between Sicily and Italy. They of Zancle had bene the founders of Himera.

Not long after this, Dorcius the Lacedæmonian built Heraclia; which the Phœnicians, and Carthaginians, fearing the Neighbourhood of the Spartans, soon after inuaded and ruined, though the same were againe ere long re-edified.

Selinus also was built by a Colony of Megara: and Zancle was taken by the Messenians; who hauing lost their owne Country, gaue the name thereof vnto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest cities in this Iland.

T. III.

Of the government and affaires of Sicily, before Dionysius his Tyranny.

The most part of the cities in Sicily, were gouerned by the rule of the people, till such time as Phalaris began to vsurpe the state of Agrigentum, and to exercise all maner of tyranny therein.

This was that Phalaris, to whom Perillus, the cunning Artificer of a detestable Engine, gaue an hollow Bull of brasse, wherein to inclose men, and scorch them to death: praising the deuise with this commendation; That the noise of one tormented therein, should bee like vnto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gaue a due reward to the Inuentour; by causing the first triall to be made vpon himselfe. He reigned one and thirty yeares, saith Eusebius; others giue him but sixteene: How fouer it were, one Telemachus in the end, fell vpon him with the whole multitude of Agrigentum, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by Zeno, euen whilest the Tyrant was tormenting the same Zeno, to make him confesse some matter of conspiracy.

After the death of Phalaris, the Citizens recovered their liberty, and enioyed it long, till Thero vsurped the government of the Common-weale: at which time also Panætus made himselfe Lord of Leontium; & Cleander, of Gela: but Cleander, hauing ruled 7. yeares, was slaine by one of the Citizens. Cleander being dead, his brother Hippocrates succeeded in his roome, & greatly afflicted the people of Naxos, of Zancle, or Messina, and of Leontium; whom with diuers others of the ancient inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made warre with the Syracusians, and, in the end, got from them by composition, the City of Camerina. But when hee had reigned seuen yeares, he was slaine in a battell against the Siculi, before Hybla.

At this time did the Syracusians change their forme of government, from Popular to Aristocratical; a preparation towards a Principality, wherinto it was soon after changed.

After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (descended from the Rhodians, which together with the Cretans had long before, among other of the Greeks, seated themselves in Sicily) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former warre, with notable successe, became Lord of Gela. He, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed vnto him by *Hippocrates* ouer his children, and being in possession of Gela, tooke the occasion and aduantage of a contention in Syracuse, betwene the Magistrates and the People. For comming with a strong Armie to the succour of the Gouvernours, driuen out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and (indeed) the most famous, that euer governed the Syracusians. This change happened in the second yeere of the thre-score and twelfth Olympiad, wherein the better to establish himselfe, he took to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had also usurped the state of Agrigentum.

Paus. l. 6.

Now this *Gelon*, the sonne of *Dinomenes*, had three brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasylulus*: to the first of which he gaue vp the Citie of Gela, when hee had obtained the Principallitie of Syracuse. For, after that time, all his thoughts trauelled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of Syracuse. He defaced Camerina, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the Syracusians who built it, and brought the Citizens to Syracuse. The Megarians that had moued a warre against him, he ouercame, the richer sort he brought vnto Syracuse, and the people he sold for slaues. In like manner dealt hee with other places vpon the like occasion. Nor long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the Agrigentines, hauing dispossessed *Terillus*, of his Citie Himera; the Carthaginians were drawne into the quarrell by *Anaxilus*, Lord of Messina, Father-in-law to *Terillus*; and *Gelon* was also solicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after diuers conflicts, the Carthaginians, and other Africans, led by *Amilcar*, were ouerthrowne by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fiftie thousand of them left their bodies in Sicil.

Herod. & Dio.

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the Athenians and Lacedæmonians sent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Armie past the Hellespont. He, for their reliefe hauing armed thirtie thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, refused neuerthelesse to send them into Greece, because they refused him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So hee vsed to their Embassadors onely this saying, *That their Springs were withered*; accounting the Armie, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the Greeke Nation.

The Carthaginians, after this great losse receiued, fearing the inuasion of their owne Countrie, sent to *Gelon* by their Embassadors, to desire peace; who grants it them on these conditions; That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their children to *Saturne*; That they should pay him 2000. talents of siluer, and present him with two armed ships, in signe of amitie. These conditions the Carthaginians, not onely willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for warre, they sent vnto *Demarata*, *Gelons* wife, a crowne, valued at an hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended; and Sicil in peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloued and honoured of his Subjects, he left the World, and left for his Successor his brother *Hiero*. *Philistius* and *Plinie* report, That, when his body was burnt, according to the custome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and suffered himselfe to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his brother succeeded, a man rude, cruell, couetous, and so suspicious of his brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasylulus*, as hee sought by all meanes to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this; by the conuersation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the studie of good Arts. Diuers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of Agrigentum, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gaue a notable ouerthrow to the Carthaginians, whom *Xerxes* had incited to inuade Sicil, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aide the Grecians, against him. Hee also ouerthrew in battaile *Thrasylulus*, the sonne of *Theron*, and thereby restored the Agrigentines, to their former libertie. But in the end, hee lost the loue of the Syracusians; and after he had reigned 11. yeeres, he left the kingdom to his brother *Thrasylulus*, who became a most vniust & bloody Tyrant. *Thrasylulus* inioyed his Principallitie no longer than ten moneths. For, notwithstanding the force

force of mercenary Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, hee was beaten out of Syracuse by the Citizens, to whom being besieged in Acradina, he restored the gouernement, and was banished the Island. From whence he sailed into Greece, where he died a private man, among the Locrians.

And now had the Syracusians recovered againe their former liberty, as all the rest of the Cities did, after which they had neuer sought, had the Successors of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principallitie of Syracuse. For in all changes of Estates, the preservation ought to answer the acquisition. Where a liberall, valiant, and aduised Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himselfe from being a private man, to the dignity of a Prince, it behooueth the Successour to maintain it by the same way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, Syracuse (though not without blowes, ere that shee could cleanse her selfe of the creatures and louers of *Gelon*) was now againe become Mistresse of her selfe, and held her selfe free, well-neere threescore yeeres, to the time of *Dionysius*, though she were in the meane while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her owne, called *Ducetius*.

Now, to preuent the greatnesse of any one among them, for the future, they deuised a kinde of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking patterne from the Athenian Ostracisme. They called this their new deuised iudgement of exile, *Pekalisimus*, wherein euerie one wrote vpon an Olive leafe (as at Athens they wrote vpon shells) the name of him, whom hee would haue expelled the City. Hee that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five yeeres. Hereby in a short time, it came to passe that those of iudgement, and best able to gouerne the Common-weale, were by the worst able, either suppress, or thrust out of the City. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could; seeking some place of more security, wherein to maintaine themselves. And good reason they had so to doe, seeing that there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not very long. For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore againe the wiser sort vnto the Gouernement; from which, the Nobility hauing practised to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being inuaded by *Ducetius*, King of the Sicilians, that inhabited the inner part of the Island (who had already taken Enna, and some other of the Grecian Cities, and ouerthrowne the Army of the Agrigentines) the Syracusians sent forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Ducetius*. This their Captaine made nothing so much haste to finde out *Ducetius*, against whom he was employed, as he did to flee from the Army he led, as soone as *Ducetius* presented him battell. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the Syracusians perished.

But making better choice among those whom they had banished, they leuie other troupes: by whom, in conclusion, *Ducetius* being beaten, submitteth himselfe, and is constrained to leaue the Island for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned againe, and built the City Collatina on the Sea-side.

Ducetius being dead; all the Greek Cities did in a sort acknowledge Syracuse; Trinacia excepted, which also by force of armes, in the fourescore and fift Olympiad, they brought to reason.

But they doe not long enioy this their Superintendencie. For the Citizens of Leontium, being oppressed by them, seek aide from the Athenians, about the sixt yeere of the Peloponnesian Warre; In this suite they preuailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias*, their Orator, and got an hundred Athenian Gallies to succour them, vnder the leading of *Laches* and *Chabrades*. To this fleet, the Leontines, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought by *Sephesiles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurytimedon*, and other Athenian Capitaine, they inuaded the Territories of the Syracusians, and their Partisans; wanne and lost diuers places, tooke Messina, and, in the seventh yeere of the Peloponnesian Warre, lost it againe. They also at the same time, attempted Himera, but in vaine. The fire of this quarrell tooke hold vpon many Cities, which did inuade each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themselves on all hands, & yet could see none issue of the warre, the Leontines, without the aduice of the Athenians, came to an accord with the Syracusians, and were

admitted into their society with equal freedom. So the Athenians, who hoped to have greatened themselves in Sicily by the division and civil warre, were disappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the Sicilians, and faime to be gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custome of popular Estates) by taking revenge vpon their owne Commanders. So they banished *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and laid an heauie fine vpon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable war, that euer was made by the Greeks in Sicily: which was that of the Athenians, against the Selinuntines & Syracusians, in fauour of the cities of Egesta, Leontium, & Catana. They of Selinus had oppressed the Egestans; & they of Syracuse the Leontines, & the Catanians: which was the ground of the war. For the Athenians undertooke the protection of their old friends: and, in hatred of the Athenians, aide from Lacedæmon was sent to the Syracusians. The Lacedæmonians dealt plainly, hauing none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their owne Tribe, that craued their succour, being in distresse. The Athenians scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were so great, as discovered their intent to be none other, than the conquest of the whole Island. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their owne passions, that they would not beleue their owne eyes; which presented vnto them a Fleet, and Army, far greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the city of Athens had engaged all her power, as regarding, not onely the greatnesse of the enterprise, but the necessity of finishing it in a short space of time. For the Lacedæmonians (as hath already been shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken terms of peace with Athens, as differed not much from open war. Wherefore it was thought necessary, either to spare cost in this great expedition, or altogether to forbear it: which was likely to be hindred by warres at home, if their proceedings were slacke abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the Athenians bin overpassionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstaine from so chargeable a businesse, and to reserve their forces for a more needfull vse. But young counsailes preuailed against the authority of ancient men, that were more regardfull of safety than of honour.

Of this businesse, mention hath beene already made, in that which vvee haue written of the Peloponnesian war. But what was there deliuered in generall termes, is not concerning the affairs of Greece, otherwise than by consequence; doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of Sicily was like to haue felt a great conuersion.

Though *Alcibiades* had preuailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

These had commission & direction, as well to succour the Segestans, & to re-establish the Leontines, cast out of their places by the Syracusians; as also by force of armes, to subiect the Syracusians, and all their adherents in Sicily, and compell them by tribute, to acknowledge the Athenians for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captains were sent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and fife thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirty ships of burthen; which transported their victuals, engines, and other munitions for the war: and these were Athenians, Mantinians, Rhodians, and Candians: there were, besides these, sixe thousand Megarians light-armed, with thirty horse-men.

Thucid. l. 6. c. 9.

With these troupes & fleets they arriue at Rhegium, where the Rhegians refuse to give them entry; but sell them victuals for their money. From thence they sent to the Egestans, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the warre, seeing for their sakes they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answers, that these Egestans were poore, and that they had abused the Athenian Embassadors with false shewes of gold, hauing in all but 30. talents. The Athenians further were discouraged, when they found that the Rhegians, their ancient friends, and allied vnto the Leontines, refused to trust them within their Walls. Hereupon *Nicias* aduised, to depart towards the Selinuntines, and to force them, or perswade them to an agreement with the Egestans, as likewise to see what disbursements the Egestans could make, and to returne againe to Greece, and not to waste Athens in a needlesse war. *Alcibiades*, on the other side, would

solicite

solicite the cities of Sicily to confederacy against the Syracusians, & Selinuntines, whereby to force them vnto restitution of all that they had taken from the Leontines. *Lamachus*, he perswades them to assaile Syracuse it self, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of diuers Cities) they surprize Catana; & there they take new resolution, how to proceede. Thence they imploied *Nicias* to those of Egesta, who receiued from them thirty talents towards his charges, & one hundred and twentie talents more there were of the spoiles they had gotten in the Island. Thus, the Summer being spent in idle consultations, & vain attempts, the Athenians prepare to assaile Syracuse, but *Alcibiades* hauing been accused at home, in his absence, was sent for back by the Athenians, to make his answer: and the Army was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtaine a landing place very neere vnto Syracuse, by this deuise.

They employ to Syracuse an inhabitant of Catana, whom they trust; & instruct him, to promise vnto the Syracusians, that he would deliuer into their hands all the Athenians within Catana. Hereupon the Syracusians draw thitherward with their best forces. But in the mean while, the Athenians, setting saile from Catana, arriue at Syracuse, where they land at faire ease, & fortifie themselves against the Towne. Shortly after this, they fight, & the Syracusians had the losse: but the Athenians, wanting horse, could not pursue their victory to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refresh their Army at Catana, for the winter-season. From thence they made an attempt vpon Messina, hoping to haue taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had discovered such as were Traitors, within the City to the Messenians. This he now did, in despite of his own Citizens, the Athenians; because they had recalled him from his command; with a purpose either to haue put him to death, or to haue banished him: whereof being assured by his friends, he tooke his way towards the Lacedæmonians, & to them he gaue mischieuous counsaile against his country. While this Winter yet lasted, the Syracusians send Embassadors to Lacedæmon, and Corinth, for aide: as likewise the Athenian Captains in Sicily, send to Athens, for supplies. Which, both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth yeare of the Peloponnesian war) the Athenians in Sicily, saile from the Port of Catana, to Megara, forsaaken of the Inhabitants; from whence foraging the Country, they obtaine some small victories ouer the straggling Syracusians: & as their returne to Catana, they receiue a supply of two hundred men at armes, but without horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Island, from the Segestans, and other their adherents; they were also strengthened with a company of Archers, and with three hundred talents in money.

Hereupon they take courage, and encamp neere Syracuse, vpon the banks of the great Port, repelling the Syracusians, that sallied to impeach their intrenchments. They also receiued from their Confederates foure hundred horse-men, with two hundred other horse, to mount their men at armes. Syracuse was now in effect blockt vp, so as hardly any factors could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the Athenians receiue diuers losses; among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders, was slaine.

In the mean while, *Gylippus*, & *Pythos*, with the Lacedæmonian, and Corinthian forces arriue, and take land at Hymera. The Citizens of Hymera, and of Gela, together with the Selinuntines, ioyne with them; so that with these and his own troupes, *Gylippus* aduanceth to march ouer land toward Syracuse. The Syracusians send a part of their forces to meet him, & conduct him. The Athenians prepare to encounter them, expecting his assault ouer vnto the City, vpon a place of aduantage. At the first encounter, they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the Syracusian horse-men could not come to fight in those streights; but soone after, *Gylippus* charging them againe, brake them, and commanded *Nicias* to fortifie himselfe within his Campe. Whereupon *Nicias* made the state of his affaires knowne, by his letters to the Athenians, shewing that, without great supplies by Sea & land, the enterprise would be lost, together with the main Army remaining. These letters receiued, the Athenians appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon*, and *Demosthenes*, to ioyne with *Nicias*; the one they dispatch presently with some supply, and the other they send after him in the Spring following. In the mean while, *Gylippus* at Syracuse, fights with the Athenians, both by Sea and Land,

Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good successe: but in conclusion, he took from their Fort, near unto Syracuse, at the Promontory, called *Phymyrum*; wherein the Athenians lost their treasure, and a great part of all their provisions. Notwithstanding which losse, & that the Athenians themselves, in Greece, were (in effect) besieged within Athens, by the Lacedæmonians; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the Warre in Sicily, & dispatched away *Demosthenes* with new succours. *Demosthenes*, in his way towards Sicily, encountered with *Polyarchus* the Corinthian, with his fleet: both the Captaines being bound for Sicily, the one to succour *Nicias*, the other *Gylippus*. The losse betwene them was in effect equall; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprize they had in hand. But before the succours arrived to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariston* had assailed the Athenians in the great Port of Syracuse, and in a Sea fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the Athenians. On the necke of this, *Demosthenes* arrived with threescore and thirteen Gallies, charged with footmen; and (blaming the sloath of *Nicias*) he invaded the Syracusians, the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste than he had good speed, being shamefully beaten, and repulsed with great losse. Hereupon *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon*, determine to rise up from before Syracuse, and returne to the succour of Athens: but *Nicias* disputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good intelligence within Syracuse, whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

Whatsoever *Nicias* his intelligence was; upon the arrivall of a new supply in the Towne, the Athenians had all consented to depart, & to lodge at Catania: had not an Eclipse of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill successe, caused them to deferre their departure. But this superstition cost them deare. For the Syracusians, Lacedæmonians, & Corinthians, with threescore and seventeen saile of Gallies, entered the great Port of Syracuse, wherein the Athenians kept their fleet, and wherein they had fortified themselves. The Athenians, in the same Port encountered them with fourescore & sixe Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*, in which the Athenian fleet was beaten, by the lesser number, & *Eurymedon* slaine. Now, though it were so, that the Syracusians received the more losse by land (for the fight was generally) yet when the Athenians were beaten by sea, in which kinde they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast downe. For it so was well said of *Gylippus*, to the Syracusians, when any people doe finde themselves vanquished in that manner of fight, and with those weapons, in which they persuade themselves that they exceede all others, they not onely lose their reputation, but their courage. The Athenians, besides the Gallies suncke and wracke, had seuteneene taken, and possesse by the enemy: and with great labour and losse they defended the rest from being fired, having drawn them within a Palisado, in one corner of the Port, unadvisedly; for it is as contrary to a Sea-war, to thrust ships into a streight roome and corner, as it is to scatter foot in a plaine field against horse; the one subsisting, by being at large; the other by close im-battailing.

The Syracusians, having now weakened the Athenian fleet, resolve to imprison them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a mile over, and there they came to Anchor, filling the out-let with all manner of Vessels, which they man most strongly, because the Athenians, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies break through the Syracusian fleet; which lay but single; because they were forced to range themselves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not onely intred themselves strongly by their Anchors, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and laid behind them againe certain ships, which served in the former warre for victuallers to the end, that if any of their Gallies were suncke, or the chaine, which joyned them to their fellows, broken, the Athenians might yet find themselves, a second time, intangled and arrested. To disorder also those Athenian Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to break through, and force a passage, the Syracusians half left within these Gallies & Ships, inclosed together, a certain number of loose ones, to stop their course and fury. For where the way of any vessel, using bare or sailes, is broken, and their speede fore-slowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the resistance opposing.

On the other side, the Athenians knew that they were utterly lost except with an invincible resolution, they could make their way, and break downe this great bridge of boats; or at least force a passage through them at some part or other. And they re-

solve to hazard, with all their shipping (to the number of one hundred & ten, of all sorts) and with all the strength of their Land-armie, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did so disorder the Athenian fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as, albeit some few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being stoppt with the ships without, and assailed by other loose Gallies of the Syracusians, which were purposely left at large in the Sea, they were either taken or sunk. Three great disadvantages the Athenians had: the first, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a streight, they had no room to turne themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled; the second, that having over-pestered their Gallies with Souldiers, who used offensive armes of darts and slings, they had not place vpon the decks to stretch their armes: the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a passage, by which they might save themselves by running away. To bee short, the fight was no lesse terrible than the confusion; the slaughter great on all sides; and the noise, and the cries, so lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the Athenians, as many as survived, were beaten backe to the Land, with losse of threescore of their Gallies, broken, suncke, or abandoned. The Syracusians did also lose twenty of theirs, with *Pythos*, Commander of the Corinthians. The rest of the Athenian Gallies, running themselves into the bottome of the Port, saved themselves by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie, there fortified. In this desperate estate, the Athenian Commanders goe to counsell. *Demosthenes* perswades them, to furnish with fresh Souldiers those few Gallies which remained; and while the Syracusians were triumphing, and made secure by their present victory, to set vpon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to Athens. This was no ill counsaile. For, as wee haue heard of many great Captaines (yea, the greatest number of all that haue bene victorious) that haue neglected the speedy prosecution of a beaten enemy; so might wee produce many examples of those, who, having slept securely in the bosome of good successe haue bene suddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Armie, and haue thereby lost againe all the honour, and advantage, formerly gotten. But *Nicias* opposeth the aduice of *Demosthenes*: Others say, that the Sea-men were against it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all resolve to march over land to the Cities of their Confederates, till some more fauourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, *Gylippus*, & other the Lacedæmonian & Corinthian Captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the Syracusians to put themselves presently into the field, & to stop all the passages, leading to those Cities of their enemies, to which the Athenians might make retreat. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in some of our Commanders at Cadex, lost vs both the Indian fleet, and the spoiles of many other Neighbour-places. *Hermocrates*, the Syracusian, finding it a lost labour, to perswade his Countermen to any hasty prosecution, deuised this good stratagem, thereby to gaine time, not doubting, but that after a day or two, he should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three horse-men out of Syracuse by night, willing them to finde *Nicias*, and (after they had assured him, that they were of the Athenians faction) to giue him aduice not to march away over-hastily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alledging that the Syracusians had lodged their Armie, which could not long stay there, vpon the passages and places of advantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. These tidings *Nicias* easily beleueed, and put off his iourney to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearefull than wise; and to them, euery thistle in the field, appeares, by night, a man at armes.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remoue, being pierced and pursued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were sicke and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies swords. The rest march away, to the number of fortie thousand; and make their first passage by force, over the Riuer of Anapus, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies. But being euery day charged in their marches, & by the Syracusian horse-men, beaten in from foraging and prouision of food, they grow weake and heartlesse. The Syracusians also possesse the Mountaine Lepas, by which they were to passe towards Camerina, and thereby force them to fall backe againe towards the Sea-coast, and to take what way they could: being vnable to proceed in their iourney intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and

and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as hauing none other meanes to escape from the enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with continuall skirmishing. To keepe all in order, *Nicias* vnderooke the leading of the Vaunt-guard; & *Demosthenes* conducted the Reare. At the Riuer Erineus, *Nicias* takes the start of a whole nights march, leauing *Demosthenes* to make the reitrait: who being incompaffed, and ouerprest with numbers, in the end renders himselfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could haue hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farre worse than he suspected. For he vvas afterward, with *Nicias*, murdered in prison. The Army of *Demosthenes* being dissolued, they pursue *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being vtterly broken, vpon the passage of the Riuer Asinarus, rendered himselfe to *Gylippus*, vpon honest conditions. *Gylippus* fought to preferre him, and to haue had the honour, to haue brought these two to Sparta; *Nicias*, as a Noble Enemy to the Lacedaemonians, and who, at the ouerthrow, which they receiued at Pylus by the Athenians, had saued the liues of the vanquished; *Demosthenes*, as one that had done to Lacedaemon the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the Syracusan Army, dissuaded the rest, by all the art he had, from vsing any barbarous violence, after so noble a victory. But the cruell, and the cowardly sort, (cowardise and cruelty, being inseparable passions) preuailed, and caused these braue Capitaines to bee miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be starued in loathsome prisons; and the rest, sold for slaues. This was the successe of the Sicilian warre: vvhich tooke end at the riuer Asinarus, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the fourescore and eleuenth Olympiad.

The Athenians being beaten out of Sicily, the Egestans (for whose defence, against the Selinuntines, this late war had beene taken in hand) fearing the victorious Syracusians, sought helpe from the Carthaginians; to whom they offered themselves, and their Citie, as their vassals. The Carthaginians, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in Sicily, yet considering the prosperity of the Syracusians, & their late victories ouer the Athenians, they stayed a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse or accept the offer made vnto them: for the Selinuntines were straightly allied to the Syracusians, as may appeare by what is past. In the end, the Senators of Carthage resolved vpon the enterprize; & (by a trick of their Punick wit) to separate the Syracusians from the Selinuntines, they send Embassadors to Syracuse: praying that City, as in the behalfe of the Egestans, to compell the Selinuntines to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of Syracuse should thinke meet to allow them. The Syracusians approued the motion, for it tended to their owne honour. But the Selinuntines would make no such appointment: rather they took it ill, that the Syracusians, with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the Athenian war, should offer to trouble them, by interposing as Arbitrators, in a businesse, that themselves could end by force. This was right as the Carthaginians would haue it. For now could they of Selinus with an ill grace craue aide of Syracuse; and the Syracusians as ill grant it vnto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrement, which the Carthaginians would haue put into their hands. Here vpon, an Army of three hundred thousand men is set out from Carthage, vnder the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you haue heard before) was ouerthrowne with the great Carthaginian Army at Himera by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this emploiment, that he might take reuenge as well of his Vncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them hauing bin slaine by the Himerans, the other by those of Selinus. Both the Cities, *Hannibal*, in this war, won by force of armes, sackt them, and burnt them; and hauing taken three thousand of the Himerans prisoners, he caused them to be led vnto the place, where *Amilcar* was slaine, and buried them there.

After this followed some trouble at Syracuse, occasioned by the banishment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately bin Generall of the Syracusan forces, against the Athenians. The malice of his enemies had so farre preuailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meer vertue, at such time, as he was aiding the Lacedaemonians, in their warre against Athens; wherein he did great seruice. All the honest sort within Syracuse were sorry for the iniury done vnto him, and sought to haue him repealed. *Hermocrates* himselfe, returning into Sicily, gathered an Army of fixe thousand; with which he began to repaire Selinus; & by many noble actions laboured to win

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the loue of his Citizens. But the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore he was aduised to setze vpon a Gate of Syracuse, with some strength of men; whereby his friends, within the Towne, might haue the better meanes to rise against the aduerse party. This he did: but presently the multitude fell to armes, and set vpon him; in which conflict he was slaine. But his sonne-in-law, *Dionysius*, shall make them with *Hermocrates* alieue againe.

I. IIII.

Of *Dionysius* the Tyrant: and others, following him, in Syracuse.

THE Syracusians had inioyed their liberty about threescore yeeres, from the death of *Hipparchus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionysius* was raised vp by God, to take reuenge, as well of their cruelty towards strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their owne best Citizens. For before the time of *Dionysius*, they had made it their pastime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or disgrace: which custome they must now be taught to amend.

Dionysius obtained the principallty of Syracuse, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselves Masters of other Cities, and of Syracuse it selfe. For, being made *Prætor*, and commanding their Armies against the Carthaginians, and other their enemies, he behaued himselfe so well, that he got a generall loue among the people, and men of warre. Then began hee to follow the example of *Pisistratus*, that made himselfe Lord of Athens, obtaining a band of fixe hundred men, to defend his person: vnder pretence, that his priuate enemies, being traiterously affected to the State of Syracuse, had laied plots how to murder him, because of his good seruices. Hee doubled the pay of his Souldiers, alledging, that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to assure them to himselfe. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had beene banished, which were the best men of Syracuse; and these were afterwards, at his deuotion, as obliged vnto him by so great a benefit. His first fauour, among the Syracusians, grew from his accusation of the principall men. It is the delight of base people to reigne ouer their betters: wherefore, gladly did he helpe them to breake downe, as fetters imprisoning their liberty, the bars that held it vnder safe custody. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found whereat hee aimed. But what they saw, the people would not see: and some that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the Citie to sinart. He began early to hunt after the tyranny; being but fixe and twenty yeeres of age when hee obtained it: belike, it was his desire to reigne long. His first work, of making himselfe absolute Lord in Syracuse, was, the possession of the Citadell, wherein was much good prouision, & vnder it the Gallies were moored. This he obtained by allowance of the people; and hauing obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himselfe without all shame or feare. The Armie, the chiefe Citizens, restored by him from banishment; all the needy sort within Syracuse, that could not thriue by honest courses; and some neighbour-townes, bound vnto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for establishing the faction, reigning at that present, were wholly affected to his assistance. Hauing therefore gotten the Citadell into his hands, he needed no more, saue to assure what he had already. Hee strengthened himselfe by diuers marriages, taking first to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once, the one a Locrian, *Doris*, by whom hee had *Dionysius*, his Successor; the other, *Aristomache*, the daughter of *Hipparchus*, and sister to *Dion*, honourable men in Syracuse; which bare vnto him many children, that serued to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere some of the Syracusians (enuying his prosperitie) incited the multitude, and tooke armes against him, even in the noueltie of his Rule. But their enterprize was more passionately, than wisely gouerned. He had shamefully beene beaten by the Carthaginians at Gela: which, as it vexed the Sicilian men at armes, making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the Carthaginians wast all, that he might afterwards take possession of the desolate places, so it inflamed them with a desire to free themselves from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to Syracuse, where they found friends to helpe them: there they forced his Palace, ran-

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sacked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wife, that for the griefe thereof he poisoned her selfe. But he followed their heeles apace, and firing a Gate of the Citie by night, entered soone enough to take reuenge, by making a speedy riddance of them. For he spared none of his knowne, no, nor his suspected enemies. After that, hee grew so doubtfull of his life, as he neuer durst trust Barbero to trim him, nor any person, no, nor so much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, vnstript and searched. Hee was the greatest Robber of the people that euer raigned in any State, and withall the most vnrespectively cruell.

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the Iland, from the rest, like as the Spaniard did the Citadell of Antwerpe: therein hee lodged his treasures, and his Guards.

He then began to make warre vpon the free Cities of Sicil: but while hee lay before Herbesse, an in-land Towne, the Syracusians rebelled against him; so, as with great difficulty he recovered his Citadell: from whence, hauing allured the old Souldiers of the Campanians, who forced their passage through the Citie, with one thousand and two hundred horse, he againe recovered the masterie ouer the Syracusians. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their haruest, he disarmed all the Townsmen remayning: and new strengthened the Fort of the Iland, with a double wall. Hee inclosed that part also, called Epipoles, which, with three score thousand labourers, he finished in three weekes, being two leagues in compasse. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and fortie thousand Targets, with as many swords, and head-peeces, with fourteene thousand corslets, and all other futable armes. Which done, he sent word to the Carthaginians, (greatly infeeble by the plague.) That except they would abandon the Greek Towns, which they held in Sicil, he would make warre vpon them: and, not staying for answer, hee tooke the spoile of all the Phoenician ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King Philip the second did of our English, before the warre in our late Queenes time. Hee then goes to the field with fourescore thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and sends his brother Leptines to sea, with two hundred Gallies, & fise hundred ships of burden. Most of the Towns which held for Carthage yeilded vnto him; sauing Panormus, Segesta or Egesta, Ancyra, Motya, and Entella. Of these, he first wan Motya by assault, and put all therein to the sword, but before Egesta he lost a great part of his Armie, by a sally of the Citizens. In the meane while Himilco arriues; but, ere he tooke land, he lost in a fight at Sea, with Leptines, fiftie ships of warre, and fise thousand Souldiers, besides many ships of burden. This notwithstanding, hee recovered againe Motya vpon his first descent. From thence marching towards Messena, he took Lypara, and (soon after) Messena, and razed it to the ground. Now began Dionysius greatly to doubt his estate. Hee therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territorie of the Leontines, by which he supposed that Himilco would passe toward Syracuse; and hee himselfe tooke the field againe, with foure and thirtie thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that Himilco had diuided his Armie into two parts, marching with the one halfe ouer-land, and sending Mago with the other by Sea: he sent Leptines, his brother, to encounter Mago. But Leptines was viterly beaten by the Carthaginians; twenty thousand of his men were slaine, and an hundred of his Gallies lost. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell vs, That one Citie should bee able to furnish fise hundred saile of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did Syracuse arme in this warre) and more strange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any great Artillerie, or Musket-shot, twenty thousand should bee slaine in one fight. In all our fights against the Turkes, of which that at Lepanto was the most notable, wee heare of no such number lost; nor in any other fight by Sea, that euer happened in our age, nor before vs. When Charles the fift went to besiege Algier, he had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fiftie saile of shippes, and three score and fise Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, hee sought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of Spaine, Naples, and the rest of Italie. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, vpon extremitie, as many as were needfull, of all that could beare armes, giuing them little wages, or other allowance: in our dayes it is not so; neither indeede, is it often requisite. Vpon this ouerthrow, Dionysius postes away to Syracuse, to strengthen it: Himilco follows him, and besiegeth the Towne by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant,

hauing receiued aide from the Lacedæmonians, vnder the conduct of Pharasidas, purs himselfe to Sea, to make prouision for his Citizens, who in his absence, take twenty of the Carthaginian Gallies, and sinke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne successe prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill: hauing also at the present weapons in their hands; they consult how to recover their liberty. And this they had done, had not Pharasidas the Lacedæmonian resisted them. It also fel out, to his exceeding aduantage, that the plague was so increased, and so violent, among the Carthaginians; as it is said, that about an hundred thousand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, sets vpon them both by Sea and Land; and hauing slaine great numbers of them, forceth Himilco to desire peace. This peace Dionysius sold him for a great summe of money; on condition that he should steale away with his Carthaginians onely: which he basely accepted, betraying the rest of the Africans and Spaniards. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was pursued, and left many of his Carthaginians behinde him. The rest of the Africans fell vnder the swords of their enemies; onely the Spaniards, after they had a while brauely defended themselves, were (after their submission) entertained, and serued the Conquerour.

Many such examples of perfidious dealing haue I noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliuer vnto memory the like practises, when they meet with their matches: That which hapned vnto Monsieur de Piles, was very futable to this trecherie, wherewith Dionysius pursued Himilco. I was present, when De Piles related the iniurie done vnto him. He had rendered S. Iohn d' Angelle, to the French King Charles the ninth, who besieged him therein. He rendred it, vpon promise made by the faith of a King, that he should be suffered to depart in safety, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himselfe, of the Duke of Anion his brother, Generall of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of diuers Dukes and Marshals of France, he was set vpon, and broken in his March, spoyled of all that he had, and forced to saue his life by flight, leauing the most of his Souldiers dead vpon the place: the Kings hand & faith, warranting him to march away with ensignes displaid: and with all his goods and prouisions, no whit wailling him. It needs not therefore seeme strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus breake his faith, since Kings, professing Christianitie, are bold to doe the like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them.

Dionysius, after this great victorie, tooke care to re-edifie Messena. Mago, who staid in Sicil, to hold vp the Carthaginians therein, is againe beaten by Dionysius; who is also beaten by the Tauromenians. A new supply of fourescore thousand Souldiers is sent from Carthage to Mago; but these take egges for their money, and make peace with Dionysius, leauing the Sicilians in Tauromenium, to shift for themselves: whom Dionysius, after a long siege, ouer-came, and gaue their Citie to his mercenarie Souldiers.

He then past into Italie, obtained diuers victories there, brought the Rhegians on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred & fourescore thousand crownes, to furnish him with three score Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for assurance of their future obseruance of couenants. This he did, not with any purpose to performe vnto them the peace that they had so dearly bought; but that hauing taken from them their Gallies, he might besiege them, and ruine them viterly, with the more ease. Now to the end he might not, without some colour, falsifie the faith that he had giuen to them; he pretended to want victuall for his Armie, at such time as he seemed ready to depart out of Italie, and sent to them to furnish him therewith; promising to returne them the like qualitie, at his comming home to Syracuse.

His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, he would then make their refusal the cause of his quarrell: if they yeilded to aide him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of food, to endure a siege any long time against him. For, to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price soeuer. And great reason he had to take reuenge of them, if hee had done it fairly; and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his reigne, hee desired them to bestow a daughter of some of their Nobilitie vpon him for a wife: they answered, That they had not any one fit for him, saue the Hangmans daughter. Princes doe rather pardon ill deedes, than villanous words. Alexander the great forgau many sharpe swords, but neuer any sharpe tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors.

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And certainly, it belongs to those that haue warrant from God, to reprehend Princes: and to none else, especially in publique.

It is said, that *Henrie* the fourth of France, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his ouer-bold and biring taunts, that he vsed against him before Amiens, than for his conspiracie with the Spaniard, or Sauoyan: for hee had pardoned ten thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawne their swords against him. The contemptuous words that Sir *John Parret* vsed of our late Queene *Elizabeth*, were his ruine, and not the counterfait letter of the Romish Priest, produced against him. So fared it with some other, greater than hee, that thereby ranne the same, and a worse fortune, soone after.

To be short, he made them know new bread from old. Hee assaulted their Towne on all sides, which hee continued to doe eleuen moneths, till hee wonne it by force. Hee vsed his victorie without mercy, specially against *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other wars he made with the Carthaginians, after the taking and rasing of this Citie; and those with variable successe. For, as in one encounter he slue *Mago*, with ten thousand Africans: so the sonne of *Mago* beat him, and slue his brother *Lepinus*, with foureteene thousand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his peace of the Carthaginians, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the aduice of Prosperity and Aduersitie, as all Kings and States doe.

When he had reigned eight and thirty yeeres, he died: some say in his bed, peaceably, which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruell man he was, and a faithlesse; a great Poet, but a foolish one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyranny, he gaue order to haue him slaine, or sold for a slaue. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parasites therefore stilled his crueltie, *The hate of euill men*; and his lawlesse slaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his iniustice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kinde of vermine, which poyson all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worthiest and valiantest men doe: and I wonder not at it, for it is a world: and, as our *Sauour Christ* hath told vs, *The world will loue her owne*.

To this *Dionysius* his sonne of the same name succeeded, and inherited both his King-dome and his Vices. To win the loue of the People, he pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father lockt vp, and condemned. Withall, he remitted vnto his Citizens diuers payments, by his Father imposed vpon them. Which done, and thereby hoping, that he had fastned vnto himselfe the peoples affections; hee cast off the Sheepes skin, and put on that of the Woollfe. For being iealous of his owne Brethren, as men of more vertue than himselfe, he caused them all to be slaine; and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath been said) had two Wiues; *Doris* of Locris, and *Aristomache* a Syracusan, the sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded vnto him: and by *Aristomache* he had two Sonnes and two Daughters; of which the elder, called *Sophrosine*, he gaue in marriage to his eldest Sonne, and her halfe-brother, *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Arete*, he bestowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whose death, *Dion* tooke her to Wife, being his Neece.

This *Dion*, a iust, and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that he was wholly giuen ouer to sensuality, prevailed so much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had beene, as he drew him into Sicill, to instruct the young King. And hauing perswaded the King to entertaine him, he wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* began to change condition; to change Tyrannic, into Monarchie; and to hold the Principallitie, that he had, rather by the loue of his People, and his Nationall Lawes, than by the violence of his Guards and Garrisons. But this goodnesse of his lasted not long. For *Philitus* the Historian, and other his Parasites, that hated *Dions* seueritie, wrought him out of the Tyrants fauour, and caused him soone after to bee banished out of Sicill, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels betweene him and the Carthaginians, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great feare; or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fiftie Gallies at his owne charge, during the warre against them: his enemies found

found meanes, by sinister interpretation, to conuert his good will into matter of treason. They told *Dionysius*, that all the great commendations, giuen of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to soften his minde; and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the studie of Philosophie; whilst *Dion*, in the meane time hauing furnished fiftie Gallies, vnder colour of the Kings seruice, had it in his owne power, either to deliuer to the Syracusians their former libertie, or to make himselfe Lord and Soueraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberall offer which hee made, to serue the King with so great a preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had serued the King for none other end, than to raise and enrich themselves, and had already become raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer, that *Dion* had made; if the King had had the grace to conceiue it aright. But the couetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring, that *Dion* had, were bold to stile his Loue and Liberalitie, Pride and Presumption; and heartened the young King, in his oppressing, and eating vp his owne people, of whose spoyle they themselves shared no small portion. I haue heard it, That when *Charles* the fift had the repulse at *Algier* in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Cortese*, one of the brabest men that euer Spaine brought forth, offered vnto the Emperour, to continue the siege at his owne charge. But hee had neuer good day after it. For they that enuied his victories, and his conquest of *Mexico* in the West Indies, perswaded the Emperour, that *Cortese* sought to raise himselfe aboue him; and to haue it said, That what the Emperour could not, *Cortese* had effected; and was therefore more worthie of the Empire, than hee himselfe.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented, at first, to send him the renewes of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his moueables, at his owne pleasure: not without giuing hope, to recall him in short time. Had hee continued in this good moode, like enough it is, that *Dion* would haue bene well pleased to liue well, as he did at Athens. But after some time, *Dionysius* made Port-sale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby vrged him to take another court, than to seeke the restitution of his Countrie to libertie. The vertues of *Dion*, especially his great liberalitie, had purchased much loue in Greece. This loue made him suspected and hated of the Tyrant: but it stood him in good stead, when he sought to raise men (with whose helpe hee might retorne into Sicill. Yet he got not about eight hundred (for hee carried the matter close) to follow him in this aduenture. But many of them were men of qualitie, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did hee doubt of finding in Syracuse, as many as should bee needfull, that would readily assist him. Therefore he landed boldly in Sicill, marched to Syracuse, entered the Citie without resistance, armed the multitude, and won all, saue the Citadel.

Dionysius was then absent in Italie, but hee quickly had aduertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore hee returned hastily to Syracuse: whence, after many vaine treaties of peace, and some forceable attempts to recouer the Towne, hee was faine to depart; leaving yet the Castle to the custodie of *Apollocrates* his eldest sonne. Yet ere hee went, his Minion *Philitus*, comming with a strength of men to assist him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recouerie of his Countrie libertie, had the same reward, that all worthy men haue had from popular Estates. Hee was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the Citie. Hee retired himselfe to the *Leontines*, who receiue him with great ioy. Soone after his departure from Syracuse, new troupes enter the Castle: they sallie out, assaile, spoyle, and burne a great part of the Citie. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request: yet, ere hee could arriue, *Dionysius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Townes men, thinking themselves secure, shut the gates against *Dion*. But the next night they of the Castle sallie againe, with greater furie than euer; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and set fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremitie *Dion* comes the second time to their succour; the loue of his Countrie firmmounting all the iniuries that hee had receiued. Hee sets vpon the Garrison of the Castle, with the one part of his Armie; and quenches the fire euery where kindled, with the other part. In conclusion, after hee had conquered both the fire and the sword, that had wel-neere burnt to ashes, and depopulated Syracuse, he recovered the Castle, with the annihilation and furniture thereof, and sent *Apollocrates* after

after *Dionysius* his Father, into Italie. But their malice, of whom hee had best deserved, and whom hee had loued most, gave an untimely end to his dayes. For hee was soon after this his victorie, murdered by *Gylippus*; who, after hee had, with ill success, awhile gouerned Syracuse, was slaine with the same Dagger, with which hee had murdered *Dion*.

Ten yeares after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his friends in Italy, recouers his estate, and returnes to Syracuse, driuing *Nysus* thence, whom he found Gouerneur therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing, more than euer, his cruelty, flee to *Ictes*, a Syracusan borne, and then ruling the Leontines. *Ictes* enters into confederacie with the Carthaginians, hoping by their assistance, not onely to preuaile against *Dionysius*; but by the hatred of the Syracusians towards *Dionysius*, to make him also Lord of their Citie. The Syracusians, being deservedly afflicted on all sides, send to the Corinthians for succour. *Ictes* also sends thither, and dissuades the Corinthians, as well as he can, from intermeddling in the businesse. He tells them, by his messengers, That he had entred into league with the Carthaginians, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of Corinth, to land any Armie in Sicil. But the Corinthians, being by this reason of *Ictes*, more enraged than dissuaded, sent *Timoleon* with nineteene Gallies, to deliuer Syracuse from tyrannie. In the meane while, *Ictes* had entred Syracuse, and with the helpe of the Carthaginians, driuen *Dionysius* into the Castle, where he besieged him.

Ictes, being himselfe a Tyrant in Leontium, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliuer his Countrey. Therefore, bearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at Rhegium, he sent to perswade him, to returne his fleet; for that all things were (in effect) established in Sicil. The Carthaginian Gallies were also in the same Port of Rhegium; whose Capitaines aduised *Timoleon*, to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there, than he had, and were like to compell him, if he would not be perswaded. *Timoleon*, finding himselfe ouer-mastered, makes request to the Carthaginian Capitaines, that they would be pleased to enter into Rhegium, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliuer vnto him those arguments, for his returne, which they had vied to him in priuate; that hee might, by publique testimonie, discharge himselfe to the Senate of Corinth.

The Carthaginians, perswading themselves, that a victorie, obtained by a few faire words, was without losse, and farre more easie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yeelded to *Timoleons* desire. But while the Orations were deliuering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the Rhegians, stole out of the preasse; and hauing set saile, before the Gates were opened to the Carthaginians, he recovered the Port of Tauromenium, where he was joyfully receiued by *Andromachus* the Gouerneur. From thence he marched toward Adranum, where surprising *Ictes* his Armie, he slew a part therof, and put the rest to run. It is the nature of victorie to beget friends. The Adranitans ioyned with him; and so did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of Catana. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Castle of Syracuse into his hands, as thinking it better to yeeld vp himselfe, and the places which he could not defend, vnto the Corinthians, than either to *Ictes*, whom he disdained, or to the Carthaginians, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who within fiftie dayes, after his arriual, had recovered the Castle of Syracuse, and sent *Dionysius* to Corinth, to live there a priuate man, was still invaded by the Armies, and molested by the practices of *Ictes*. For he besieged the Corinthians within the Castle of Syracuse, and attempted (but in vaine) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The Corinthians send vnto *Timoleon* a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are staid in Italie by foule weather. *Ictes* is strengthened with three thousand Africans, brought vnto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within Syracuse) and with an hundred and fiftie Gallies, to keepe the Port. This was the first time, that euer the Carthaginians had dominion within the walls of that Citie. With this great Armie, *Ictes* assaulteth the Castle. *Timoleon* sends them victuals, and succour, in small boats, by night, from Catana. *Mago* and *Ictes* doe therefore resolute to besiege Catana; but they were no sooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captaine of the Corinthians, sallied out of the Castle, and tooke that part of Syracuse, called *Acra*, which he fortified.

In the meane while, the two thousand Corinthians arriue: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marcheth towards Syracuse. *Mago* abandoneth *Ictes*, being

being frighted out of Sicil (which he might easily haue conquered): with an idle rumour of treason. This made him returne to Carthage; where the generall exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that for feare of farther punishment, he hanged himselfe. *Timoleon* enters the Citie, and bears downe the Castle (which he called the nest of Tyrants) to the ground. But he found the Citie when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their horses did feed on the grasse, growing in the market-place. Therefore, hee writes to Corinth, for people to re-inhabite it. Ten thousand are sent out of Greece; many come from Italie; others, from other parts of the Island.

But a new storme ariseth. *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, Carthaginians, arriue about Lilybæum, with three score and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their provisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and challengeth this great Armie vpon the passage of a Riuer.

A tempest of raine, haile, and lightning, with boisterous windes, beating vpon the faces of the Carthaginians, they are utterly broken: ten thousand slaine, six thousand taken, with all their carriages and provisions: among which there were found a thousand *Arctagile* and grauen. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Ictes*, and following his victorie, tooke him, with his son *Eupolemus*, and the Generall of his horse, prisoners; whom he caused all to be slaine: and afterwards (which was imposed to him for great cruelty) he suffered *Ictes* his wiues & daughters to be put to death. But this was the reuenge of *Godippon Ictes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arete*, *Dions* wife and a young child of his, with *Ariflamache* his sister, to be cast into the Sea.

He againe preuailed against *Mamercus*, Tyrant of Catana, and won Catana it selfe. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippus* Tyrant of Messina: but *Timoleon*, pursuing him, won the towne; deliuering *Hippus* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Agathocles* and all other, the Tyrants in Sicil.

Finally, he made peace with the Carthaginians, on condition, That they should not passe the Riuer of Lycus. After this, hee liued in great honour among the Syracusians, till his death; and was solemnly buried by them in the market-place of their Citie: the day of his Funerals, being for euer ordained, to be kept holy among them.

After such time, as *Timoleon* had deliuered Syracuse from the tyrannie of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole Island; the Inhabitants, choiced their libertie in peace, about twentie yeeres. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant sailed in safetie; and the Labouring man enioyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to gouerne, nor how to obey, which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to gouerne them; should any long time subsist.

Twentie yeeres after the death of *Timoleon*, there started vp one *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition; who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captaine; and so from degree to degree, rising to be a Prætor, finally, became Lord and Soueraigne of the Syracusians. Many fortunes hee ran, and vnder-went as many dangers, ere hee obtained the Principalltie. For hee had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable seruice, as well for those by whom he was employed, as also for the Syracusians, and against them. For in their warres against those of Enna; and the Campanes, he did them memorable seruice: and on the contrary, as memorable seruice for the Murgantines, against the Syracusians. For being entertained by the people of Murgantia, and made Generall of their forces, he sackt Leontium; and besieged Syracuse so streightly, that the Citizens were driven to craue aide, even from their ancient and natural enemies, the Carthaginians. *Amilcar* was sent by the Carthaginians, to relieue Syracusians. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that hee got him to make peace betwene himselfe and the Syracusians; binding himselfe by promise and oath, to remaine a friend and sequant to the State of Carthage, for euer after. *Amilcar* entertained the businesse, and compounded the quarrels betwene *Agathocles*, and the Syracusians. *Agathocles* is chosen Prætor; he entertaines six thousand Africans, and diuers old Souldiers of the Murgantines, vnder colour of a purpose to besiege Herbita. With these, and with the assistance of the poore and discontented Syracusians (the Citie also being diuided into many factions) hee assailes the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposers;

divides the spoile of the rich, among the poore, and giues liberty to his Souldiers, to rob, to rauish, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controulement: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewed the streets with ten thousand dead carcases, besides those that had broken their necks ouer the walls, their furie had no further subiect to worke on.

Agathocles, in an assembly of the people (being an eloquent knaue) perswaded them, that, for the violent sicknesse, by which the common-wealth was vterly consumed, hee found no better, than the violent remedies, which he had administred; and that hee affected no other thing, than the reducing of the state from an Oligarchie, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democratic, by which it had bene gouerned, from the first institution, with so great glorie and prosperitie. This he did, to haue the crowne clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For as hee knew, that he had left nohe living, within the Citie, fit, nor able, to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew he right well, that all they which had assisted, in the murder and spoile of their fellow Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawlesse Lord, who had been partaker with them, in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabbie, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: againe and againe, saluting, and adoring him, by that name, as if it had bene giuen to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a piece of his patterne; but the one was of base, the other, of Kingly parents; the one tooke liberty from a common-wealth the other fought onely to succeed in a Monarchie; the one continued his cruelty to the end; the other, after hee had obtained the Crowne, sought, by making good lawes, to recover the loue of his people.

The life of this Tyrant, is briefly written by *Justin*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the summe whereof is this. The same *Amilcar* that had brought him into Syracuse, and that had lent him five thousand men to helpe in the massacre of the Citizens, was also content to winke at many wrongs, that hee did vnto the Confederates of the Carthaginians. It was the purpose of *Amilcar*, to settle *Agathocles* in his tyranny, and to let him vex and waste the whole Island; because it was thereby like to come to passe, that hee should reduce all Sicill into such termes as would make it become an easie prey to Carthage. But when the cities, confederate with the Carthaginians, sent their Embassadors, with complaint of this ill dealing, to Carthage; the Punick faith (so much taunted by the Romans, as no better than mere falsehood) shewed it selfe very honourable, in taking order for the redresse. Embassadors were sent to comfort the Sicilians, and to put *Agathocles* in minde of his couenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into Africk, and a new Capitaine appointed to succeed in his charge, with such forces, as might compell *Agathocles* to reason, if otherwise hee would not hearken to it. All this ended, to saue their Confederates, from suffering such iniuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they tooke order to haue it seuerely punished. *Amilcar* was accused secretly, and by way of scrutinie: the suffrages being giuen, but not calculated; and so referred vntill he should returne. This was not so closely handled, but that *Amilcar* had soone notice of it. In managing his businesse with *Agathocles*, it is likely that hee had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrey. For he had made such a composition with the Syracusan, as gaue him not onely meanes to weaken others, but to strengthen himselfe, both in power and authority, euen against the Carthaginians. Such is commonly the custome of those, that hope to worke their owne ends by cunning practices, thinking to deale subtilly and finely, they spin their threads so small, that they are broken with the very winde. *Amilcar* saw, that his Carthaginians had a purpose to deale substantially; and that therefore it would be hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices: which if hee could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would breake out into so much the greater extremitie, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore hee followed the example, which some of his fore-goers had taught him; and, for feare of such a death, as the Iudges might award him, he ended his owne life in what sort he thought best. This desperation of *Amilcar* serued to informe *Agathocles* of the Carthaginians intent. Hee saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore resolved to get the start of them in action. Hee dissembled no longer; but, instead of spoyle and robbery, made open warre vpon all their Adherents. Hee had made the better part of Sicill his owne; the

Carthaginians,

Carthaginian forces arrived: which thinking to haue incouraged an ill-established Tyrant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and giue them sharpe chiestaine-ment. They were beaten by him, and their Naue was so Tempest-beaten, that they could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leaue their businesse vndone, and returne into Africke.

The Carthaginians prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned & furnished, was broken by foule weather, and the best part of it cast away, euen whilst it was yet within kenning of their Citie. But *Amilcar*, the sonne of *Gisco*, gathering together the remainders of his ship-wracke, was bold to passe ouer into Sicill, and landed not far from Gela; where *Agathocles* was soone readie to examine the cause of their coming. Many skirmishes passed betwene them, in which (commonly) the Syracusan had the better. But his good success begat presumption, whereby hee lost a battaile, more important than all the other fights. One aduerser chance is enough to overthrow the state of a Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumspection. The war was soone transferred to the walls of Syracuse, within which *Agathocles* was closed vp, and driven to make his last defence by their helpe, who may be iudged to haue loued him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of Syracuse, after that great massacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new Tyranny, were (for the most part) such, as had bene either mercenary Souldiers, in franchised slaues, or base & needie people; helpers in establishing the present Government, and Executioners of the murders, and spoyle, committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well obserued, and (withall) so fearefull, that they durst not stirre. But it was enough, that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their Citie. Famine was likely to grow vpon them, and enforce them to change their resolution. In this necessity, *Agathocles* aduanced vpon a strange course, which the euent commended as wise. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in those vessels that rode in the Hauen, and committing the government of the Citie to his brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had be thought himselfe of a meane, both to raise the siege, and to repaire all other losses. A Carthaginian fleet lay in the mouth of the Hauen, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keepe the besieged from issuing forth.

Now at such time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, advertisement came, that many ships of burden, laden with corne, and other provisions, were drawing neere vnto Syracuse. To intercept these, the Carthaginians hoise saile, and lanch forth into the deepe. They were not far gone, when they might behold *Agathocles*, issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to giue conuoy vnto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheeled about, and make amaine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither abode their coming, nor fled backe into the Citie, but made all speed towards Africke, and was pursued by the Carthaginians, as long as the day would giue them light. In the meane season, the victuallers were gotten to Syracuse, which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had vnburdened the place of no small number. When the Carthaginian Admirall perceiued, first, that by pursuing two fleets at once, he had misst of them both; and secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not againe, but was gone to seeke his fortune elsewhere, hee thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend so well vpon them, that they should not haue leisure to doe much mischief in some other part.

The Carthaginian Naue followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards Africk, and ouer-tooke him after sixe dayes. He had (at the first) a great start of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselves, in seeking their owne misfortune. For he fought with them, & beat them; and, hauing sunke, or taken many, draue the rest to flie which way they could, laden with such strange tidings of his voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in Africk, then did he discouer vnto them his purpose, letting them vnderstand, That there was no better way to diuert the Carthaginians, not onely from Syracuse, but from all the Ile of Sicill, than by bringing the war to their owne doors. For here (said he) they haue many, that hate them, and that will readily take arms against them, as soone as they perceiue that there is an Armie on foot, which dare to looke vpon their walls. Their Townes are ill fortified, their people vntaunted, and

and vnexperienced in dangers; the mercenarie forces, that they leuie in these parts, will rather follow vs than them, if we offer greater wages than they can giue: which wee may better promise and make good, by letting them haue some share with vs in all the wealth of the Carthaginians, than our enemies can doe, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one already Master of all the riches in Africk; and with thau braue words encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (reseruing one or two to vse as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remaine, save onely in victory. In this heat of resolution, they winne by force two Cities; which after they had thoroughly sacked, they burnt to the ground; as a marke of terror to all that should make resistance. The Carthaginians, hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Armie destroyed in Sicil. This impression so dismaies them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had scaped in the late Sea fight, yet still they feare, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcars* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in Africk: they suspect their principall Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray Carthage vnto the enemies; they raise a great Armie, and know not to whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*; great enemies, and therefore the more vnlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generals of the Armie leuied, which farre exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*: But it seldom happens, that dissension betwene Commanders produceth any so fortunate euent. Necessitie drave *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deale with the whole multitude of the Carthaginians, made easie the victorie against the one halfe of them. For *Bomilcar* would not surre: but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victorie, brought ouer a King of the Africans, from the Carthaginian society, to take part with *Agathocles*: who pursuing his victorie winneth many Townes, and sends word to Syracuse of his good successe. The Carthaginians also send into Sicil, willing *Amilcar*, their Generall, to succour the State of Africk, which was in danger to bee lost, whilst he was trauiailing in the conquest of Sicil. *Amilcar* sends them five thousand men: all his forces hee thought it not needfull to transport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* backe into Sicil, than to be drawn home by one, that could scarce retaine his owne Kingdome. But these good hopes had a bad issue. Hee spent some time in winning a few Townes, that adhered vnto the Syracusians: and hauing brought his matters to some good order, hee conceived a sudden hope of taking Syracuse by surpris. It was a prettie (though tragically) accident, if it were true, as *Tullie* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dreame, which told him that hee should sup the next day within Syracuse. His fancie begot this dreame, and hee verily beleued it. Hee made more haste than good speed, toward the Citie: and comming vpon it on the sudden, had good hope to carry it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laied an ambush to intrappe him, whereinto hee fell. So hee was carried prisoner into the Citie; in which it was likely, that hee had no great cheere to his supper: for they stricke off his head, and sent it into Africk (a welcome present) to *Agathocles*.

This good successe of things at home, did put such courage into the Sicilian Armie, that *Agathocles* was bold to weare a Crowne, and stile himselfe King of Africk. Hee had allured *Ophellus*, King of the Cyrenians, to take his part, by promises to deliuer the Countrey into his hands: for that (as hee said) it was sufficient vnto himselfe to haue diuerted the Carthaginians from Sicil, wherein (after this warre ended) he might reigne quietly. *Ophellus* came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertained. But the traitorous Sicilian, taking an aduantage, did murder this his assistant; and afterwards by good words, and great promises, drew all the Cyrenian Armie to follow him in his Warres. Thus his villanie found good successe; and hee so preuailed in Africke, that hee got possession to make a step into Sicil. Many Townes in Sicil had embraced a desire of recovering their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedom, after that they had so long bene exposed, (as a reward of victorie) either vnto Aliens, or to Tyrants, of their owne Countrey. These had preuailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the comming of *Agathocles* abated their high spirits, and his good successe in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of

Sicil

Sicil hee returned into Atrick, where his affaires stood in very bad termes. *Archagathus*, his sonne, had lost a battaile; and (which was worse) had ill meanes to helpe himselfe: his Armie being in mutinie for lacke of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accustomed promises of great bootie and spoyle. It had now bene time for him, to offer peace to the Carthaginians: which to obtaine, they would (questionlesse) haue giuen to him, both money enough to pay his Armie, and all that they then held in Sicil. For their Citie had bene distressed, not onely by this his warre, but by the treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himselfe Tyrant ouer them. But ambition is blinde. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed vpon the conquest of Carthage it selfe: out of which dreame he was awaked, by the losse of a battaile, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange euents following it. The Carthaginians, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old sacrifices of children to *Saturne*: from which they had abstained, euer since they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners, taken in the battaile, to offer vnto the said Iddol, in way of thankfulness for their victorie. The fire, with which these vnhappy men were consumed, caught hold vpon the lodgings neere vnto the Altar; and spreading it selfe farther through the Campe, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult as is vsuall in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt vnto the Paulion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away; each of them beleeming, that the noise in the aduerser Campe, was a signe of the enemies comming to iaspit. But the Carthaginians had a safe retreat: *Agathocles*, by a second error, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, hee met with his owne African Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies, (as indeed the one halfe of them had revolted from him, to the Carthaginians, in the last battaile) hee began to slay them, and was so stoutly resisted, that hee lost in this blinde fight, about foure thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart; that being fallen from the next hope of taking the Citie of Carthage, vnto some distrust of his owne safetie, he knew no more how to moderate his present weake feares, than lately he had known how to gouerne his ambition. Therefore hee tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to steale closely aboard his shippes, with his younger sonne (the elder hee suspected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to flie into Sicil, thinking it the best course to take for himselfe, as wanting vessels wherein to transport his Armie. His elder son, *Archagathus*, perceiving his drift, arrested him, and put him vnder custodie: but by means of a sudden tumult, hee was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leauing both his sonnes behinde him. His flight being noysed through the Armie, all was in vprore; and extremitie of rage caused not onely the common Souldier, but euen such as had bene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold vpon his two sonnes, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extremely base; I need not vse words to proue: That his feare was truly, as all feare is said to be, a passion, depriuing him of the succours which reason offered, the sequels doth manifest. His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headlesse company, and no longer an Armie to be feared, obtained neuerthelesse a reasonable composition from the Carthaginians: to whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for nineteene talents. Likewise, *Agathocles* himselfe, hauing lost his Armie, did neuerthelesse, by the reputation of this late warre, make peace with Carthage vpon equal termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being deliuered from forraine enemies, discountured his bloudy nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the Sicilians. His wants, and his feares, vnged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoyles of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. Hee deuised new engines of torment; wherein struing to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, hee made a frame of brass, that should serue to scorch mens bodies, and withall giue him leue to behold them in their miserie. So deuellish is the nature of man, when reason should be his guide, is become a slave to his brutish affections. In these mischiefs he was so outrageous, that hee neither spared Sexe, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in Africk. But this was not the way to preserve his crowne: it threw him into new dangers. They whom hee had chased out of their Countrey, took armes against him, and drave him into such feare, that he was faine to seek the lone of Carthage, which by ruling well hee might haue had in Sicil. Hee shortly deliuered

livered into the Carthaginians hands, all those Townes of the Phoenicians in Sicil, belonging unto them, which were in his possession. They required him honourably, with great store of corne, and with foure hundred talents of gold and siluer. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he preuailed against the Rebels, and settled his estate. Having no further businesse left in Sicil, he made a voyage into Italie. There hee subdued the Brutians; rather by terrour of his name, than by any force, for they yeelded at his first coming. This done, he went to the Isle of Elpara, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when hee had gotten this great summe, hee would needs exact a greater, and finding plainly that they had no more left, hee was bold to spoyle the Temples of their gods. Herein (me thinkes) hee did well enough. For how could hee beleue those to be gods, that had continually giuen deafe eares to his horrible periuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleuen ships loaden with gold: all which, and all the rest of his fleet, were cast away by foule weather at Sea; one Gallie excepted, in which he himselfe escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grievous sicknesse fell vpon him, that rotted his whole bodie, spreading it selfe through all his veines and sinewes. Whilest he lay in this case, all desiring his end, saue only *Therigenia* (a wife that he had taken out of Egypt) and her small children: his Nephew, the sonne of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a yonger sonne of his owne, began to contend about the Kingdome. Neither did they seeke to end the controuersie by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laied wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew sped so well that he slue his Vncle, and got his Grand-fathers Kingdome, without asking any leaue. These tydings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with feare and sorrow. Hee saw himselfe without helpe, like to become a prey to his vngracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no fauour was to be expected, either by himselfe, or by those, whom onely hee now held deare, which were *Therigenia* and her children. Therefore he aduised her and them to flie before they were surpris'd: for that otherwise they could by no meanes auoide, either death, or somewhat that would be worse. He gaue them all his treasures and goods, wherewith he euen compelled them (weeping to leaue him desolate in so wretched a case) to imbarke themselves hastily, and make speed into Egypt. After their departure, whether hee threw himselfe into the fire, or whether his disease consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but hee ended his life as basely, as obscurely, and in as much want, as hee first began it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the Mamertines his Souldiers traiterously occupied Messina, and infested a great part of the Island. Then also did the Carthaginians begin to renew their attempts of conquering all Sicil. What the Nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that hee quickly perished. For the Sicilians were driuen to send for *Pyrrhus* to helpe them, who had married with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was soone wearie of the Countrie (as hath beene shewed before) and therefore left it; prophesying that it would become a goodly champion field; wherein Rome and Carthage should fight for superiouritie. In which businesse, how these two great Cities did speed, the order of our storie will declare.

§. V.

A recontinuatiō of the Roman warre in Sicil. How Hieron, King of Syracuse, forsooke the Carthaginians; and made his peace with Rome.

When *Appius Claudius*, following the aduantage of his victorie gotten at Messina, brought the warre vnto the Gates of Syracuse, and besieged that great Citie; *Hieron* found it high time for him to seeke peace: knowing that the Carthaginians had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himselfe by what meanes hee could, when they were not in case to giue him assistance; and foreseeing withall, that when once he had purchased his quiet from the Romans, it would be free for him to sit still, without feare of molestation, whilst Rome and Carthage were fighting for the masterie. In this good mood, the new Roman Consuls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Otacilius*, found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they

use of their present aduantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consuls had brought a great Armie into Sicil; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring ouer *Hiero* to their side. If the Syracusan held them busied (which I find not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the summe of monie imposed vpon him, and by their performing none other peece of seruice) all the whole time of their abode in the Island; then was his departure from the friendship of Carthage, no lesse to his honour, than it was to his commoditie. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his owne Kingdome to run into manifest perill of subuersion, for their sakes, that should haue receiued all the profit of the victorie: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without straining themselves to giue him reliefe. But the Carthaginians had lately made good prooue of the strength of Syracuse, in the daies of *Agathocles*; and therefore knew, that it was able to beare a very strong siege. And heereupon it is like that they were the more slacke, in sending helpe: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both Rome and Syracuse should weaken one the other, whereby their owne worke might be the easier against them both. Yet indeed, the case of the besieged Citie was not the same, when the Romans lay before it, as it had been, when the Carthaginians attempted it. For there was great reason, to try the vitermost hazard of war against the Carthaginians, who fought no other thing than to bring it into slavery; not so against the Romans, who thought it sufficient if they could withdraw it from the party of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathocles*, or by *Hiero*. The former of these cared not what the citizens endured, so long as hee might preserve his owne tyranny: the latter, as a iust and good Prince, had no greater desire than to winne the loue of his people, by seeking their commoditie; but including his owne felicitie within the publique, laboured to vphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to passe, that he enioyed a long and happy reigne, lining deare to his owne Subjects, beloued of the Romans, and not greatly molested by the Carthaginians; whom, either the consideration, That they had left him to himselfe, ere he left their societie, made vnwilling to seeke his ruine; or their more earnest businesse with the Romans, made vn- able to compasse it.

§. VI.

How the Romans besiege and winne Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintaine a fleet. Their first losse, and first victorie by Sea. Of Sea-fights in generall.

Hieron, hauing sided himselfe with the Romans, aided them with victualls, and other necessaries: so that they, presuming vpon his assistance, recall some part of their forces. The Carthaginians finde it high time to bestirre them; they send to the Ligurians, and to the troopes they had in Spaine, to come to their aide; who being arriued, they made the Citie of Agrigentum, the seat of the war, against the Romans, filling it with all manner of munition.

The Roman Consuls, hauing made peace with *Hieron*, returne into Italie; and, in their places, *Lucius Posthumus*, and *Quintus Mamilius*, arrive. They goe on towards Agrigentum: and finding no enemy in the field, they besiege it, though it were stuffed with fiftie thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of haruest being come, a part of the Roman Armie range the Countrie to gather corne, and those at the siege grow negligent; the Carthaginians sallie furiously, and indanger the Roman Armie, but are in the end repelled into the towne with great losse; but by the smart felt on both sides, the Assailants redoubled their guards, and the besieged kept within their conent. Yet the

Assailants redoubled their guards, and the besieged kept within their conent. Yet the Citie, by reason of the fertilitie of the soyle, and the neighbourhood of Carthage, grew in a short space from small beginnings, to great glory and riches. The plentie and luxurie thereof was so great, as it caused *Empedocles* to say, That the Agrigentines built Palaces of such sumptuousitie, as if they meant to live for euer; and made such feasts as if they meant to die the next day. But their greatest pompe and magnificence, was in their goodly temples, and theatres, water-conduits, and fish-ponds: the ruines wherof at this day are sufficient arguments, that Rome it selfe could neuer boast of the like. In the Porch of the temple of *Iupiter Olympius*, (by which wee may iudge of the temple it selfe) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in polished marble of diuers colours; a worke the most magnificent and rare, that euer hath beene seene: on the other side the warre of Troy, and the encounters which hapned at that siege; with the personages of the Heroes that were doers in that warre; all of the like beautifull stone, and of equall stature to the bodies of those men in ancient times: In comparison of which, the latter workes of that kinde, are but petty things, and meeke trifles. It would require a volume to expresse the magnificence of the temples of *Hercules*, *Asinulapins*, *Concord*, *Iunolucina*, *Chastitie*, *Trisipina*, *Cyter* and *Pollux*, wherein the Master-pieces of those exquisite Painters, and Caruers, *Thidias Xenis*, *Myron*, and *Polyclitus*, were to be seene. But in proceesse of time it rane the sam: fortune that all other great Cities haue done, and was ruined by diuers calamities of warre: whereof this warre brought vnto it not the least.

Romans, the better to assure themselves, cut a deepe trench, betwene the walls of the Citie and their Campe : and another on the out-side thereof; that neither the Carthaginians might force any suddenly, by a fallie, nor those of the Countie without, breake vpon them vnawares : which double defence kept the besieged also from the receiving any reliefe of victuals, and munitions, whilest the Siracusan supplies the assailants with what they want. The besieged send for succour to Carthage : after they had bene in this fort pent vp fve moneths. The Carthaginians imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, vnder the command of *Hanno*; who arriues with it at Heraclea, to the West of Agrigentum. *Hanno* puts himselfe into the field, and surpriseth Erbefus, a Citie wherein the Romans had bestowed all their prouision. By meanes herof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within Agrigentum; and the Roman campe no lesse straightly assieged by *Hanno*, than the Citie was by the Romanes : insonmuch, as if *Hieron* had not supplied them, they had bene forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distresse was not enough to make them rise, *Hanno* determined to giue them battaile. To which end departing from Heraclea, hee makes approach vnto the Roman campe. The Romans resolute to sustaine him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directes the Numidian horsemen to charge the Vantguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, hee commands them to returne as broken, till they came to the body of the Armie, that lay shadowed behinde some rising ground. The Numidians performe it accordingly; and while the Romanes pursued the Numidians, *Hanno* giues vpon them, and hauing slaughtered many, beates the rest into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the Carthaginians made no other attempt for two moneths, but lay strongly encamped, waiting vntill some opportunitie should inuite them. But *Annibal* that was besieged in Agrigentum, as well by signes as messengers, made *Hanno* know how ill the extremitie which he endured, was able to brooke such dilatory courses. *Hanno* thereupon, a second time, prouoked the Consuls to fight : But his Elephants being disordered by his owne Vantguard, which was broken by the Romans, he lost the day : and with such as escaped, he recovered Heraclea. *Annibal* perceiving this, and remaining hopelesse of succour, resolved to make his owne way. Finding therefore that the Romans, after this daies victory, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; hee rusht out of the Towne, with all the remainder of his armie, and past by the Roman campe without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vaine : sure they were, that hee could not carry the Citie with him, which with litle a-doe the Romans entred, and pitifully spoiled. The Romans, proud of this victorie, purposed rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this Warre, onely to succour the Mamertines, and to keepe the Carthaginians from their owne coasts : but now they determine to make themselves Lords of all Sicily, and from thence, being fauoured with the winde of good successe, to saile ouer into Africa. It is the disease of Kings, of States, and also of priuate men, to couer the greatest things, but not to enioy the least; the desire of that which we neither haue nor neede, taking from vs the true vse and fruition of what wee haue already. This curse vpon mortall men, was neuer taken from them since the beginning of the World vnto this day.

To prosecute this Warre, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Octacilius*, two new Consuls, are sent into Sicily. Whereupon, the Romans being Masters of the field, many in-land Towns gaue themselves vnto them. On the contrarie, the Carthaginians keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritime places became theirs. The Romans therefore, as well to secure their owne coasts, often inuaded by the African fleets, as also to equall themselves in euery kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune fauoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in ship-wrights craft, a storme of winde thrust one of the Carthaginian Gallies, of fve bankes, to the shore.

Now had the Romanes a patterne, and by it they beganne to set vp an hundred *Quinqueremes*, which were Gallies, rowed by fve on euery banke, and twentie, of three on a banke : and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed vpon the Sea-sands many

many seats, in order of the bankes in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beate the sand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Masters : that so they might learne the stroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Consuls (for they changed euery yeare) was made Admirall : who being more in loue with this new kinde of warfare, than well aduised, past ouer to Messana with seuentene Gallies, leauing the rest to follow him. There he staid not, but would needs row along the coast to Lipara, hoping to doe some piece of seruice. *Hannibal*, a Carthaginian was at the same time Gouvernour in Panormus; who being aduertised of this new Sea-mans arriual, sent forth one *Boodes*, a Senatour of Carthage, with twentie Gallies to entertaine him. *Boodes*, falling vpon the Consull vnawares, tooke both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* received this good newes, together with the Roman Gallies, and their Consull; he grew no lesse foolish hardihead than *Cornelius* had bin. For hee, fancying to himselfe to surprize the rest of the Roman fleet, on their owne coast, ere they were yet in all points prouided; fought them out with a fleet of fiftie saile : wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten; and leaunting the greater number of his owne behinde him, made an hard escape with the rest : for of one hundred and twentie Gallies, the Romanes vnder *Cornelius* had lost but seuentene, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not easily beaten by fiftie.

The Romanes, being aduertised of *Cornelius* his ouerthrow, make haste to redeeme him, but glue the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Duilius*. *Duilius*, considering that the Roman vessels were heauie and slow, the African Gallies hauing the speed of them, deuised a certaine Engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might fasten or grapple themselves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies sides together. This done, the weightier ships had gotten the aduantage, and the Africans lost it. For neither did their swiftnesse serue them, nor their Mariners craft; the Vessels wherein both Nations fought, being open : so that all was to be carried by the aduantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heauier Gallies were accidentally likely to crush and cracke the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they by the reason of their breadth, more steady, and those that best kept their feet, could also best vse their hands. The example may be giuen between one of the long boates of his Maiesties great ships, and a *Long-ship*.

Certainly, he that will happily performe a fight at Sea, must be skilfull in making choice of Vessels to fight in : he must belecue, that there is more belonging to a good man of warre, vpon the waters, than great during; and must know, that there is a great deale of difference, betwene fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The Gunnes of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of warre : for by such an ignorant brauerie was *Peter Strofie*, lost at the Azores, when he fought against the *Marquesse of Santa Cruz*. In like sort had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admirall of England, bene lost in the yeere 1588. if he had not bene better aduised, than a great many malignant fooles were, that found fault with his demeanour. The Spaniards had an Annie aboard them; and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that, had he intangled himself with those great and powerful Vessels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdome of England. For twentie men vpon the defences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the Spaniards had an hundred, for twentie of ours, to defend themselves withall. But our Admirall knew his aduantage, and held it : which had he not done, he had not bene worthy to haue held his head. Heere to speake in generall of Sea-fight (for particulars are fitter for priuate hands than for the Presse,) I say, That a fleet of twentie shippes, all good failers, and good ships, haue the aduantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships, and of slower sayling. For if the fleet of an hundred saile keepe themselves neere together, in a grosse squadron; the twentie ships, charging them vpon any angle, shall force them to giue ground, and to fall backe vpon their owne next fellows : of which so many as intangle, are made vnseruiceable or lost. Force them they

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the time of
William the
second, King of
Sicily, that were
then beheld of
all the Citizens
& other stran-
gers, which be-
ing translated
into Latine,
say as follow-
eth: Pluente
Istac filio A-
brabae, & reg-
nante in Ida-
mea, atq; in
ualla Damas-
ceana, Esau filio
Istac, & ingens
Hebraeorum ma-
nus, iussu ad-
u. Iustitiam mul-
ti. Damasceni,
atq; Chalcidii,
profecti in hanc
triangularem
Insulam, fides
perpetua loca.
uerunt in hanc
canonissima loca, quem Panormum nominauerunt. In the other marble are found these words: Non est alius Deus praeter unum
Deum; non est alius potens praeter eundem Deum, &c. Huius Turris Praefectus est Saphu filius Elphaz filij Iau, Fratris Iacob filij Isaac, filij
Abraham; & cum quidem ipsi non esset Raych zled turobaie, proximo nomen est Charab. And this inscription (saith Barclay) was
found in the Castle Raych, in the year 1531. Now whether these Inscriptions were truly as ancient, as these men beleeue they
were, I leave every man to his owne faith. But that the City was of aged times, it appears by Thucydides, who affirmeth; when the
Cecrops first sett into Sicily, that then the Phoenicians inhabited Panormus: which certaine it is they did in the first Punicke warre; so wrote
the Carthaginians, who were Phoenicians, from whom the Romans (A. Aquilus, and C. Cornilius, commanding this Armie) took it. And
when Marcellus besieged Syracuse, it sent him in ayde 2000. Souldiers. But it was rather confederate, than subiect to the Romans; as well
as unlik Perce, names it among the free Cities of Sicily. After Syracuse destroyed, it became the first Citie and Regall seate, as well
of the Greeks and Saracens in that Iland, as of the Emperours of Constantinople; of the Normans, French, and Arragonians; which honour
it holdeth to this day, and is much frequented, for the excellent wine which grows about it.

they may easily, because the twentie ships, which giue themselves scope, after they have
giuen one broad side of Artillerie, by clapping into the winde, and staying, they may
giue them the other: and so the twentie ships batter them in pieces with a perpetuall
volicie; whereas those, that fight in a troope, haue no roome to turne, and can alwaies
use but one and the same beaten side. If the flecte of an hundred saile giue themselves any
distance, then shall the lesser flecte preuaile, either against those that are a-reare and hind-
most, or against those, that by aduantage of ouer-sailing their fellowes keepe the winde;
And if vpon a Lee-shore, the ships next the winde be constrained to fall backe into their
owne squadron, then it is all to nothing, the whole flecte must suffer shipwracke, or ren-
der it selfe. That such aduantage may be taken vpon a flecte of vnequall speed, it hath bin
well enough conceined in old time; as by that Oration of Hermocrates, in Thucydides,
which he made to the Syracusians, when the Athenians inuaded them, it may easily be
observed.

Of the Art of Warre by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord Henry, Prince of
Wales; a subiect, to my knowledge, neuer handled by any man, ancient or moderne; but
God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his losse; by the losse of that braue
Prince; of which, like an Eclipse of the Sunne, we shall finde the effects hereafter. Im-
possible it is to equall words and sorrowes; I will therefore leaue him in the hands of
God that hath him. *Cura leues loquuntur, ingentes fugiunt.*

But it is now time to returne to the beaten Carthaginians; who by losing their ad-
uantage of swift boats, & boarding the Romans, haue lost fiftie saile of their Gallies; as on
the other side, their enemies by commanding the Seas, haue gotten libertie to saile about
the West part of Sicily, where they raised the siege layed vnto Segesta, by the Carthagi-
nians, and wonne the Towne of Macella, with some other places.

S. VII.

Diuers enterseats of warre, betweene the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable successe.
The Romans prepare to inuade Africk: and obtaine a great victory at Sea.

THE victorie of *Enilbus*, as it was honoured at Rome, with the first Nauall tri-
umph, that was euer scene in that Citie; so gaue it vnto the Romans a great in-
couragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea; whereby they hoped, not
onely to get Sicily, but all the other Iles betweene *Italie* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sar-
dinia*, whither soone after they sent a flect for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar*
the Carthaginian, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions, that might helpe
to recompence the late misfortune: and being aduertised, that some quarrell was growne
betweene the Roman Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as cauled them to in-
campe a-part, he sent forth *Hanno* to set vpon them; who taking them vnawares, buried
four thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-warre in
Sicily, *Hannibal*, who had lately beene beaten by Sea, but escaped vnto Carthage, meaning
to make amends for his former error, obtained the trust of a new flect, wherewith he
arrived at *Sardinia*: the conquest of which Iland, the Romans had entertained for their
next enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the Romans, crossing the Seas from Sicily, arrived
in the port where *Hannibal* with his new flect anchored. They set vpon him vnawares,
and tooke the better part of the flect which he conducted; himselfe hardly escaping the
danger. But it little auailed him to haue escaped from the Romans. His good friends the
Carthaginians, were so ill pleased with this his second vnfortunate voyage, that they han-
ged him vp for his diligence: for (as it hath beene said of old) *Non est bis in bello perire*,
In warre it is too much to offend twice.

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Consuls, * till Pa-
normus was besieged: where, when the Romans had fought in vaine to draw the Carthagi-
nians into the field; being vnable to force that great Citie, because of the strong Gar-
rison therein bestowed: they then departed from thence, and tooke certaine In-land
Towns, as *Myssistratum*, *Echna*, *Camerina*, *Hippama*, and others, between *Panormus* and
Messana.
The year following, C. *Asilius* the Consul, vvhho commanded the Roman flect, disco-
uered a company of the Carthaginian Gallies, ranging the coast: and, not staying for his
whole number, pursued them with ten of his. But he vvas vvell beaten for the haste he
made, & lost all, saue the Gallie which transported him: vvherein himselfe escaped with
great labour. But ere all was done, the rest of *Asilius* his flect was gotten vp: who renew-
ing the fight, recouered from the Carthaginians a double number of theirs; by which the
victory remaining doubtfull, both challenge it. Now to try at once, vvhich of these two
Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The Romans make a
flect of three hundred and thirtie Gallies; the Carthaginians, of three hundred and fiftie;
vvhich, *Quadriremes* and *Quinqueremes*.
The Romans resolute to transport the vvarre into *Africk*, the Carthaginians, to arrest
them on the coast of *Sicily*. The numbers, with vvhich each of them filled their flect,
was perhaps the greatest that euer fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his estimation,
there were in the Roman Gallies an hundred and forty thousand men, and in those of
Carthage, an hundred and fifty thousand: reckoning one hundred and twenty Souldiers
in each Gallie, and three hundred rowers to euery Gallie, one with the other. The Roman flect
was diuided into foure parts, of which the three first made the forme of a Wedge of Tri-
angle; the two first squadrons making the Flanks, and the third squadron, the Base:
the point thereof (vvherein vvere the two Consuls as Admiralls) looking toward the
enemie, and the middle space lying empty. Their Vessells of carriage were towed by
the third squadron. After all came vp the fourth, in forme of a *Crescent*; very well man-
ned, but exceeding thinne: so that the hornes of it inclosed all the third squadron; to-
gether with the corners of the first and second. The order of the Carthaginian flect I
cannot conceiue by relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I coniecture,
that the front of their flect was thinne, and stretched in a great length, much like to that
which the French call *Combat en hay*, a long front of horse, and thinne: which forme,
since the Pistoll preuailed ouer the Lance, they haue changed. Behind this first out-
stretched front, their Battalions were more solide: for *Amilcar*, Admirall of the Cartha-
ginians, had thus ordered them, of purpose, (his Gallies hauing the speed of the Romans)
that, when the first flect of the Romans hastened to breake through the first Gallies, they
should all turne taile, and the Romans pursuing them (as after a victory) disorder them-
selves, & for eagernes of taking the Run-awayes, leaue their own three squadrons
far behind them. For so it must needs fall out; seeing that the third squadron towed
their horse boats, and victuallers; and the fourth had the Reareward of all. According
to *Amilcars* direction it succeeded. For when the Romans had charged, and broken, the
thinne front of the Carthaginian first flect, which ran away, they forthwith gaue after
them with all speed possible, not so much as looking behind them for the second squa-
dron. Hereby the Romans were drawne neere vnto the body of the Carthaginian flect;
led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the first) receiued a great losse, vntill their second squa-
dron came vp, vvhich forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oares. *Hanno* also, who
commanded the right wing of the Carthaginian flect, inuaded the Roman Reareward,
and preuailed against them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Asilius* fell back to
their succour, and put the Carthaginians to their heeles; as not able to sustain both squa-
drons. The Reare being relieved, the Consuls came to the aide of their third Battalioh,
which towed the victuallers, which was also in great danger of being beaten by the *A-
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also to running.

This victorie fell vnto the Romans, partly by the hardinesse of their Souldiers;
but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being first beaten, could neuer after ioyne him-
selfe vnto any of his other squadrons, that remained as yet in a faire likelihood of pre-
uailling so long as they fought vpon equall tearmes, and but squadron to squadron. But
Amilcar forsaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the Roman flect vn-
engaged, and readie to giue succour to any of the other parts that were oppressed. So
in conclusion, the Romans got the honour of the day: for they lost but foure and
twenty

* The *Quin-
queremes* are
Gallies, where-
in euery Oare
hath five men
to draw it: the
Quadriremes
had foure, o
an Oare; and
the *Triremes*,
three. Some
haue thought,
that the *Quin-
queremes* had
five ranks of
Oares, one o-
uer another; &
the other Gal-
lies (rarely by)
fewer. But had
this bene so,
they must then
haue had five
deekes each o-
uer other: which
hath
scidone bene
seen in ships of
a thousand
Tunns, neither
could the third
fourth, and fift
ranks, haue
reached vnto
the water with
the Oares.

twentie of theirs; whereas the *Africans* lost thirtie that were swike, and threescore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar*, who had more *Gallies* than the *Romans*, had also divided his fleet into foure squadrons, (besides those that he ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them) and that, whilest he himselfe fought with one squadron that charged him, all the rest of the enemies fleet had bene at the same time entertained, he had prevailed: But the second squadron, being fired, came to the rescue of the first, by which *Amilcar* was oppressed and *Amilcar*, being oppressed, and scattered, the Consuls had good leisure to relieue both the third and the fourth squadron, and got the victorie.

Charles the first, among other his Precepts to *Philip* the second, his sonne, where he aduise him concerning Warre against the *Turkes*, tells him, that in all battailes betweene them and the *Christians*, he should neuer faile to charge the *Lansjers* in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the *Lansjers*, who are alwaies reserued intire in the Reare of the battaile, and in whom the *Turkes* repose their greatest confidence; come vp in a grosse body, when all their troops on both sides are disbanded and in confusion; whereby they carrie the victorie before them without resistance. By the same order of fight, and reseruation, did the *Romans* also prevail against other Nations. For they kept their *Friary* in store (who were the choice of their Armie) for the vp-shot and last blow. A great and victorious aduantage it hath ever bene found, to keepe some one or two good troopes to looke on, when all else are disbanded and ingaged.

§. VIII.

The Romanes preuail in Africk. Atilius the Consull proponndeth intolerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is utterly beaten, and made prisoner.

NOW the *Romans* according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-viualled their fleet, set saile for *Africa*, and arriued at the Promontory of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of *Carthage*, and some fortie leagues from *Heraclia* in *Sicill*, where *Amilcar* himselfe as yet staid. From this Head-land (leauing the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the East-side of the Promontorie, till they came to *Clypea*, a Towne about fiftie English mile from it. There they dis-embarked, and prepared to besiege *Clypea*; which, to ease them of labour, was yielded vnto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on *Africa* side, without which all inuasions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arriued at their owne *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* fleet and armie had directed themselves thither: but being aduertised that they had taken *Clypea*, they made prouisions of all forts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* send to *Rome* for directions, and in the meane while waste all round about them. The order giuen from the Senate, was, that one of the Consulls should remaine with the Armie, and that the other should returne, with the fleet into *Italie*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Consull is sent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him twentie thousand *African* Captaines, with all the *Roman* fleet and armie; except fortie ships, fiftene thousand foot, and fise hundred horse, that were left with *Atilius*.

With these forces, *Regulus* easily wanne some Townes and Places that were vnwalled, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that neere vnto the River of *Bagrada*, he encountered with a Serpent of one hundred and twenty foot long, which he slue, not without losse of many Souldiers, being driuen to vse against it such engines of warre, as serued properly for the assaulting of Townes. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Armie, whereof the Captaines were *Hanno* and *Bastar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought ouer out of *Sicill* fise thousand foote, and fise hundred horse to succour his Countrie. These (belike) had an intent, rather to wearie him out of *Africa*, by warie protraction of time, than to vndergoe the hazard of a maine fight. They were carefull to hold themselves free, from necessitie of comming to blowes: yet had they a great desire, to saue the Towne of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their generall purpose, and yet to disturbe him in the siege of *Adis*; they incampe, neere vnto him, and

strongly

strongly (as they think) on the top of an hill: but thereby they lost the seruice, both of their Elephants, & of their horse-men. This disadvantage of theirs, *Regulus* discouered, & makes vse of it. He assailes them in their strength, whilest they defend in wilde, but in fine the *Romans* preuaile, & force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. Following this their good fortune at the heels, they proceed to *Tunis*, a Citie within fiftie miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

By the losse of this battaile at *Adis*, and more especially by the losse of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismayed. The *Nomads*, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult vpon their misfortunes; invade, and spoile their Territory; and force those that inhabite abroad, to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within the walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens; which findes his own aduantage; and assures himselfe that the Citie could not long hold out, if he feared lest it might defend it selfe, vntill his time of Office, that was flecter expired, should be quite run out, whereby the new Consuls were like to reape the fruit of obtaining it. Ambition therefore hath no respect but to it selfe, perfwaded him with fear of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded vnto them so vnworthy and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with feare, became now so couragious and disdainfull, that they resolved, either to defend their liberty, or die the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arriued at the same time a great troope of *Greekes*, whom they had formerly sent to entertaine: Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had passed, & of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* recetied neere vnto *Adis*, gaue it out publicly, that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ran, till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is sent for; giues the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made Generall of the *African* forces, he put himselfe into the field. The Armie which he led, consisted of no more than twentie thousand foot, and some thousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had; Libertie; Lives; Goods; Wiues, and Children (which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea before spoken of, were misse-numbered: the one consisting of an hundred and forty thousand, and the other of an hundred and fifty thousand: were it not commonly found that they which vse the seruice of mercenary Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their own doors).

Xantippus, taking the field with this Armie, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and placing his troops vpon safe and leuell ground, fittest both for his Elephants and horse, presented them battaile. The *Romans* wondered much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were, that it should soon be beaten. Their chief care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a forelorne hope; that they might, either with darts and other casting weapons, drue backe the beasts vpon the *Legions*, or at least brake their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely vpon the *Legions*. To the same end, they made their battailes deeper in file, than they had been accustomed to doe. By which means, as they were the less subiect vnto the impression of the Elephants; so were they so much the more exposed vnto the violence of horse, wherein the Enemy did faire exceede them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one ranke, before his Armie; which followed them at a considerable distance: his horsemen, and some light-armed foote, of the *Carthaginians* and *Velites*, were in the wings. The first onser was giuen by the Elephants; against which the *Romans* were so vnable to make resistance, that they brake into the battalions following; and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* battalions was helpfull. For when the beasts had spent their force, in piercing through the first rankes, the squadrons neuertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horse, hauing in the first encounter, by reason of their aduantage in number, driuen those of *Atilius* out of the field, beganne to charge the *Roman* battalions in flanke, and put them in great distresse; who being forced to some face every way, could neither passe forward nor yet retire; but had very much to doe, to keepe the ground whereon they stood. In the meane while, such of the *Romans*, as had escaped the furie of the Elephants, and left them at their backes,

Nnn 3

fell

fell upon the Carthaginians. Armin, that met them in very good array. It was no even match. The one were a disordered Company, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to have dealt with the oncoming upon equal terms. Here was therefore a greater slaughter with little fight; the Romans hastily recoiling to the body of their Armie, which being surrounded with the oncoming, and spent with trouble, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of these trouppes, that open the way to a generall overthrow. So the Carthaginians obtained a full victory; destroying the whole Roman Armie, save two thousand, and taking five hundred prisoners, together with Atilius the Consull. Of their own they lost no more, than eight hundred mercenaries, which were slaine, when the fight began, by two thousand of the Romans; that wheeling about to a quid the Elephants, bare down all before them, and made way euen to the Carthaginian trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Armie behinde them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slaine. Hereby, fortune made the Romans know, that they were no lesse her passers, than were the Carthaginians: how insolent foue they had bin in their proposition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperitie, which she neuer gave nor sold to any mortall man. With what ioy these newes were welcommed, when they came to Carthage, we may easily coniecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to passe in the World, there are many examples to proue, no lesse than this of Xerxes; all of them confirming that sentence of *Euryptides*, *Mens una sapient, plurimum viciis manus*, *Many mans hands equal not one wise minde*.

After this great service done to the Carthaginians, Xanthippus returned into Greece, whether for that he was more enuied than honoured, or for what other cause is unknowne.

The death of Atilius Regulus the Consull, was very memorable. He was sent from Carthage to Rome, about the exchange and ranfome of prisoners on both sides: giving his faith for returne if the businesse were not effected. When he came to Rome, and plainly saw, that his Country should lose by the bargain: so far was he from vrging the Senate unto compassion of his own miserie, that he earnestly perswaded to have the prisoners in Africke left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to Carthage: where for his paines taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancie and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the Carthaginians seeme to have indured him an obstinate and malicious enemy; that neither in his prosperitie would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamitie would haue the naturall care, to preferue himselfe and others, by yeelding to such an office of humanitie, as is common in all vvarres (not grounded upon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small aduantage. Whatsoeuer the Carthaginians thought of him, sure it is, that his faithfull obseruance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that graue speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of prisoners, appears, in all reason, to haue proceeded from a vainglorious fixity of minde, rather than from any necessity of State. For the exchange was made soone, after his death; vvherein the Romans had the worse bargain, by lo much as Regulus himselfe was worth. As for the authority of all Historians, that magnifie him in this point, we are to consider that they liued vnder the Roman Empire. Atilius, the Carthaginian, perhaps did censure it other wise. Yet the Quarta which he suffered with extreame torments, could not be more grievous to him than it was dishonorable to Carthage. Neither do I thinke that the Carthaginians could excuse themselves herein; otherwise than by recrimination: saying, That the Romans deserved to be so better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinary practice to use others in the like sort. Cruelty doth not become more vvarrantable, but rather more odious, by being customary. It was the Roman fashion, to whip almost to death, and then to behead the Captaines of their enemies whom they took, yea although they were such as had otherwise made faire wars with them. Wherefore it seemes not meet, in reason, that they should crie out against the like tyrannicall insolencie in others, as if it were a lawfull only to themselves.

The consideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of Atilius in tolerable demands; and of the sudden valour, wherinto the Carthaginians were changed by more desperation; calls to remembrance, the like insolencie, and then prosperity, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath

be denied. In such cases Inuen hold it impertinent, to adde vnto lonely more testimonies; approuing the true rules, from which our passions carry vs away. In the year 1378, the Carthaginians won so fast upon the Spaniards, as they not onely drad their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their own fleet within two miles of Venice itselfe. This bred such an amazement in the Citizens of Venice, that they offered vnto the Genowies (their State referred) whatsoeuer they would demand. But Peter Doria, blowe vpon with many former victories, would haue no composition; save the yeelding of their Citie and State to his discretion. Hereupon, the Venetians, being filled with disdain, thrust out to Sea with all their remaining power, and assaile Doria with such desperate furie, that they brake his fleet, kill Doria himselfe, take nineteen of his Gallies, four score boards of *Padua*, and four thousand prisoners; recover *Chiozza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their victory, enter the Port of Genoa, forcing the Genowies, basely to begge peace, to their extreame dishonour and disadvantage being beaten; which, being victorious, they might haue commanded to their greatest honour and aduantage. The like hapned to the Earle of *Flinders*, in the year 1581, when having taken a notable, and withall an ouer-craell reuenge vpon the *Cannicks*, who refused mercy to the rest, who in all humillie, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their Citie, goods, and estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had rudely refused, and was resolved to extinguish them utterly; they issue out vpon his Citie with five thousand chosen men; and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earle, brake his Armie, enter *Bruges* (pell-mell) with his vanquished follow, and enforce him to hide himselfe vnder an heape of snow, in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficultie he escaped, and saved himselfe. Such are the fruits of insolencie.

§. IX.

The affaires of Carthage prospered after the victorie against Atilius: How the Romans having lost their fleet by tempest, resolve to forsake the Sea: The great advantages of a good warre, betwene Nations divided by the Sea.

By the reputation of this late victorie, all places that had bin lost in Africke, returned to the obedience of Carthage. Only *Clypea* stands out, before which the Carthaginians sit down, and assaile it, but in vaine. For the Romans, hearing of the losse of Atilius with their forces in Africke, and withall, that *Clypea* was brought to be ready a grosse Armie, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and sixtie Gallies, commanded by *M. Aemilius*, and *Ser. Fulvius*, their Consuls. At the Request of *Mercurie*, two hundred Carthaginian Gallies, set out of purpose, vpon the bruit of their coming, encounter them: but greatly to their cost. For the Romans took by force an hundred and foure score of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they staid no longer, than to take in their own men that had bin beleeged; and vnto done they made amaine toward *Sicill*, in hope to recouer all that the Carthaginians held therein. In this hasty voyage they despite the aduice of the Pilots, who pray them to tarry in the harbour in time, for that the season threatened some violent stormes, which they imagined between the rising of *Orion*, and of the *Dog-starre*. Now although the Pilots of the Roman Fleet had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and caried them withall, that the South coast of *Sicill* had no good Ports, wherein to seek shelter, yet vpon such an accident: yet this victorious Nation was perswaded, that they should conquer the Elements themselves. So, refusing to stay within some Port, as they were aduised, they would needs put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this victorie against the Carthaginian fleet, to take a new worke in the conquest vpon the coast. The mercilesse winds in the meane while overtake them, and drive vnto *Camerina*, ouerturne and thrust headlong on the rocks, all but foure score of their fleet, which the Spaniards call the North windes, are very fierce, and therefore they that haue in those parts, call it the end of the winter. In passing the Seas toward *Sicill*, in the winter quarter, contrary to the windes, as the Carthaginians were, the Roman fleet was driven backe, with a hundred and fourety Gallies, which all in effect, was the same as if they had beene beaten, by the Carthaginians. From before the one and the other, was extreme dishonorable.

* There is no Part of the World, which hath not some certain times of outrageous weather be-lies their accidental stormes. We haue vpon our coast a Michaelmas flaw, that seldom or neuer fails: In the west Indies, in the moneths of August and September, whose most

of three hundred and forty ships: so as their former great victory, was delivred by the Seas, before the fame there recovered Rome.

The Carthaginians, hearing what had hapned, repaired all their warlike Vessels, hoping once again to command the Seas: they are also confident of their land-forces since the overthrow of *Asilius*. They send *Asdrubal* into *Sicily* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and fortie Elephants imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Armie and fleet he arrives at *Lilybaeum*; where he begins to vex the *Parsians* of Rome. But ad- versitie doth not discourage the *Romans*: They build in three moneths (a matter of great more) one hundred and twenty ships; with which, and the remainder of their late ship- wracke, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palermia*, the chiefe Citie of the *Africans* in *Sicily*, and surround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leaving a Garrison there, in, returne to Rome.

Very desirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africa*; to vvhich purpose they im- ploied *C. Servilius*, and *C. Sempromius*, their Consuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoile they made vpon the coasts of *Africa*; but Fortune robbed them of all their get- tings. For in their returne, they were first set vpon the Sands, and like to haue perished, nere vnto the lesser *Syrtis*, where they were faine to heave all over-board, that so they might get off: then, hauing with much ado doubled the Cape of *Lilybaeum*, in their pa- sage from *Panormus* towards *Italy*, they lost an hundred and fifty of their ships by foule weather. A greater discouragement neuer Nation had; the god of the waters favoured them no more, than the god of the waters assisted them. Of all that *Mars* enriched them with vpon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them vpon the Seas. For they had now lost besides vvhatch they lost in fight, foure hundred and fixe Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby receiued, perswaded them to giue ouer their Navi- gation, and their fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-armie into *Sicily*, vnder *L. Cassius*, and *F. Furius*, their Consuls. These they transported in some three score ordinary passage boats, by the streights of *Messana*, that are not aboue a mile and a halfe broad from land to land. In like sort, the overthrow which *Asilius* receiued in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them lesse cholericke against the *Carthaginians*, than before, so that for two yeares after, they kept the high & wooddie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champaign Countries. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas did not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in *Sicily*, without a Naue, much lesse to maintaine the war in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* were to send forces from *Messana* to *Egesta*, to *Lilybaeum*, and to other places in the extreme West parts of *Sicily*, making sometimes a march of aboue an hundred and forty English mile by land, which could not be performed with an Armie, and the provisions that follow it, in lesse than foureteene daies, the *Carthaginians* would passe it vwith their Gallies, in eight and forty houres.

An old example we haue, of that great aduantage of transporting Armies by water, 40 between *Cannus*, and *Edmond Ironside*. For *Cannus*, vwhen he had entered the *Thames* with his Naue and Armie, and could not preuaile against *London*, suddenly imbarqued, and sailing to the West, landed in *Dorsetshire*, so drawing *Edmond* & his Army thither. There finding all entertainment, he againe shipt his men, & entered the *Southern*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the succour of *Worcestershire*; by him greatly spoiled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he sailed back againe to *London*: by the means whereof he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, & succour could arrive. And this was not the least help, vvhich the *Netherlands* haue had against the *Spaniards*. In the de- fence of their liberty, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Army from place to place, vvhich they wearied, and entire, with all the Munition & Artillerie belonging vwith, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies haue been able to doe. Of this, an instance or two. The Count *Maurice of Nassau*, now living, one of the greatest Capitaines, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages haue brought forth, in the yeare 1590, carried his Armie by Sea, with forty Canons, to be- siege *Boissedue*, or *Gersensden Berg*; vvhich the enemies (in preuention) filled with Souldiers, and vvhalls. But as soone as the winde sprung, he suddenly set saile, arriving in the mouth of the *Meuse*, turned vpon the *Rhine*, and thence to *Uffel*, and sat downe before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could

could march ouer-land round about *Holland*, aboue fiftie score mile, and ouer many great Rivers with their Cannon and cartiage, *Zutphen* was taken. Again, when the *Spanish* Armie had overtooke his wearisome march, and were now far from home, the Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to saile vpon the *Rhine*, changed his course in the night, and sailing down the streame, he was set downe before *Halff*, in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge vvhich was betwixt him. So this Towne he also tooke, before the *Spanish* Armie could returne. Lastly, the *Spanish* Armie was not sooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, hauing fortified *Halff*, set saile againe, and precluded him selfe before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a Citie of notable importance; 50 and mastered it.

And to say the truth, it is impossible for any maritime Countrey, not hauing the coasts so well fortified, to defend it selfe against a powerful enemy, that is master of the Sea. Herein should rather, than *Spain*, than *England* should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second, had fully resolved to hinder Sir *John Norris*, in the yeare 1589, from presenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugale*, before the gates of *Lisbon*, and that he would haue kept off the *English*, by power of his land-forces, as being too weak at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty Armada, by the fleet of *Queene Elizabeth*, in the yeare foregoing. Surely, it had not bin hard for him, to prepare an Armie, that should be able to resist our eleven thousand. But where should his Armie haue bin bestowed? If about *Lisborne*, then would it haue beene easie 10 vnto the *English*, to take, ranlacke, and burne the Towne of *Graine*, and to waste the Countrey round about it. For the great and threaning preparations of the Earle of *Arundell*, the Marquise of *Serubb*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the halfe leaue of eight thousand, vnder the Earle of *Arundell*, serue to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir *John Norris*, and his As- sociates: considering, that the *English* charged these, at *Puente de Burgos*, and passing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricadoed 20 the further end, routed them, tooke their campe; tooke their Generals standard with the Kings Armes, and pursued them ouer all the Countrey, which they fired. If a roy- al Armie, and not (as this was) a Companie of priuate aduenturers, had thus begun the war in *Galicia*; I thinke it would haue made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portu- gale*, and make haste to the defence of their *S. Iago*, whose Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution; as knowing, that Sir *John Norris* his maine intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Armie, into his Kingdom, whither com- ming strong, he expected to be readily and ioyfully welcomed: could they haue hindered his landing in *Portugale*? Did not he land at *Peniche*, and march ouer the Countrey to *Lisborne*, fixe dayes journey? Did not he (when all *Don Antonio* his promises failed) 30 passe along by the Riuer of *Lysborne* to *Cascaiz*, and there, hauing won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But these, though no more than an handfull, yet were they *Englishmen*. Let vs consider of the matter it selfe, what another Nation might doe, euen against *England*, in landing an Armie, by aduantage of a fleet, if we had none. This question, whether an invading Armie may be resisted at their landing vpon the coast of *Eng- land*, were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his obseruations vpon *Cassars* Commentaries, that main- taines the affirmative. This he holds only vpon supposition; in absence of our shipping; and comparatiuely, as that it is a more safe and easie course, to defend all the coast of *England*, than to suffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keep our enemy from treading vpon our grounds; wherein, if we faile, then must we seeke to make him wish, that he had staid at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our iudgements are to weigh many particu- 40 lar circumstances, that belong not vnto this discourse. But making the question ge- neral, and positiue, whether *England*, without helpe of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemy from landing; I hold that it is vnable so to do: and therefore, I thinke it most dangerous to make the aduventure. For the encouragement of a just victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a most peri- cles consequence.

It is true, that the Marshall *Monius*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, chiefly his wanting forces, wherewith to haue kept the frontier of *Guinn*, they of the Protestant

Protestant religion, after the battaile of *Monsieur*, entered that Countie, and gathered great strength and reliefe thence; for if the King saith he would haue giuen but reasonable meanes, *je ne biengarde Monsieur l'Admiral, de faire boire les Chemins de la Garonne; I would haue kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the River of Garonne.* Monsieur de Langry, on the contrary side, preferred the not fighting vpon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay; which course the Constable of France held, against the Emperour Charles, when he invaded *Provence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diuerse consideration to be had, betwene such a Countie as *France* is, strengthened with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Ramparts are but of the bodies of men. And it was of inuasions vpon firme land, that these great Capitaines spake: whose entrances cannot be vncertaine. But our question is, of an Armie to be transported ouer Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Countie, and the place left to the choice of the Inuader. Hereunto I say, That such an Armie cannot be resisted on the coast of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of *France*, or any other Countie: except euery Creeke, Port, or sandy Bay, had a powerfull Army, in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted; That *Kent* is able to furnish twelue thousand foot, and that those twelue thousand be layed in the three best landing places within that Countie, to wit, three thousand at *Margat*, three thousand at the *Nesse*, and six thousand at *Foulkston*, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troupes (vnlesse some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this provision, if the enemy, setting saile from the Isle of *Wight*, in the first watch of the night, and towing their long boates at their sternes, shall arrive by dawne of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their Armie on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at *Margat*, (twenty and foure long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the *Nesse*. Nay, how shall they at *Foulkston* be able to doe it, who are neerer by more than halfe the way? seeing that the enemy, at his first arrivall, will either make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to run; or else giue them so much to doe, that they shall be glad to send for helpe to *Foulkston*, and perhaps to *Margat*: whereby those places will be left bare. Now let vs suppose, that all the twelue thousand *Kentish* Souldiers arrive at the *Nesse*, ere the enemy can be ready to dis-imbarque his Armie, so that he shall find it vnlate, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him; yet must we beleue, that he will play the best of his own game; and (having liberty to go which way he list) vnder covert of the night, set saile towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to doe it. Yea the like may be said of *Waymouth*, *Purbeck*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, that Ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily outrun the Souldiers that coast them. *Les Armees ne valent point en poste; Armees neither stay, nor run post*, saith a Marshall of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of Ships may be seene at Sunne-set, and after it, at the *Lisard*; yet by the next morning they may recouer *Portland*, whereas an Armie of foot shall not be able to march it in sixe dayes. Again, when those troupes, lodged on the Sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vaine, after a fleet of Ships; they will at length sit down in the mid-way, and leaue all at aduenture. But say it were otherwise; That the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Army of ours ready to receiue him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilburie* in the yeare 1588.) to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the Citie of *London*: they that remaine to guard the coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an Armie like vnto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* should haue landed in *England*.

The Isle of *Tercera* hath taught vs by experience, what to thinke in such a case. There are not many Ilands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthened by art: it being euery where hard of access, hauing no good harbour whereto shelter a Naue

of friends; and vpon euery cove or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylua*, and *Monsieur de Chastes*, that held it to the stile of *Don Antonio*, with five or sixe thousand men, thought to haue kept the *Marquesse* of *Sant a Cruz*, from setting foot on ground therein; the Marquesse having shewed himselfe in the Road of *Angra*, did set saile, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, farre distant from thence, where he won a Fort, and landed, ere *Monsieur de Chastes*, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Strössi*, slaine the yeare before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred *French* prisoners murdered in cold blood, had instructed *de Chastes* and his followers, what they might expect at that Marquesse his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying reliefe to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *English* would be persuaded to make such diligent haste, from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and backe againe, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whereof the *French men* had not measured the one halfe when they found themselves preuented by the more nimble ships of *Spainie*.

This may suffice to proue, that a strong Armie, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list, in *England*, *France*, or elsewhere, vnlesse it be hindered, encountred, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equall, or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our *English*, at *Fajal*, in the yeare 1597, is alleged against this: which example moues me no way to thinke, that a large coast may be defended against a strong fleet. I landed those *English* in *Fajal*, my selfe, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I finde an action of mine cited, with omission of my name; I may by a ciuil interpretation, thinke, that there was no purpose to defraiid me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprise was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due vnto it. There were indeede some which were in that voyage, who aduised me not to vndertake it: and I harkened vnto them; somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilst they desired me, to reserve the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty: I gave them to vnderstand, the same which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could haue landed my men with more ease than I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would haue rowed to another place, yea even there where I landed, if I would haue taken more companie to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that businesse, than of safetie. For I thought it to belong vnto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Ilanders should not think any aduantage great enough, against a fleet set forth by *2. Elizabeth*: and further, I was vnwilling, that some *Low-Country* Capitaines, and others, not of mine own Squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceit (though it would haue bin short, when I had landed in some other place) that for want of their helpe I was driuen to turne taile. Therefore I tooke with me none, but men assured, Commanders of mine owne Squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuse; as, *Sir William Brooke*, *Sir William Harvey*, *Sir Arthur Gorges*, *Sir John Stan*, *Sir Thom* is Ridgeway, *Sir Henrie Tennes*, *Sir Charles Morgan*, *Sir Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Capitaine *Lawrence Kemis*, Capitaine *William Morgan*, and others, such as well vnderstood themselves and the enemy: by whose helpe, with Gods fauour, I made good the enterprise I vndertooke. As for the working of the Sea, the steepnesse of the Cliffs, and other troubles, that were not new to vs, we ouercame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or sixe Companies of the enemies, that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, vwhereon their Musketers lay on the Rest for vs, and won the place of them without any great losse. This I could haue done with lesse danger, so that it should not haue serued for example of a rule, that failed euery in this example: but the reasons before alleadged, (together with other reasons well knowne to some of the Gentlemen aboue named, though more priuate, than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of brauery, and take the shorter course, hauing it still in mine owne power to fall off when I should thinke it meet. It is easily said, that the Enemy was more than a Coward; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie such a small peece of seruice, by seeking to proue him better: whom bad I thought

thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwife haue dealt with. But for so much as concernes the Proposition in hand; he that beheard this, may well remember that the same enemy troubled vs more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the shore; that he sought how to stop vs in place of his aduantage; that many of our men were slaine or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to be past, when we had won good footing) would needs follow vs to the Towne, were driven by him, to forsake the pace of a man of war, and betake themselves to an hastie trot.

For end of this digression, I hope that this question shall neuer come to triall; his Maiesties many moueable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *English* will no lesse disdain, than any Nation vnder heauen can doe, to be beaten vpon their owne ground, or elsewhere by a forraigne enemy; yet to entertaine those that shall assaile vs, with their owne beeste in their bellies, and before they eate of our *Kentish* Capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To doe which, his Maiesty, after God, will employ his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment vpon the shore.

§. X.

How the Romans attempt againe to get the mastery of the Seas. The victory of Cæcilius the Roman Consull as Panormus: The siege of Lilybæum. How a Rhodian Gallie entred Lilybæum at pleasure, in despite of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficultie to stop the passage of good ships. The Romans, by reason of grieuous losses receiued, vnder Claudius and Iunius their Consuls, abandon the Seas againe.

WHen, without a strong Nauie, the *Romans* found it altogether impossible either to keepe what they had already gotten in *Sicily*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa* or elsewhere, they resolued once againe, notwithstanding their late misaduentures, to strengthen their fleet and ships of war. So causing fittie new Gallies to be built, & the old to be repaired, they gaue them in charge (together with certaine Legions of Souldiers) to the new Consuls, *C. Attilius*, & *L. Manlius*. On the other side, *Asdrubal* perceiuing that the *Romans*, partly by reason of the shipwracke which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the ouerthrow which they receiued by *Xanthippus* in *Africa*, were lesse daring than they had bin in the beginning of the warre: and withall, that one of the Consuls was returned into *Italy*, with the one halfe of the Armie; and that *Cæcilius*, with onely the other halfe, remained at *Panormus*: he remoued with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to prouoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Consull was better aduised. For when *Asdrubal* had made his approches somewhat neere the Towne, *Cæcilius* caused a deepe trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the Citie: betweene which and his trench he left ground sufficient, to embattaile a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gaue order that they should aduance themselves, and passe ouer the new trench, till such time as the *African* Elephants were thrust vpon them. From those beasts he commanded them to retire, by slow degrees, till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brinke of the new trench, which they could by no means passe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were so gawled and beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, & by those that lay in the trench it selfe, that being enraged by their many wounds, they brake backe furiously vpon their owne foot-men, and vterly disordered them. *Cæcilius*, espying this aduantage, sallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troupes, that stood embattailed, he vterly brake them, and put them to their heeles; making a great slaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this victory being brought to *Rome*, the whole State, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred saile, which they sent into *Sicily*, to giue end to that warre, that had now lasted foureteeen yeares. With this fleet and armie the *Romans* resolue to attempt *Lilybæum*, the onely place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*; and all (indeed) saue *Drepanum*, that was neere adioyning. They set down before it, and possesse themselves of all the places of aduantage neere vnto it, especially of such as command the haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground fixe towres of defence; & by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the Citie,

streets, and by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the Citie, as the defendants begin to despaire. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the place, saileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken, hee repairs with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious sallies, and giueth to the *Romans* all the affronts that possibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lieutenants, and other petty Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is reuealed by an *Achean*, called *Alexan*, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, saued *Agriumentum*. *Himilco* vseth the helpe of *Alexan*, to assure the hired Souldiers, and imployeth *Hannibal* to appease the troupes of the *Gaules*, which did wauer, and had sent their agents to the enemy. All promise constancie and truth; so that the Traitors, being vnable to performe what they had vnderaken, are faine to liue in the *Roman* campe as fugitiues, that had wrought no good whereby to deserue their bread. In the meane while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to their reliefe, hauing *Hannibal* the son of *Amisear*, for their Conductor: who, in despite of all resistance, entred the Port and Citie, to the incredible ioy of the besieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) resolue to set vpon the *Romans* in their Trenches, & either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, or set on fire, their engines of batterie. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the vttermost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the *Romans* being more in number, and hauing the aduantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extreme difficultie defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* desire greatly to vnderstand the state of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to send into the Towne. A certaine *Rhodian* vndertakes the seruice; and hauing receiued his dispatch, sailes with one Gallie to *Ægula*, a little Iland neere *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port; and hauing a passing swift Gallie, he past through the best of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate, ere any of those, which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thrust from the shoores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the couert of the darke night, nor dreading to be boorded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his returne, he set saile, and shipped his Oares (this Gallie being exceeding quick of sterage, & himselfe expert in all parts of the chan-
nell) recovered the Hauens mouth, and the Sea, in despite of all the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himselfe out of danger of being encompassed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Haven, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth, to vndertake him. This enterprize, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondred at in those dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a farre off, the aduerture which this *Rhodian* made was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and iudicious man of war will not feare to passe by the best appointed Fort of Europe, with the help of a good Tide, and a leading gale of winde: no, though fortie peeeces of great Artillerie open their mouthes against him, and threaten to teare him in peeces.

In the beginning of our late Queenes time, when *Denmarke* & *Sweden* were at War; our *East-land* fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, as forbidden by the King of *Denmarke* to trade with the subjects of his enemies, & he threatened to sink their ships if they came through the straits of *Ellsenour*. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (hauing a ship of her Maiesties, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the aduerture, and sustaining some Volleys of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the prouision he could, to stop them, or sink them, at their returne. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burroughs*, leading the way, did not onely passe out with little losse, but did beat downe, with Artillerie, a great part of the Fort of *Ellsenour*, which at that time was not so well guarded, as now perhaps it is; and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound receiued. Neither was it long since, that the Duke of *Parma*, besieging *Antwerp*, and finding no possibilitie to master it, otherwise than by famine, laid his Canon on the bancke of the Riuer; so well to purpose, and so near, with the face of the water, that hee thought it impossible for the least boat to passe by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blown vp by any winde of glo-
rie, but comming to finde a good market for their Butter and Cheefe, euen the poore

men, attending their profit when all things were extreame cleare in Antwerp, passed in boats of seven or twelue Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despite of it, when a strong Westerly winde, and a Tide of flood fauoured them; as also with a contrary winde, and an ebbing water, they turned backe againe: so as hee was forced, in the end, to build his Stockado ouerthwart the Riuer, to his maruailous trouble and charge.

The Port Saint *Philip* terrified not vs in the yeere 1596. when he entred the Port of Caliz; neither did the Port at Puntal, when we were entred, beate vs from our anchoring by it, though it playd vpon vs with foure Demi-cannons within point blanche, from five in the morning till twelue at noone. The siege of Ostend, and of many other places, may be giuen for prooffe, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Port is so set, as that of Angra in Tercera, that there is no passage along beside it, or that the ships are driven to turne vpon it bow-line towards it, wanting all helpe of winde and tide; there, and in such places, is it of great vse, and fearefull: otherwise not.

But to returne to our aduenturous Rhodian: Hee arrives in safety at Carthage, and makes them know the state of Lilybaeum. Others also, after this take vpon them to doe the like, and performe it with the same successe. The Romans therefore labour to choake the channell; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants ships with great stones, and sink them therein. The force of the Tides cleares it againe in part: but they grownded so many of those great belied boates in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heape, like a ragged Island, in the passage. Hereby it came to passe, that a Carthaginian Gallie, taking her course by night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ranne her selfe a-ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the braue Rhodian, thinking to enter, as hee had done before: but this Carthaginian Gallie, a little before taken, gaue him chase, and gathered vpon him; hee findes what shee is, both by her forme and by her swiftnesse: and being not able to runne from her, resolved to fight with her. But shee is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybaeum, after this, is greatly distressed; the Souldiers being worne with labour and warching. But in this despair there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the Romans wooden Towers, by which they ouer-topt the walls of Lilybaeum, were ouer-turned. A Greeke Souldier vndertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blowne vnto by the bellowes of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistlesse, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brazen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon, despaire and wearinesse hinder the Romans from repairing their Engines: so that they resolve, by a long siege, to starue the defendants.

Vpon relation of what had past, a supply of tenne thousand Souldiers is sent from Rome, vnder *M. Claudius*, the Consull. Hee arrives at Messana, and marcheth ouer land to Lilybaeum: where having re-inforced the Armie, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprize of Drepanum, a Citie on the oother side of the Bay of Lilybaeum. This seruice the Capitaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consull embarks his troups, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Gouverneur of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warre, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at Lilybaeum, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but having recovered his spirits, hee perswades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad, than to be enclosed. Herewithall hee promisseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserue them; offering to leade them himselfe, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrusts into the Sea towards the Romans. The Consull, deceived of his expectation, calls backe the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some rowe backward, some forward, in great confusion. *Adherbal* findes and follows his aduantage, and forceth the Consull into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himselfe, hauing the land on his backe: hoping thereby to keepe himselfe from being incompassed. But hee was there by, and for want of Sea-room, so streightened, as he could not turne himselfe any way from his enemies, nor range himselfe in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, hee thrust out of the Bay with

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thirtie Gallies, besides his owne, and so fled away: all the rest of his fleet, to the number of ninetie and foure ships, were taken or sunke by the Carthaginians. *Adherbal* for this seruice is greatly honoured at Carthage; and *Claudius*, for his indiscretion and flight, as much disgraced at Rome.

The Romans, notwithstanding this great losse, arme three-score Gallies, with which they send away *L. Iunius*, their Consull, to take charge of their businesse in Sicil. *Iunius* arrives at Messana, where he meetes with the whole remainder of the Roman fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of Lilybaeum. One hundred and twenty Gallies hee had; and besides these, hee had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessarie prouisions for the Armie. With this great fleet hee arrives at Syracuse, where he staies a while; partly to take in corne; partly, to wait for some, that were too slow of saile, to keepe company with him along from Messana. In the meane time, he dispatcheth away towards Lilybaeum, his Quæstors or Treasurers; to whom he commits the one halfe of his victualers, with some Gallies for their conveyance.

Adherbal was not carelesse, after his late victory: but studied how to vse it to the best advantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to Carthage. Of his owne Gallies hee deliuered thirtie to *Carthalo*, who had three-score and tenne more vnder his owne charge; and sent him to try, what good might be done against the Roman fleet, in the Haven of Lilybaeum. According to this direction, *Carthalo* suddenly enters the mouth of that Hauen, where hee findes the Romans, more attentiu to the keeping in of the besieged Carthaginians, than to the defence of their owne against another fleet. So hee chargeth them, boords, and takes some, and fires the rest. The Roman Campe takes alarme, and hastens to the rescue. But *Himilco*, Gouverneur of the Town, is not behinde hand, who sallies out at the same time, and putting the Romans to great distresse, giues *Carthalo* good leasure to goe through with his enterprife.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ranne all along the South coast of Sicil, desiring how to worke mischiefe to the enemies; wherein Fortune presented him with a faire occasion, which he wisely managed. He was aduertised by his Scouts, that they had descried, neere at hand, a great fleet, consisting of all manner of Vessels. These were the victualers, which the Consull *Iunius*, more hastily than prouidently, had sent before him towards Lilybaeum. *Carthalo* was glad to heare of their coming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accompting therefore the great multitude of Roman Hulks approaching, to be rather a prey, than a fleet, likely to make strong opposition, hee hastens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The Romans had no minde to fight: but were glad to seeke shelter in an open Road, full of rocks, vnder conert of a poore Towne, belonging to their partie; that could helpe to save them onely from the present danger, by lending them engines & other aide, whereunto they were bound. *Carthalo* therefore, hauing taken a few of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride vnder those rockes, but would be forced by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to save their men, how they could, by taking land, with the losse of all their shipping. Whilst he was busied in this care, the Consull *Iunius* drew neere, and was discovered. Against him *Carthalo* makes out, and findes him altogether vnprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Consull had neither meanes to flie, nor ability to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking no danger so great, as that of the enemies. The Carthaginian, seeing this, betakes himselfe to a Station betwene the two Roman fleets; where he watcheth, to see which of them would first stir, with a resolution to assault that, which should first dare to put it selfe into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coast of Sicil, betwene the Promontorie of Pachinus and Lilybaeum, a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde so formed at South. The Carthaginians, who knew the times of tempest, and their signes, finding (belike) some swelling billow (for so we doe in the West of England, before a Southerly storme) hastened to double the Cape of Pachinus, thereby to couer themselves from the rage at hand. But the Romans, who knew better how to fight, than how to Nauiage, and neuer found any soule weather in the entrailes of their treasts, their Sooth-sayers being all land-prophets, were suddenly ouer-taken with a boistrous South winde, and all the Gallies forced against the rocks, and vtterly wrackt.

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This calamity so discouraged the Romans, that they resolved againe to forsake the Seas, and trust onely to the seruice of their Legions vpon firme ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at Sea, or else they must not make warre in an Island; against those that haue a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered, through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient vertue of the Spaniards. We seldom or neuer finde, that any Nation hath endured so many misaduentures and miseries, as the Spaniards haue done, in their *Indian Discoveries*. Yet persisting in their enterprises, with an intincible constancie, they haue annexed to their Kingdome so many goodly Prouinces, as burie the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwracks, famine, ouerthrowes, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme pouertie, and want of all things needfull, haue bene the enemies, wherewith euery one of their most noble Discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Many yeeres haue passed ouer some of their heads, in the search of not so many leagues: yea more than one or two, haue spent their labour, their wealth, and their liues, in search of a golden Kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fift vndertakers, haue not bene disheartened. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasuries, and Paradises, which they enioy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

§. XI.

The Citie of Eryx is surprized by the Romans, and recovered by Amilcar, who stoutly holds warre with them sine yeeres. The Romans hauing emptied their common treasure, build a new fleet, at the charges of priuate men. The great victorie at Sea of Lucatius the Consull; whereby the Carthaginians are forced to craue peace. The conditions of the peace betweene Rome and Carthage.

THE Romans were carefull, to supply with all industrie, by land, the want of strength at Sea. Therefore they continue the siege of Lilybaeum, and seeke to make sure to themselves all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring reliefe. The Consull *Iunius*, to cure the wound of dishonour, which hee had received, bethought him what enterprises to vndertake. In the end hee resolved to attempt the Mountaine and Citie of Eryx, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the fairest and richest of all the Island; and of these, by cunning or treason, he got possession. Eryx was commodiously seated betweene Drepanum and Panormus; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restrain the Carthaginians from making roads into the Countrey. Wherefore *Iunius* fortified both the top of the Mountaine, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottome, (both which places were very defensible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the eighteenth yeere of this warre, the Carthaginians sent forth *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a fleet and Armie, who sailing to the coasts of Italie, did thoroughly repay the spoyle which the Romans made in Africa. For hee first of all wasted and destroyed the Territories of the Locrines, and of the Brutians, that were dependants of Rome. Then entred he into Sicill; and finding there no walled Citie in the Carthaginians power, that serued fitly to infect the Romans, he occupied a piece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to confront as well the Romans, that were in Panormus, as those that kept about Eryx, putting himselfe betweene both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had seized vpon, was not onely very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gaue him opportunity, to scoure all the coast of Italie with his fleet, waiting all along as farre as to Cuma. In the Isle of Sicill he held the Romans to hard worke: lying neere vnto Panormus, where in three yeeres abode he did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemy could neuer be drawne to hazard the maine chance. Hauing wearied himselfe and the Romans long enough about Panormus, he vndertooke a strange peece of work at Eryx. The Roman Garrisons, placed there by *Iunius*, on the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine,

were very strongly lodged. Neuertheless *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Seaside, by which hee conueighed his men into the Citie of Eryx, that was about the midst of the ascent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the Romans which kept the top of the mountaine, were streightly held (as it were) besieged. And no lesse was *Amilcar* himselfe restrained, by both of these Garrisons, and such as came to relieue them. There he found them pastime about two yeeres more; hoping still to wearie out those that lay ouer his head, as they on the contrary did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the Romans and of the Carthaginians, was bent vnto the prosecuting of this businesse at Eryx. Wherein it seemes true (as *Hannibal*, in *Liuie*, spake vnto *Scipio*) that the affaires of Carthage neuer stood in better termes, since the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the Romans had vtterly forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly vpon confidence of their land-forces, which they held resistlesse, *Amilcar*, with a small Armie, had so well acquired himselfe, to the honour of his Countrey, that by the triall of five yeeres warre, the Carthaginian Souldier was iudged equall, if not superior to the Roman. Finally, when all, that might be, had bene deuised and gone, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warriour: no way seemed better to the Senate of Rome, than once againe to build a fleet; wherby, if the mastric of the Sea could once bee gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lacke of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficulty was found. The common treasure was exhausted: and the cost was not little, that was requisite vnto such an enterprise. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden vpon priuate purses. Diuers of the principall Citizens vndertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one *Quinquereme*, which example wrought so well, that they, whose abilitie would not serue to doe the like, ioyned with some others, and laying their mony together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repaid, when the war was finished. By this voluntary contribution, they made and finished two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their paterne, that excellent swift rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the Rhodian, in the Port of Lilybaeum, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Lucatius Catalus*; who past with the same into Sicill, the Spring following, and entred the Port of Drepanum, in deauouring by all means to haue forced the Citie. But being aduertised that the Carthaginian fleet was at hand, and being mindefull of the late losses which his Predecessours had receiued; he was carefull to put himselfe in order, against their arriuall.

Hanno was Admiral of the Carthaginian fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the art of seeming reuerend. How his reputation was first bred, I doe not finde; but it was vp-held by a factious contradiction, or things vndertaken by men more worthy than himselfe. This qualitie procured vnto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient sort, whose cold temper is auerse from new enterprises, and therewithall an opinion of great foresight, confirmed by euery losse receiued. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the most grieuous oppressors of their subiect Prouinces; whereby he procured vnto the Carthaginians much wealth, but therewithall such hatred, as turned it all to their great losse. He had ere this bene employed against the Numidians, and wilde Africans, that were more like to Rouer, than to Souldiers, in making Warre. Of those fugitiue Nations, he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great dishonour, and to the great hurt of Carthage; which lost not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counsaile, when, hauing shewed himselfe an vnworthy Captaine, he betooke himselfe to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in Roman Histories, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preserve the League betweene Carthage and Rome. In which regard, how well hee deserued of his owne Countrey, it will appeare hereafter: how beneficiall he was to the Romans, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein hee reduced the Carthaginians to a miserable necessitie of accepting, vpon hard conditions, that peace which hee thenceforth commended.

Hanno had very well furnished his Nauie, with all needfull prouisions for the Souldiers at Eryx: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the best of his qualities) but he

had neither beene carefull in trayning his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with stout fellowes. He thought, that the fame of a Carthaginian fleet was enough, to make the vnexpert Romans giue way: forgetting, that rather the resistance force of tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceiued aright, or else was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to saile to Eryx, and there to discharge his ships of their lading; and hauing thus lightened himselfe, he meant to take aboard some part of the Land-armie, together with *Amilcar* himselfe, by whose helpe he doubted not, but that he should be able to make his enemy repent of his new aduventure to Sea. This was a good course, if it could haue beene performed. But *Catulus* vsed all possible diligence, to prevent the execution of this designe: not because he was informed of the enemies purpose, but that he knew it to be the best for them, & for that he feared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the seas went high, when the Carthaginian fleet was discried; yet he rather chose to fight with the enemy, that had the winde of him, than to suffer his conuoy to passe along to Eryx, vpon vnlkely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* should haue done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; he had lightened his Gallies of all vnecessary burthens; and he had taken aboard the choyce men of the Roman Land-souldiers. The Carthaginians therefore, at the first encounter, were vtterly broken and defeated; hauing fiftie of their Gallies stemmed and sunke, and seuentie taken, wherein were few lesse than ten thousand men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of winde, escaping to the Ile of Hieronius.

The state of Carthage, vtterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolute. Meanes to repaire their fleet in any time there were none left; their best men of warre by Sea were consumed; and *Amilcar*, vpon whose valour, and iudgement the honour and safetie of the Common-weale rested, was now surrounded by his enemies in Sicil, where hee could not bee relieved. In this extremitie, they make dispatch vnto *Amilcar* himselfe, and authorize him to take what course should seeme best vnto his excellent wisdom, leauing all conclusions to his election and sole counsaile.

Amilcar, whom no aduersitie, accompanied with the least hope or possibilitie of recovery, had euer vanquished, looking ouer euery promise, true or false, that the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future hee was not able) resolved to make tryall, whether his necessitie might bee compounded vpon any reasonable termes. Hee therefore sent to *Luclatius* the Consull an Oueriture of peace: who considering it well, gathered so many arguments from the present pouertie of the Roman State, wasted beyond expectation in the former warre, that hee willingly harkened vnto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with prouision, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of Rome would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, that the Carthaginians should clearely abandon the Ile of Sicil. Secondly, that they should neuer vnder-take vpon *Hieron* King of Syracuse, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at libertie, and send backe into Italie, all the Romans, whom they held prisoners, without ranfome. Lastly, that they should pay vnto the Romans two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the French reckon the talent, thirteene hundred and twenty thousand crownes: the same to be delivered within twentie yeeres next following.

These Articles were sent to Rome, where they were not thoroughly approued: but ten Commissioners were sent into Sicil, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former sum; & required a shorter time of payment. Further also, they tooke order, that the Carthaginians should not onely depart out of Sicil it selfe, but should also with-draw their Companies out of all other Ilands betweene it and Italie, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first Punick warre, that had lasted about twentie foure yeeres without intermission; in which time the Romans had lost, by fight or shipwracke, about seuen hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the Carthaginians, about fiftie hundred: the greatest of which losses, doth serue to prouue the greatnesse both of these two Cities, and

of the Warre it selfe; wherein I hold good the iudgement of *Polybius*; That the Romans, in generall, did shew themselves the brauer Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most worthy Captaine.

CHAP. II.

Of diuers actions passing betweene the first and second Punick Warres.

§. I.

Of the cruell warre begun betweene the Carthaginians and their owne Mercenaries.

THE Romans hauing partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the Carthaginians out of Sicil, and all the little Ilands thereunto adiacent, gaue them rather meanes and leasure to helpe themselves in a following Warre, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quod leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis*; That lawes are giuen by the Conquerours, and receiued of the conquered. But the Romans had either forgotten the answer that was made vnto them, by one of the *Pruernates*; or else had forgotten to follow it, in this weightie businesse. For when one of *Pruernum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his Citie, was demanded by a Senator, what peace the Romans might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present aduantage vnto them; hee answered in these words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam*; If the peace bee good and faithfull that you giue vs, it will bee perpetual; if it bee ill, then of little continuance. To this answer, the Senate, at that time, gaue such approbation, that it was said, *Viri & liberi vocem audiam*; an credible voice, vnto any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an overburdened state, than mere necessitie did enforce. Now if the Romans themselves could make this iudgement, of those Nations, who had little else, besides their manly resolution, to defend their libertie; surely, they grossly flattered themselves, in presuming, that the Carthaginians, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour vnto themselves, would sit downe any longer by the losse and dishonour receiued; than vntill they could recover their legges, and the strength, which had a while failed them, to take revenge. But Occasion, by whom (while well entertained) not onely private men, but Kings and publique States, haue more preuailed; than by any proper prowesse or vertue, hath held the rein from the Romans for a time, and turned it most fearefully vpon Africa, and the Carthaginians themselves.

For after that the first Punick War was ended, *Amilcar*, leauing Eryx, went to Lilybæum, from whence most conueniently the Armie might be transported into Africk: the care of which businesse he committed vnto *Gesto*, to whom, as to a man of approued sufficiency, hee delivered ouer his charge. *Gesto* had an especial consideration of the great want, wherein Carthage was indebted vnto these Mercenaries; and, withall, of the great disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them out (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time; that so the first might haue their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Companies arriued. Herein hee dealt prouidently. For it had not been hard to perswade any small number, lodged within so great a Citie as Carthage, vnto some such reasonable composition, as the present emptinesse of the common Treasurie did require: so that the first might haue beene friendly discharged, and a good president left vnto the second and third, whilest their dis-iunction had made them

them vnable to recouer their whole due by force. But the Carthaginians were of a contrarie opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, some that would bee contented to gratifie the Publique State, by remitting a great part of their owne due : and hoped by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the first and second commers ; telling them, that they would make an euen reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed ; which much disquieted the Citie, not accustomed vnto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other place where they might be lesse troublefome. This must bee done by some colourable words of perswasion : for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too farre. Wherefore it is deuised, that they should all attend the coming of their fellowes, at Sicca : receiuing euery one a piece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to dislodge ; leauing behind them their wiues, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came backe for their pay. But the Carthaginians haue no fancie to their returning into the Towne ; and therefore compell them to trusse vp their fardells, that they might haue none occasion left to make any errands thither. So to Sicca they remooued, with all their goods ; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellowes arriual, and their owne pay. Businesse they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawne to mutinie : the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talk was, how rich they should bee, when all their money came in ; how much would fall to euery single share ; and for how long time the Citie was behinde hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne Arithmeticians ; and hee was thought a man of worth, that could finde most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long seruice was forgotten ; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to minde, and so many obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some vnordinarie largesse.

Thus the time passeth away ; vntill the whole Armie being arriued, and lodged in Sicca, *Hanno* comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be made rich ; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So thinke they all ; and assemble themselves to heare what good newes this messenger had brought : with a full resolution to help his memorie, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them ; all which were to be considered in their Donatide. *Hanno* begins a very formall Oration ; wherein he bewailes the pouertie of Carthage ; tells them, how great a summe of money is to be paid vnto the Romans ; reckons vp the excessive charges, whereat the common-wealth had bene in the late warre ; and finally desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the loue which they bare vnto the Citie, to remit the rest. Few of them vnderstood his discourse : for the Carthaginian Armie was composed of sundry Nations, as Greekes, Africans, Gaules, Ligurians, Spaniards, and others, all of different languages. Yet they stared vpon him, and were (as I thinke) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such, as conceived the whole tenor of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought ; they were all enraged, and fared like mad-men, so that nothing would serue to appease them.

Hanno would faine haue allswaged their furie, but he knew not how : for hee less vnderstood their dissonant lowd noyses, than they did his Oration. An Armie collected out of so many Countries, that haue no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred vp to mutinie, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that *Hanno* can doe, is to vse the helpe of Interpreters and messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning ; some, for want of skill ; others of set purpose ; and such as deliuer his errands in the worst sence, are best beleecued. Finally, they thinke themselves much abused by the Carthaginians, and resolute to demand their owne in peremptorie termes, at a neerer distance. In this mood they leaue Sicca, and march as farre as Tunis, that is within a very little of Carthage, and there they incampe.

Now begin the Carthaginians to finde their owne errour. It is a good rule,

Curandum

*Curandum imprimis, ne magna iniuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris.*

*Haue speciall care, that valiant pouertie
Be not oppressed with too great iniurie.*

But this proud citie, hauing neglected the rule, hath also bene carelesse in providing to secure her selfe against the inconuenience that might follow. Shee had suffered the whole multitude, whereunto she was like to giue cause of discontent, to ioyne it selfe into one bodie, when the seuerall troupes might easily haue bene dispersed : shee hath turned out of her gates the wiues, children, and goods of these poore men, which had she retained in shew of kindnesse, she might haue vsed them as Hostages, for her own safety ; and by employing a miserable pennie-father, in her negotiation with men of Warre, shee hath weakened the reputation of her brauest Captaines, that might best haue serued to free her from the threatening danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no desire to be vsed as an instrument in defrauding his owne Souldiers of their wages : especially considering, that as he best could beare witnesse of their merits, so was he not ignorant, that means to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had bene willing thereunto. Hereunto may be added a probable coniecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldnesse to impose the blame of his owne wretched counsaile, vpon the liberall promises made by the Captaines. *Amilcar* therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him, to haue the managing of their owne plor, and to deale the cardes which themselves had shuffled. Thus they continue to do as foolishly, as they had at first begun. They furnish a market at Tunis for the souldiours ; whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send euer and anon some of their Senatours into the Campe ; who promise to satisfy all demands, as farre forth as it should be possible. And thus by shifting from one extreame to another, they make the Souldiours vnderstand, into what feare the Citie was driuen ; which cannot choofe but adde much insolencie to the passions already stirred vp.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon growes wise, and finding the season fit, labors to make a great harvest. Money must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many haue lost their horses, in publique seruice of the State. The State shall pay for them. They had liued some yeares, by making hard shift, without receiuing their allowance of victuals from Carthage. If they had liued, they wanted not meat, therefore what was this to the Carthaginians ? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in provision ; or their Captaine direct them, where to fetch it ? But this would not serue. They said that they had bene sometimes driuen to buy ; and that (since they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their provision, during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that wheat had borne, whilest the Warre lasted. Such are now the demands of these Muriners ; who might easily haue bene satisfied with farre lesse charges, and farre more honour, by receiuing their due at the first. But now they make none end of craving. For whilest the Carthaginians are perplexed, about this Corn-monie, the Souldiers haue deuised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater sum of money, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could be found of these controuersies which daily did multiply, it was thought conuenient, that one of the Carthaginians, which had commanded in Sicil, should be chosen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie condescended, and made choice of *Gesco*, partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himselfe at all times a friendly man to them, and carefull of their good, especially when they were to be transported into Africke : partly out of a dislike which they had conceiued of *Amilcar*, for that hee had not visited them in all this busie time. So *Gesco* comes among them ; and, to please them the better, comes not without money : which might giue better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. Hee calls vnto him first of all, the Captaines, and then the seuerall Nations apart ; rebuking them gently for that which had passed ; aduising them temperately concerning the present ; and exhorting them to continue their loue vnto the State, which had long entertained

the Athenians, that their dominion over their subiects, was none other than a meere tyrannie; though it were so, that they themselves were a great Citie, and a popular state. Neither is it peradventure greatly needfull, that I should call this forme of commanding, *violence*: since it may well and easily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience, to one regardlesse of his life and welfare; vnlesse himselfe be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of loue. The practice of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremitie: for some Lords are more gentle, than others, to their very slaues; and he that is most cruell to some, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne aduantage. Neuerthelesse, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it selfe, vnto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of seuerall men; it is commonly seene, that the taste of sweetnesse, drawne out of oppression, hath so good a relish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should he seeke out bounds to prescribe vnto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten, by extorting from some few: by sparing none, he should haue riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deale from euery one: but euery one could haue spared more. He hath wrung all their purses, & now he hath enough: but (as Courtousnesse is neuer satisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a stocke, though it were indeed a good yeerely In-come. Therefore he deuiseeth new tricks of roberie and is not better pleased with the gaine, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knowes it well: but he thinks by crueltie to change hatred into feare. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all, whom he suspecteth: in which course, if he suspect none vniustly, he may be said to deale craftily; but if Innocency be not safe, how can all this make any Conspirator to stand in feare, since the Traitor is no worse rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore he can thinke vpon none other security, than to dis-arme all his Subiects; to fortifie himselfe within some strong place, and for defence of his Person and state, to hire many lustie Souldiers as shall bee thought sufficient. These must not be of his owne Countrey: for if not enery one, yet some one or other may chance to haue a feeling of the publique miserie. This considered, he allureth vnto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most vn honest that can be found, such as haue neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be carefull to support him, by whose onely fauour they are maintained. Now left any of these, either by detection of his wickednesse, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward, than he doth giue, should bee drawne to turne his sword against the Tyrant himselfe: they shall all be permitted to doe as he doth; to robbe, to rauish, to murder, and to satisfie their owne appetites, in most outrageous manner; being thought so much the more assured to their Master, by how much the more he sees them grow hatefull to all men else. Considering in what age, and in what Language I write; I must be faine to say, that these are not dreames: though some Englishman perhaps that were vnacquainted with Historie, lighting vpon this lease, might suppose this discourse to be but little better. This is to shew, both how tyrannie growes to stand in need of mercenarie Souldiers, and how those Mercenaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmly assured vnto the Tyrant.

I. II.

That the tyrannie of a Citie over her Subiects is worse, than the tyrannie of one man: and that a tyrannicall Citie must likewise vse mercenary Souldiers.

Now concerning the tyrannie, wherewith a Citie or State oppresseth her Subiects: it may appeare some waies to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A Citie is iealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearefull of her life: the lesse need hath she therefore, to secure her selfe by cruelty. A Citie is not luxurious in consuming her treasures; and therefore needs the lesse, to plucke from her Subiects. If warre, or any other great occasion, drue her to necessity, of taking from her Subiects more than ordinarie supplies of money: the same necessity makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excusable. Indeed no wrongs are so grieuous & hatefull, as those that are insolent; *Remember* (saith Chrysostome) the Emperor,

to his Grand-mother *Agrippina*: that I may doe what I list, and be without guilt: whose words were accounted horrible, though wee did her no harme. And I cannot reckon it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel Roman Dame vpon her slaues; that while she was whipping them, she painted her face, talked with her Gossips, and vsed all signes of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grieuances wherewith a dominating State offendeth her Subiects, are free from all sense of indignitie: likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of liberty make them wearie of her Empire. In these respects it is not needfull, that she should keepe a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintaine them in all villany, as a *Dionysius* or *Agathocles* must doe: her owne Citizens are able to terrifie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male contents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serue to proue, That a Citie is scarce able to deserue the name of a Tyrannesse, in the proper signification.

Altho this notwithstanding, it shall appeare, that the miseries, wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not so heauie, as the burdens imposed by a cruell Citie. Nor without some appearance of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other priuate passions, are not very incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, wee shall haue need of the helpe of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not Rome incestuous, when *Cato* was faine to rise and leaue the Theater, to the end, that the reuerend regard of his grauity, might not hinder the people, from calling for a new bearded Courtisane, that were to be brought vpon the open stage? By common practice and generally approved custome, we are to censure the quality of a whole State; not by the priuate vertue or vice of any one man; nor by metaphysicall abstractions of the vniuersall from the singular, or of the Corporation, from those of whom it is composed. And I say therefore (as I haue said elsewhere) That it were better to liue vnder one pernicious Tyrant, than vnder many thousands. The reasons prouing this, are too many to set downe: but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soeuer, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and soothed; age or good aduice, yea, or some vnexpected accident may reforme him; all which failing, yet is there hope, that his successour may proue better.

Many Tyrants haue bene changed into worthy Kings: and many haue ill vsed their ill-gotten Dominion, which becomming hereditary to their posterity, hath grown into the most excellent forme of Government, euen a lawfull Monarchy. But they that liue vnder tyrannicall Citie, haue no such hope: their Mistress is immortall, and will not suffer the reines, vntill they be pulled out of her hands; and her owne mouth receiue the bridle of a more mightier Chariotier. This is wofull: yet their present sufferings make them lesse mindefull of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall vpon the same foule put of which, others had already sucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poore kindred and friends; who meane not to returne home empty to their hiues, without a good lading of waxe and honey. These flye into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with euery mans wealth, or wharsoeuer else, in all the Prouince, is worthy to be desired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his feares: becomming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endless labour (yet it must be vndergone) and such as euery one hath not meanes to goe about: but were this effected, what auaileth it? The loue of one Governour is purchased with gifts: the Successor of this man, he is more louing than could be wished, in respect of his Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction, at once, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goes, who seeks the ruine of all that haue bene mixed with them. So the miseries of this tyranny are not simple, but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of ciuill warre. The Romans had a Law. *De Repetundis*, or, Of Repetundis, against extorting Magistrates: yet wee finde, that it serued not wholly to restrain their Prouinciall Governours, who presuming on the fauour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Prouinces, to worke all these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for feare of indignation. If the subiects of Rome groined vnder such oppressions; what must we thinke of those that were vassals vnto Carthage? The Romans imposed no burthenstone tributes,

tributes, they loved not to heare that their Empire was gricuous, they condemned many noble Citizens, for hauing bene ill Gouernours. At Carthage all went quite contrarie: the rapines newly deuised by one Magistrate, serued as Presidents to inuade another, every man resolu'd to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne; and hee was held a notable Statesman, whose robberies had been such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this Carthaginian practice, are not extant: the gouernment of Verres the Roman in Sicill, that is liuely set out by Tullie, may serue to informe vs, what was the demeanour of these Punick Rulers, who stood in feare of no such condemnation, as Verres vnder-went. By persecuting this discourse, I might inferre a more generall Proposition; That a Citie cannot gouerne her subiect Prouinces so mildly, as a King: but it is enough to haue shewed, That the tyranny of a Citie is farre more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

Sutable to the crueltie of such Lords, is the hatred of their subiects: and againe, suitable to the hatred of the subiects, is the ielousie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that in warres abroad, the Carthaginians durst vse the seruice of African souldiers, in Africk is selfe, they had rather be beholding to others, than were farther fetcht. For the same purpose did Hannibal, in the second Punick warre, shif his mercenaries out of their owne Countries; *Vt Afri in Hispania, Hispania in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurum uereq; miles, uelut mutui pignoris obligati stipendia facerent. That the Africans might serue in Spaine, the Spaniards in Africk, being each of them like to proue the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were oblig'd by mutuall pledges.* It is disputable, I confesse, whether these African and Spanish hirelings, could properly be termed Mercenaries; for they were subiect vnto Carthage, and carried into the field, not onely by reward, but by dutie. Yet seeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any loue to the State, but meere desire of gaine, that made them fight, I will not nicely stand vpon proprietic of a word, but hold them, as Polybius also doth, no better than Mercenaries.

§. III.

The dangers growing from the use of Mercenarie Souldiers, and forraigne Auxiliaries.

THE extreame danger, growing from the imploiment of such Souldiers, is well observed by Machiavel: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serue, than to those against whom they serue. They are seditious, vnsaithfull, disobedient, deuourers, and destroyers of all places and countries, whereinto they are damne, as being held by no other bond, than their owne commoditie. Yea, that which is most fearefull among such hirelings, is, that they haue often; & in time of greatest extremity, not onely refused to fight, in their defence, who haue entertained them, but revolted vnto the contrarie part, to the vtter ruine of those Princes and States, that haue trusted them. These Mercenaries (saith Machiavel) which filled all Italie, when Charles the eighth of France did passe the Alpes, were the cause that the said French King won the Realme of Naples; with his Buckler without a sword. Notable was the example of Sforza, the Father of Francis Sforza, Duke of Millan, who being entertained by Queene Iane of Naples, abandoned her seruice on the sudden, and forced her to put herselfe into the hands of the King of Aragon. Like vnto his father was Francis Sforza, the first of that race Duke of Millan, who being entertained by the Millanois, forced them to become his slaves, euen with the very same Armie which themselves had leuied for their owne defence. But Lodowick Sforza, the sonne of this Francis, by the iust iudgement of God, was made a memorable example vnto posteritie, in losing his whole estate by the treacherie of such faithlesse Mercenaries, as his owne Father had bene. For, hauing waged an Armie of Switzers, and committed his Dutchie together with his person, into their hands, hee was by them deliuered vp vnto his enemy the French King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of Loches vnto his dying day.

The like inconuenience is found, in vsing the helpe of forraigne Auxiliaries. Wee see, that when the Emperor of Constantinople had hired ten thousand Turkes against his neighbour Princes; hee could neuer either by perswasion or force, set them againe ouer the sea vpon Asia side: which gaue beginning to the Christian seruitude, that soon after followed.

followed. Alexander, the sonne of Cassander, sought aide of the great Demetrius: but Demetrius, being entred into his Kingdome, slue the same Alexander, who had inuited him, and made himselfe King of Macedon. Syracon the Turke was called into Egypt by Samar the Soldan, against his Opposite: but this Turke did settle himselfe so surely in Egypt, that Saladin his successor became Lord thereof, and of all the holy Land, soone after. What need we looke about for examples of this kinde? Euery Kingdome, in effect, can furnish vs. The Brittaines drew the Saxons into this our Countrey, and Mac Murrough drew the English into Ireland, but the one and the other soone became Lords of those two Kingdomes.

Against all this may be alledged, the good successe of the vnitd Prouinces of the Netherlands, vsing none other than such kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. Indeed these Low countries haue many goodly & strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is their excellencie; neither are they bad, at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they haue seldome been able to stand against the Spaniard. Necessity therefore compelled them to seek helpe abroad: and the like necessitie made them forbear to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with money raised by their Trade, they maintained the Warre: and therefore could ill spare vnto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more vse in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they sped well. Surely they sped as ill as might be, whilst they had none other than mercenarie souldiers. Many fruitlesse attempts, made by the Prince of Orange, can witnesse it: and that braue Commander, Count Lozonwicke of Nassau, felt to his griefe, in his retreat from Groeningham, when in the very instant, that required their seruice in fight, his mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and so ranne away. This was not the onely time, when the hired souldiers of the States, haue either sought to hide their cowardize vnder a shew of greedinesse, or at least, by mere couetousnesse, haue ruined in one houre the labour of many monthes. I will not stand to proue this by many examples: for they themselves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of Monsieur the Duke of Aniou, brother to the French King; saue that it is folly to conceale what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraigne Auxiliaries, needeth no better parterne. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves Lords ouer those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this Monsieur, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrey, made it his first worke, to thrust by violence a galling yoke vpon the peoples necke? Well, he liued to repent it, with griefe enough. Euen whilst he was counterfeiting vnto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginative sorrow for the poore Burghers of Antwerpe, as verily beleeuing the Towne to be surprized and wonne; the death of the Count S. Aignan, who fell ouer the wall, and the Cannon of the Citie, discharged against his owne troupees, informed him better what had hapened; shewing that they were his own French, who stood in need of pitty. Then was his feigned passion changed, into a very bitter anguish of minde; vvherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Uelas, mon Dieu, que voulez u faire de moy? Alas, my God, what wilt thou doe with me?* So the affaires of the Netherlands will not serue to proue, that there is little danger in vsing mercenarie souldiers, or the helpe of forraigne Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding, they were obedient vnto necessity, and sought helpe of the English, Scots, and French: wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in France a king, partaker with them in the same danger, when the Queen of England refused to accept the Soueraignty of their Countrey, which they offered, yet being prouoked by the Spaniard their enemy, pursued him with continuall warre, when the heire of England reigned in Scotland, a king too iust & wise (though not engaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miseries, or to help those that had attempted the conquest of his owne inheritance: then might the Netherlands very safely repose confidence, in the forces of these their neighbour countries. The souldiers that came vnto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendations) not onely regardfull of the pay that they should receiue, but well affected vnto the cause that they took in hand: or if any were cold in his deuotion, vnto the side vvhich he fought; yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his owne home, vvhich the English would haue rewarded him with death, if that his faith had bene corrupted.

by the Spaniard. They were therefore trusted with the custodie of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessitie of the poorer sort was relieued, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helpees, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three such Princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintaine against the power of a fourth, iniurious (or at least so seeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Countrie, of the same Religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected: then may such a Countrie be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other businesse, in hope of like successe. But these circumstances meet so seldome, as it may well hold true in generall: *That mercenarie, and forraigne auxilinarie forces, are no lesse dangerous, than the enemye, against whom they are entertained.*

†. II. III.

That the moderate government of the Romans gaue them assurance to vse the service of their owne subiects in their warres. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hindreth the vse and benefit of the like moderation.

Here it may be demanded, whether also the Romans were not compelled to vse seruice of other souldiers in their many great warres, but performed all by their owne Citizens: for if it were their manner to arme their owne subiects; how happened it, that they feared no rebellion; if strangers; how then could they auoid the inconueniences about rehearsed? The answer is, That their Armies were compounded vially of their owne citizens, and of the Latines, in equall number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of Campanes, Hetrurians, Samnites, or other of their subiects, as were either interested in the quarrell, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times (though seldome they did imploy so many,) ten Romane Legions; a good strength, if all other helpe had beene wanting: which serued to keepe in good order their subiects, that were alwaies fewer in the Army than themselves. As for the Latines, if consanguinitie were not a sufficient obligation, yet many priuiledges and immunities, which they inioyed, made them allured vnto the State of Rome: vnder which they liued almost at libertie, as being bound to little else, than to serue it in warre. It is true, that a yoke, how easie focuer, seemes troublesome to the necke that hath been accustomed to freedome. Therefore many people of Italie haue taken occasion of severall aduantages, to deliuer themselves from the Roman subiection. But still they haue been reclaimed by Warre, the Authors of rebellion haue sharply bin punished; and the people by degrees haue obtained such libertie, as made them esteeme none otherwise of Rome, than as the common citie of all Italie. Yea, in proceesse of time it was granted vnto many Cities, and those farre off remooued, euen to Tarsus in Cilicia, where Saint Paul was borne, That all the Burgeses should be free of Rome it selfe. This fauour was conferred absolutely vpon some, vpon some, with restraint of giuing voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation, as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to release vnto their new subiects halfe of their tribute which they had been wont to pay vnto their former Lords, which was a ready way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the reuiue of harder times past, should rather teach them to feare a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking innouation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a speciall note of the Romans good government, That when some, for their well-defending, haue had the offer to be made Citizens of Rome, they haue refused it, & held themselves better contented with their owne present estate. Wherefore it is no maruell, that Petellia, a Citie of the Brutians in Italie, chose rather to indure all extremitie of warre, than vpon any condition, to forsake the Romans; euen when the Romans themselves had confessed, that they were vnable to helpe these their subiects, and therefore willed them to looke to their owne good, as hauing been faithfull to the vtmost. Such loue purchased these milde Gouvernours, without impairing their Maiesty thereby. The summe of all is: They had, of their own, a strong Armie; they doubled it, by adioyning therunto the Latines; and they further increased it, as need required, with other helpe of their own subiects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperity of Rome to be the common good.

The moderate vse of soueraigne power being so effectuell, in assuring the people vnto

vnto their Lords, and consequently, in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion: it may seeme strange, that the practice of tyrannie, whose effects are contrary, hath been so common in all ages. The like, I know, may be said of all Vice and Irregularity whatsoever: For it is lesse difficult, (whosoeuer thinke otherwise) and more safe, to keepe the way of Iustice and Honestie, than to turne aside from it, yet commonly our passions doe lead vs into by-paths. But where Lust, Anger, Feare, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason, the same vnuly appetite either bringeth with it an excuse, or at least-wile taketh away all cause of wonder. In tyrannie it is not so: for as much as we can hardly descry the passion, that is of force to insinuate it selfe into the whole tenour of a Government. It must be confessed, that lawlesse desires haue bred many Tyrants: yet so, that these desires haue seldome bin hereditary, or long-lasting; but haue ended commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes before his death; by which meanes the government hath bin reduced to a better forme. In such cases, the saying of Aristotle holds, *That tyrannies are of a short continuance.* But this doth not satisfie the question in hand. Why did the Carthaginians exercise Tyrannie? Why did the Athenians? Why haue many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their generall good, how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safetie of the Weale publique? If they were ledde hereunto by any affection, what was that affection wherein so many thousand Citizens, diuided and subdivided within themselves by factions, did all concur, notwithstanding the much diuersitie of temper, and the vehemencie of priuate hatred among them? Doubtlesse, we must be faine to say, That Tyrannie is, by it selfe, a Vice distinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt euen by Nature, to command, or to obey; euery one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankinde, are common likewise vnto bruite beasts; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of rule belongeth vnto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptnesse to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are giuen by nature, not onely to Man and Beast, but vnto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Lust, and other affections are likewise naturall, in conuenient measure, both vnto Mankinde, and to all creatures that haue sense; for the shunning or repelling of harme, and seeking after that which is requisite: euen so is this desire of ruling or obeying, ingrafted by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reasonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a ciuill forme of Iustice. All these in-bred qualities are good and vsefull. Neuerthelesse, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttony and Drukennesse, which, in reproach, are called beastly, by an vnproper terme: since they grow from appetites, found in lesse worthy creatures than beasts, and are yet not so common in beasts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions, as descend no lower than vnto bruite beasts, are held lesse vile; & perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more grieuously, by sharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse, than of that which is best; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a vice more hurtfull vnto Mankinde, than that which issueth from the most noble roote, euen the depraved Affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefs, of which hath been an old question in dispute, whether be the worse; That all things, or That nothing should be lawfull. Of these, a dull spirit, and ouer-loaden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary distemper, whose vehemency the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Vnder the extremity of either, no Country is able to subsist: yet the defectiue dulnesse, that permitteth any thing, will also permit the execution of Law, to which, meere necessity doth enforce the ordinary Magistrate; whereas Tyrannie is more actiue, and pleaseth it selfe in the excesse, with a false colour of iustice. Examples of stupiditie, and vnaptnesse to rule, are not very frequent, though such natures are euery where to be found: for this quality troubles not it selfe in seeking Empire; or if by some error of fortune, it incounter therewithall, (as when Claudius, hiding himselfe in a corner, found the Empire of Rome) some friend or else a wife, is not wanting to supply the defect, which also crueltie doth helpe to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing vnknowne, is without a name. Tyrannie is more bold, and feareth not to be knowne, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *prosperum & felix felus*, a fortunate mischiefe, as long as it can subsist. There is no reward or honour (saith Peter Charron) assigned vnto those, that know how

Numidian and African succours. In this difficultie, the same of *Amilcar* his personall worth did greatly benefit his countrey. For *Naransius*, a yong gentleman commanding ouer the Numidians, was glad of this occasion seruing to get the acquaintance and loue of so braue a man, which he much desired: and therefore came vnto *Amilcar*, signifying his good affection to him, with offer to doe him all seruice. *Amilcar* ioyfully entertained this friend, promised vnto him his own daughter in marriage, and to wane from the enemies two thousand horse, that following *Naransius* turned vnto the Carthaginians side. With this helpe he gaue battaile vnto *Spendius*: wherein the Numidian laboured to approach his own valour, to his new friend. So the victory was great: for there were slaine ten thousand of *Spendius* his fellows, and foure thousand taken prisoners; but *Spendius* himselfe, with *Autarius* the Gaule, escaped to doe more mischief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many, as were vawilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should neuer more beare armes against the Carthaginians; threatening to take sharpe reuenge vpon all, that should breake this Couenant.

This humanitie was vehemently suspected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, ascending to win from them, the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they resolved to take such order, that not a man among them should dare, to trust in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any safetie, whilest Carthage was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of aduertisement, wherein was contained, that some of their company, to respectiue onely of their priuate benefit, & carelesse of the generall good, had a purpose to betray them all vnto the Carthaginians, with whom they held intelligence; & that it was needfull, to look well vnto *Gesco*, & his companions, whom these traitors had a purpose to enlarge. Vpon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the Souldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanitie of *Amilcar*, toward some, was none other than a baite, wherewith to intrap them all at once together; as also telling them, what a dangerous enemy *Gesco* would proue, if he might escape their hands. While hee is yet in the midst of his tale, were letters come, to the same purpose. Then steps forth *Autarius*, and speakes his minde plainly: saying, that it were the best, yea the onely way, for the common safetie, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with Carthage; that if some were deuising to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with those that had a care of the war; that it were better to make an end of *Gesco* his life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his custody; that by such a course euery one should be engaged in the present Action, as hauing none other hope left, than in victory alone; finally, that such as would speake here-against, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Autarius* was in great credit vwith the souldiers, & could speake sundry languages, in such sort, that he was vnderstood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Gesco*, and all the other prisoners, should forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Neuerthelesse there were some, that for loue of *Gesco*, sought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith stoned to death, as a Document vnto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither vvere they therevithall contented; but further ordained, that all Carthaginian prisoners which they tooke, should be serued in like sort: and that the subjects or friends of Carthage, should lose their hands, and so be sent home: vvhich rule they obserued euer afterwards.

Of this cruelty I need say no more, than that it was most execrable feritie. As for the counsaile of vsing it, it was like vnto the counsaile of *Achitophel*; *All Israel shall heare, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee, be strong*. Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellows, if they be more innocent; and to auoid the punishment of lesse offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the reuengefull spirits of those that haue been vvronged, are breeders of this desperation: to vvhich may be added, some deficiency of Lawes, in distinguishing the punishments of malefactors, according to the decree of their feuerall crimes. A coward thinkes all prouision too little for his owne securitie. If *Phocas* be a coward (saie the Emperour *Mauritius*) then is he murderous. To be stedfast and sure, in taking reuenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defensatiue against new iniuries. But vvrongfully: for it is opposit to the rule of Christianitie; and such a qualitie discovered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwise

wife would haue repented; and sought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it, which wrought so much wee to the Carthaginians, teaching *Matho*, and his Africans, to suspect euery their gentlenesse, as the introduction, to extreame rigour. Like vnto the errors of Princes & Governours, are the errors of Lawes. Where one and the same punishment, is awarded vnto the lesse offence, and vnto the greater; he that hath aduenced to robbe a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his owne securitie.

Against these inconueniences, Mercy and Seueritie, vsed with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as these his owne souldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed, by gentle courses; his humanitie was ready to inuice them. But when they were transported with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of honesty and shame, he rewarded their villanie with answerable vengeance, casting them vnto wilde beasts; to be deuoured.

Vwith this time *Hanno*, with the Armie vader his command, had kept himselfe apart from *Amilcar*, & done little, as may seeme; for that nothing is remembered of him, for his losse. Neither was *Amilcar* sorry to want his helpe, as being able to doe better without him. But when the warre grew to such extremity, as threatened vnto the one or the other side: then was *Hanno* sent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he ioyned his forces. By this access of strength *Amilcar* was not enabled, to doe more than in former times: rather he could now performe nothing; such was the hatred between him and his vnworthy Colleague. The Towns of *Vitea* and *Hippagreta*, that had stood alwayes firme on the Carthaginian party, did now reuolt vnto the enemy, murdering all the souldiers that they had in Garrison, and casting their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The prouisions brought by sea, for maintenance of the Armie, were lost inoule weather: and Carthage it selfe stood in danger, of being besieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* consulted, whilest one of the Carthaginian Generals did (as was said) binde the others hands.

It hath in all Ages bene vsed, as the safest course, to send forth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common practice of those two mighty Cities, *Athenes* & *Rome*; which other States and Princes haue often imitated, perswading themselves, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excel each other, will vse the greater diligence. They haue also ioyned two chiefe Obminders in equal commission, vpon this further consideration; the better to restraints the ambition of any one, that should be trusted with so great a strength. For becof all Common-weales haue bene iequalous, hauing bene taught by their examples that haue made themselves Tyrants ouer those Cities and States that haue employed them. In this point, the Venerians haue bin so circumspect, as they haue for the most part trusted strangers, and not their owne; in all the warres which they haue made. It is true, that the equall authoritie of two commanding in chiefe, serueth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning vpon the Prince or State that hath giuen them trust; but in managing the warre it selfe, it is commonly the cause of ill successe. In warres made ouer vnto *Rome* it selfe, when two good friends were Consuls, or such two at least, as were in one desire of *Triumph*, which honor (the greatest of any that *Rome* could giue) was to be obtained by that one yeers seruice; it is no matter, though each of the Consuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts vnto none other end, than victory. Vvithal dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise than was desired, one Dictator was appointed, whose power was neither hindred by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeede the manner, to send forth both the Consuls in one warre; but each went, whether his lot called him, to his owne Prouince, vnlesse one business seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be ioyned in the administration. Now although it was so, that the Romans did many times preuaile vwith their ioyne Generals: yet was this neuer or seldome, without as much conceit, as any of the vertue of the Commanders. For their modesty hath often bene such, that the lesse able Captaine, though of equall authority, hath willingly submitted himselfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they haue many times, by ordering two Commanders of one Armie, receiued great and most dangerous overthrowes; whercof in the second Punicke warre we shall finde examples. On the contrary side, in their warres most remote, that were alwaies managed by one, they seldome

failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appere. Now of those ten Generals, which serued the Athenians in the Battaille of Marathon, it may truly be said, that had not their temper beene better, than the iudgement of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of *Milvades*: their affaires had found the same successe which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in Sicill: the one being so ouer-warid, and the other so hallic, as all came to nought that they undertooke: whereas *Cimon* alone, as also *Aristides*, and others, finding sole charge of all, did their Countrey and Common-weale most remarkable seruice. For it is hard to finde two great Capitaines, of equall discretion and valour, but that the one hath more of furie than of iudgement, and so the contrary, by which the best dodgions are as often ouerslipped, as at other times many actions are vnseasonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of Condy was slaine after the Battaille of Iarnac, (which Prince, together with the Admiral *Chastillon*, had the conduct of the Protestant Armie) the Protestants did greatly bewaile the losse of the said Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth, yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an aduantage, than a hinderance to their affaires. For so much did the valour of the one, out-reach the aduisednesse of the other, as whatsoeuer the Admirall intended to win by attending the aduantage, the Prince aduentured to lose, by being ouer-confident in his owne courage.

Thus we neede no better example, than of the Carthaginians in this present businesse: who, though they were still sicke of their ill-grounded loue to *Hanno*, and were vnwilling to disgrace him, yet seeing that all ranne towards ruine, through the discord of the Generals, committed the decision of their controuersies, vnto the Armie that serued vnder them: The iudgement of the Armie was, that *Hanno* should depart the Campe which he did, & *Hannibal* was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*, and that was enough.

After this, the affaires of Carthage began to prosper somewhat better. *Matho* & *Spendius* had brought their Armie nere vnto the Citie, and lay before it, as in a siege. They might well be bold, to hope and aduenture much, hauing in their Campe about fiftie thousand; besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Neuerthelesse, the Citie was too strong for them to win by assault: and the entrance of victualls they could not hinder, if any should be sent in by friends from abroad.

Pyrrhus, King of Syracuse, though during the warres in Sicill hee assisted the Romans, and still continued in their alliance, yet now sent succours to the Carthaginians: fearing their fall, and consequently his owne, because if no other State gaue the Romans somewhat to trouble their digestion, the Principalltie of Syracuse would soon be deuoured by them. The Romans also gaue them some slender assistance, and for the present refused good offers made vnto them by the Mercenaries. This they did, to shew a shew of noble disposition; which was indeed but counterfeite, as the sequels manifestly proued.

While *Matho* and his followers were busily pressing the Citie, *Amilcar* was as diligently waiting at their backs, and cutting off all that came to their supply: so that finding themselves more streightly besieged by him, than Carthage was by them, they purposed to desert from their valie attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issued into the field: when *Spendius*, and one *Zarcas* an African Captaine assisting the rebellious, took vpon them to finde *Amilcar* worke, leaving *Matho* in Tunis, to negotiate with their friends, and take a generall care of the businesse. The Elephants of Carthage, and horse of *Naravasus*, made *Spendius* fearefull to descend into the Plaines. Wherefore he betooke himselfe to his former method of warre, keeping the mountaines, and rough grounds, or occupying the streightest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew it selfe, with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*. He drew the enemy to many skirmishes, in all which the successe was such, as added courage to his owne men, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, prouoking them night and day: still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giuing them the overthrow in plaine battaille: vntill at length he got them into a streight, whence they should get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their iudgement was enough to perceiue their owne disadvantage: and therefore they had the losse of the first fight,

fight; but a waiting for helpe from Tunis. *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing, that necessity might teach them, to dare impossibilities, vsed the benefit of their present feare, and shut them close vp with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miserably for succour, that came not: and hauing spent all their victualls, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed vpon the bodies of their prisoners. This they suffred patiently, as knowing that they had not deserued any fauour from Carthage: and hoping, that their friends at Tunis would not be vnmindfull of them. But when they were driuen to such extremitie, that they were faine to deuoure their own companions, and yet saw none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their obstinacie was broken, and they threatned their Capitaines with what they deserued, vnlesse they would goe forth to *Amilcar*, and seeke such peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarcas*, and *Antaricus*, fell to consultation, wherein it was resolved to obey the multitude, and yeeld themselves, if it were so required, vnto the death, rather than perish by the hands of their owne Companions. Hereupon they sent to craue parle, which is granted; and these three come forth to talke with *Amilcar* in person. What they could say vnto him, it is hard to coniecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it seemes that they tooke the blame vpon themselves, and craued pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the Carthaginians should chooseth out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remaine at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coate. When the peace was thus concluded, *Amilcar* told these Ringleaders, that he chose them presently, as part of the ten, & so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest he forthwith went to fetch with his whole Armie in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded vpon so gentle articles, thought themselves betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to armes. But they wanted Capitaines to order them, and the same astonishment, that made them breake the Couenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gaue vnto *Amilcar* both colour of iustice, in accomplishing reuenge, and ease in doing the execution. They were all slaine: being fortie thousand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the newes thereof, exceeding welcome to Carthage; and terrible to the reuolted Cities of Africke. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Naravasus*, and *Hannibal*, carried the warre from Towne to Towne, and found all places ready to yeeld: *Utica*, and *Hippagreta*, onely standing out, vpon feare of deferred vengeance; and Tunis, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Armie. It was thought fit to begin with Tunis, wherein lay the chiefe strength of the enemy. Comming before this Towne, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellowes, in view of the defendants, and crucified them vnder the wals; to terrifie those of his old companions, that were still in armes. With this rigour the siege began, as if speedy victory had beene assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of Tunis, which lay towards Carthage; *Amilcar* on the opposite side: too far asunder to helpe one another in sudden accidents, and therefore it behooued each, to be the more circumspect.

Matho from the wals beheld his owne destinie, in the misery of his companion, and knew not how to auoide it otherwise than by a cast at dice with fortune. So hee brake out vpon that part of the Carthaginian Armie, that lay secure, as if all danger were past, vnder the command of *Hannibal*: and with so great and v unexpected furie he sallied, that after an exceeding slaughter, he tooke *Hannibal* prisoner, on vvhom, and thirte the most noble of the Carthaginian prisoners, he presently reuenged the death of *Spendius* by the same torture. Of this *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great losse, to continue the siege, but vvas faine to breake it vp, and remoue vnto the mouth of the Riuer *Bagradas*, where he incamped.

The terror was no lesse within Carthage, vpon the fame of this losse; than had beene the ioy of the late great victory. All that could beare armes, were sent into the field, vnder *Hanno*; vvhom, it seemes, they thought the most able of their Capitaines suruiuing the late accidents of Warre. If there were any Law among them, forbidding the employment of one sole Generall, nere vnto their Citie (for they are knowne to haue trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hallic exigent, to deuise about re-pealing it. But thirty principall men are chosen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcar*, and by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day.

day. It neerely touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the carelesnesse of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed vnto him, by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Neuerthelesse after many conferences, the authority of the Senators preuailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilest this war lasted, *Hanno* tooke warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the meane season *Matbo* was come abroad, as meaning to vse the reputation of his late successe, whilest it gaue some life vnto his businesse. He had reason to doe as he did; but he wanted skill to deale with *Amilcar*. The skirmishes, and light exercises of warre, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so farre abate the strength, and withall diminish the credit of *Matbo*, that he resolved to try the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his owne desire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no lesse prone, than *Matbo*: as being weary of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had approved it selfe in many trials; and well assured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the enemy hath not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making prouision: inuiting their friends to helpe; and drawing forth into the field, all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this battaile might haue beene foretold, without helpe of witchcraft. *Matbo*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to presume, save their daring spirits, which had bin well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as hauing beene often victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely, that the desire of liberty should worke so much, in men accustomed to seruitude; as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whose future & present good lay all at once engaged in that aduenture. So the *Carthaginians* won a great victory, wherein most of the *Africans* their enemies were slaine; the rest fled into a Towne, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yeilded; and *Matbo* himselfe was taken aliue. Immediately vpon this victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made submission to their old masters: *Vtica* only, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of fauour. But they were soone forced, to take what conditions best pleased the victours. *Matbo* and his fellows were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be deuised, in recompence of the mischiefs which they had wrought in this warre. The war had lasted three yeares, and about foure moneths, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whose subiects did not loue them, should with lesse expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, haue preuented in the beginning.

§. IIII.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driuen out by the Islanders. The faithlesse dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the pence.

WHilest *Matbo* & *Spendius* were making terrible combustion in *Africke*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Bellar* the Gouverneur, & other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iland to their own vse. Against these, one *Hanno* was sent with a small Armie (such as could be spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, leuiued on the sudden. But these companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to ioyne themselves with those that were already revolted, than to indanger themselves by battaile, for the good of that common-weale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels; offering to runne one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith vvas suspected. Wherefore, to take away all ieaousie and distrust, they resolved to hang vp their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath beene in all Ages, with those that haue vnderaken the quarrell of an vnjust warre, to enioyne the performance of some notorious and villainous act,

to those that come in to them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the iniquitous purposes which they haue in hand: It is indeede the best payme, that desperate men can deuise to each other, to performe some such actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By such a kinde of cruelty, did the vngovernable *Carthaginians* murder a Garrison of *Chians*, sent vnto them for their defence against the *Didemonians*, by *Aratus*; vvhio, vvhon he had formerly possesst himselfe of their Citie, by right of war, did not onely spare the sacke and spoyle therof, but gaue them equall freedome, with the rest of the Citie vniued. These *Reuolts* are also common in our Court wars; where, in the conquests of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depression or destructions of old friends, we cannot be receiued and trusted by old enemies. *Cesont les coups de vieille escrime. These*, (say the French) be the blowes of the old art of fencing.

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit lesse violent in their purpose, than *Spendius*, and his associates: only they wanted a *Matbo* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Prouince. The Islanders were no lesse glad, than the *Didemonians*, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Countrie: but they could not agree about the proportion of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the soldiers for their paines taken. Contrariwise, the soldiers were of opinion, that the ringle of the *Carthaginians* to that Ile, was deuolued vnto themselves, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) haue risen, between *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, & their *African* friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: vvhich the riches of *Carthage* had serued to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countrie, the matter was not easily taken vp. So they fell to blowes; which now they were dealt; I know not, but finally the Mercenaries were driuen out, and compelled to saue themselves in *Italie*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had inuited the *Romans* into it, with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicily*. Yet this offer was refused; vpon reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieved *Matbo* and *Spendius* with come: of whom the *Carthaginians* tooke almost fise hundred, and held them in prison. Herof vvas made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yeilded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbade all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all prouisions to *Carthage*. And vpon the same reason, did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the Citie of *Vtica*, offering it selfe vnto their subiection. This might haue serued, as a notable example of the *Roman* faith, to all posteritie: had not the issue proued, that it was meer regard of greater profit, vvhich kept them so temperate; no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should haue done by open breach of faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended at that time, vpon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who had bin ouerthrown by *Spendius* or *Matbo*, in one maine battaile, that mighty Citie must either haue fallen into the barbarous hands of mercilesse villaines, or haue diminished her selfe vnder protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately striven for superiority. That extreame necessitie, whereinto *Matbo* reduced the Citie, by the fortune of one fallie made out of *Tunis*, is enough to proue, that *Carthage* was not far from such a miserable choyce. Wherefore it was not vnwisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindnesse, and honourable dealing, as might inuite a Rebel, but sinking ship, to runne her selfe aground vpon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africke*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*, then did Ambition put off her goodly vizour. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recouered her feet againe; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced vvar against this enfeebled and impouderished Citie, vnder a shamelesse pretence, that the preparations made for *Sardinia*, were made indeede against Rome it selfe. The *Carthaginians* knew themselves vnable to resist; and therefore yeilded to the *Roman* demand; renouncing vnto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would haue twelue hundred talents, in recompence belike for I see

not what reason they could alleadge) of the great feare which they had endured, of an inuasion from *Carthage*. It is indeede plaine, that they impudently sought occasion of vvarre. But necessity taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the mony vvas paid, how hardly soeuer it was raised. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complaine of the *Punicke* faith, in breach of Couenants: she her selfe hath broken the peace already, which *Amilcar* purposed to make her dearly repent; but what *Amilcar* liues not to performe, shall be accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned sonne.

S. V.

How the affaires of Carthage went betwene the African Rebellion, and the second Punicke Warre.

THe iniurious dealing of the *Romans*, expressing their desire to picke a quarrell; serued to instruct the *Carthaginians* in a necessarie lesson; That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolute to be obedient vnto those that were more mighty. In a Citie long accustomed to rule, the brauer determination easily took place: and the best meanes were thought vpon, for the increase of puissance & Empire. The strength, and the ieaousie of the *Romans*, forbad all attempts vpon the Mediterranean seas; but the riches of *Spaine*, that lay vpon the Ocean, were vnknewen to *Rome*: wherefore that Prouince might serue, both to exercise the *Carthaginians* in war, and to repaire their decayed forces, vwith all needefull supplies. Of the *Spanish* Expedition, the charge and souereigne trust was committed vnto *Amilcar*: vpon whom his Country did wholly repose it selfe, in hope to recouer strength by his meanes, that had saued it from ruine.

Hanno, with some other enuious men that were of his faction, tooke little pleasure in the generall loue and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to be the most worthy of command in all the Citie: onely they commended peace and quietnesse; aduising men to beware of prouoking the *Romans*, in whose amity they said, that the felicity of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the eares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weale; they got none other reputation, than of singularity: which the ignorant sort suspected to be wisdom.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually vpheld & enlarged, by many notable seruices that he did, to the singular benefit of his Country. He passed the Streights of *Hercules*, (now called the Streights of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the westerne coasts of *Spaine*; in which Country, during nine yeares that he liued there, he subiected vnto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all those Prouinces. But finally, in a battaile that he fought with a Nation in *Portugale*, called the *Vettones*, (defending himselfe a long time with an admirable resolution) he was inuironed and slaine: carrying with him to the graue the same great honour and fame, by which in many signall victories, he had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* his son in law vvas made Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spaine*. This was a good man of vvarre; but farre better in practice and cunning than in deedes of armes. By his notable dexteritie in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding so many subiects and confederates therunto, that the *Romans* began to grow ieaous againe of this hastie increase. He built a goodly Citie, vpon a commodious Hauen, in the Kingdome of *Granada*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gaue it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it neerely retaineth, being called now * *Carthagena*. With this successe of the *Carthaginians* in *Spaine*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but began to cause their owne negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much paines to beate them out of the Ile of *Sicily*, as suspecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbering themselves in a warre of farre lesse importance, (whereof I shall speake anon) giuen them leysure, without interruption, to recouer vpon their owne Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in reuenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to helpe this, at the present they knew not; for they daily expected to be inuaded by the *Gauls*, their ancient enemies, and neerest neighbours to the West. But he needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himselfe

* The *Spaniards* haue since built a Citie of the same name in the West Indies: which being peopled by them in the yeere 1533. was sacked by the *English* in the yeere 1585.

to be feared: it is enough if he request, since his request shall haue the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* vtterly destitute of all good colour, that might helpe them to intermeddle in *Spaine*. The *Spaniards* were then vnacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other such Rebels, to call in Roman succours. But in the enterprize of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serue their turne in *Spaine*. For though it were apparant, that the *Spanish* affaires had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose, to extend his victories vnto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the Roman frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had bin suspected) they sent vnto him, requiring that he should forbear to proceede any further, than to the Riuer of *Iberus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the Citie of *Carthage*; they seeme to haue hoped, that howsoeuer the generalltie of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter pilles, to auoide all occasion of warre with *Rome* yet the brauery of one man might proue more fastidious, and presenting the iniurie, returne such answer, as would intangle his whole Countie in the quarrell, that they so much desired, and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparant cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would haue this insolent countenance inserted into the articles of peace; he tooke vpon him to doe it, of his own power, with such appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and sought no further.

If it had beene so, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto pressed by the *Romans*, for feare of present warre, had ratified this new composition made by *Asdrubal*; yet should it not haue stood bound in honour, to obserue the same carefully, vnlesse an oath had also bin extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, vnder the bare authority of *Asdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a second breach of peace, whereof the *Romans* might be accused more iustly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of periuice, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treatie with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* wan some reputation in *Spaine*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the Citie which would needes be mistresse ouer them, stood in feare her selfe, of receiuing blowes from a stouter Dame; their were loone found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-seruants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South-side of *Iberus*, entred into confederacie with the *Romans*, & were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither subiect, nor open enemy in warre to the *Carthaginians*) into their societie; and vnlawfull it was vnto the *Carthaginians*, to vse violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with *Rome*.

Neuerthelesse, if we consider the late agreement, made with *Asdrubal*; we shall finde that the *Romans* could haue none other honest color of requiring it, than an implicit couenant of making the Riuer *Iberus* a bound, ouer which they themselves would not passe, in any Discovery or Conquest by them intended to be made vpon *Spaine*: in which regard, they might haue some honest pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foot, on the one side of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side of that Riuer, held almost all the Countie. Howsoeuer it were, this indignitie was not so easily digested, as former iniuries had beene. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely among them, vpon confidence of help from a more mighty Citie. Wherefore either in this respect, or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest iniuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to doe themselves right: warre against *Saguntum* was generally thought vpon, let the *Romans* take it how they list. In such termes were the *Carthaginians*, when *Asdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spaine* eight yeares: (being slaine by a slave, whose master he had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, sonne of the Great *Amilcar*, was chosen Generall in his stead.

The

S. VI.

The estate of Greece from the death of Pyrrhus, to the reigne of Philip the sonne of Demetrius in Macedon.

IN the long terme of the first *Punick* war, and the vacation following, betwene it and the second; the estate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was growne somewhat like vnto that, vvherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though farre vveaker, as in an after-spring. The whole Countrie had recovered by degrees, a forme of libertie: the petty tyrannies (bride of those inferiour Capitaines, which in the times of generall combustion, had seised each vpon such townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatnesse, as not only serued to defend themselves, but to giue protection to others. This conuersion to the better, proceeded from the like dissentions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had bin in *Greece*, when *Philip* first began to encroach vpon it. For after many quarrels and great wars, about the Kingdome of *Macedon*, betwene *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lyfimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gauls*: *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning fixe and thirtie yeares; yet so, that he was diuers times thence expelled, not only by the *Gauls*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath bin already shewed, but by *Alexander* the son of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whose father he had hardly won it. This happened vnto him, by the reuolt of his souldiers, euen at such time, as hauing ouerthrowne with great slaughter an Armie of the *Gauls*, he was conuerting his forces against the *Athenians*, vvhom he compelled to receive his Gar rifons. But his young sonne *Demetrius* raised an Armie, wherewith he chased *Alexander*, not only out of *Macedon*, but out of his own *Epirus*, and restored his father to the Kingdome.

By the help of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his possession the Citadell of *Corinth*; vvhich was iustly termed the fittur of *Greece*. The Citadell called *Acrocorinthus*, stood vpon a steepe rockie hill on the North side of the towne, and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the town, which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running betwene the *Aegean* and *Ionique* Seas, ioyneth *Peloponnesus* to the maine of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle, was able to cut off all passage by land, from one halfe of *Greece* vnto the other; besides the commodity of the two Seas, vpon both of which, this rich and goodly Citie had commodious hauens. *Alexander*, the son of *Polyperchon*; and after his death, *Crateipolis* his wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of Prouinces and Townes, that was made betwene *Alexanders* Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, vntill it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of vvhom I finde nothing else, than that he vvas thought to be poysoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceiued his wife *Nicæa* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The deuice was this. *Antigonus* sent his young *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, vvilling him to court *Nicæa*, and seeke her marriage. The foolish old widow perceiued not how vnfit a match she was for the yong Prince, but entertained the fancie of marriage; whereto the old King was euen as ready, to consent, as vvas his son to desire, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hercupon all *Corinth* vvas filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all sorts of games: in the midst of vvhich, *Antigonus* vvatched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poore Lady, whose icalousie had bin exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not containe himselfe within the grauity befeeming his old age. But as he had stolen it; so vvas it againe stolen from him: neither liued he to reuenge the losse of it, being already spent with age.

Demetrius, the son of this *Antigonus*, succeeding vnto his father, reigned ten yeares. He made greater prooue of his vertue before he was King than after. The *Dardaniens*, *Ætolians*, and *Acheans*, held him continually busied in war; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Gracians* to cast off their yoke.

Philip, the only son of *Demetrius*, vvas a young child when his father died; & therefore *Antigonus*, his vnckle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minority of the Prince;

Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though he respected *Philip* as his own son, to whom he left the Crowne at his death; This *Antigonus* vvas called the Tutor, in regard of his protectorship; and was also called *Doson*, that is as much as, *will-gine*, because he was slow in his liberalitie. He repressed the *Dardaniens* and *Thessalians*, which molested his Kingdome, in the beginning of his reigne. Vpon confidence of this good seruice, he took state vpon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, than only a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutinie; but vvere soone appeased by faire words, and a seeming vnwillingnesse of his to meddle any more with the Gouvernment. The *Achaiens* tooke from him the City of *Athens*, soone after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to haue wrought him out of all, or most that he held in *Greece*, if their own estate had not bin endangered by a neerer enemy. But ciuill dissention, which had ouerthrown the power of *Greece*, when it flourished most; ouerthrew it easily now againe; when it had scarcely recovered strength after a long sicknesse; and gaue to this *Antigonus* no lesse authority therein, than *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

These *Achaiens* from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: so that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the *Greekes*. By the equallie of their Lawes, and by their clemencie (notwithstanding that they were a long time held vnder by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not only draw all others by their loue and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to be gouerned by one Law, and to vse one and the same sort of weights, measure, and mony.

Achaia, the *Sicyonian*, was the first that vnited them againe; and gaue them courage, after that they had bin by the *Macedonian* Capitaines diuided into many Principalities. In elder times they were gouerned by Kings, as most of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kinde of rule they first subiected themselves, after the descent of the *Heraclide*, which *Vysamenus* the son of *Orestes* posselt the Territorie of *Achaia*. In this estate they continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whom, when his sons sought to change the Legall gouernment of their Predecessors into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as seeming most equall. This forme of Common-weale had continuance, with some small changes according to the diueritie of times, till the reigne of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*: who tempest-like ouerturned all things in that part of the world. For those twelue Cities, called the Cities of alliance, wherof *Helice*, and *Burro* *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten vp a little before the Battails of *Leuctras*; were, by disturbance of the *Macedonians*, diuided from each other, and trained into a war, no lesse foolish than cruell, among themselves. But in the one hundred and foure and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or neere it, *Ptolomie* the son of *Lagus*, *Lyfimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolomie Cumanus*, left the world; two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patrenses* and the *Dimai*, vnited themselves, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-vnion, vvhich after followed. For hauing bin, some of them *Partisans* with sundrie *Macedonian* Capitaines, and others hauing bin grouerned by petty Kings, they began to fasten themselves in a strong league of amitie, partly, in the *Olympiad* before spoken of, and partly, at such time as *Pyrrhus* made his first voyage into *Italie*. Now after the vuniting of the *Patrenses* and *Dimai*, to whom also the Cities of *Tritæa*, and *Phars*, ioyned themselves; *Ægira* chased out her Gar rifons: and the *Borians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the same Confederacie. These Cities, for sometime and fure yeares, vsed the same forme of Gouvernment with the *Achaiens*; who by a Senatorie and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Commonweale; and soone after, by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Cæcilius* was the first, and *Archeus* the second.

This *Archeus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who liuing at *Argos* in exile, vvhilst his Countrie was oppressed by Tyrants, found meanes, through the helpe of some banished men, to enter their own Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chased the Tyrants, and restored the people to libertie. This was in the time of *Antigonus* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more busie in watching what to get among the *Greekes*, than in looking to his own. For feare of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* enter into the league, which though at that time it received more increase by their accession, than it added strength to them, yet the benefit of this conuention serued well enough against

against *Antigonus*, whose subtiltie was somewhat greater than his valour. [As the industry and counsaile of *Aratus* deliuered his Country from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league, so further, by his great liberalitie, with the exceeding great cost of 150 talents, he pacified the inexplicable controuersies, between the banished *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, & the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands; as also with the same money he drew many others to assist him in those enterprises following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaia*. The mony he obtained of *Ptolomy* *Euergetes* King of *Egypt*, who partly had a desire to hold some strong and sure friendship in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the conuersation of *Aratus* himself, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious peeces, wherein the workemen of *Sceyon* excelled.]

The first of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the surprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadell of *Corinth*; which he wanne by night, being thereinto guided by some theuees that he had hired for the purpose, who liuing in the place, had practised to rob *Antigonus* his treasure, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. Yet was he faine to fight for it, ere he could get it: though indeed *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather overcome by their owne feare, than by any force of the assailants; as mistrusting lest the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and hauing lost the advantages of the place already, vpon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemie.

In these kinde of night-seruices, ambushments, surprises, and practices, *Aratus* was verie cunning, aduenturous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, he was astimorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approued) might looke pale and tremble, when he began battaile; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diuersified, by the sundry natures of men, & in a manner confined, vnto seuerall sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said, that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a naturall inclination standeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, vse, good successe, and other helpe, yet hardly shall grow absolute in generall. Such was *Aratus* in matter of Warre. In sincere affection to his Countrie he was vnreproucable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will truly testifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and ioyned vnto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* reuolted soone after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the same Corporation. So did the *Trachinians*, and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new erected State grew so powerfull, that it aduentured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*; and *Argos* & *Megapolis*, from Tyrants that held them. The enterprise vpon the *Athens* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* wasted the Ile of *Salamis*, to shew his strength, and sent home the *Athenian* prisoners, without ransome, to allure the Citie by shew of loue; yet the *Athenians* stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now growne honest slaues to the *Macedonians*. Vpon *Argos* the aduenture was carried more strongly. The *Achaians* came sometimes to the gates of the Citie, but the people stirred not: once they entred it, and might haue wonne it, if the Citizens would haue lent any helpe to the recovery of their owne freedome; sundry times, and with diuers euents, they fought with the Tyrants, (who roste vpon one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and slue one of them in battaile; but all sufficed not: vnill at length *Aristomachus* the Tyrant was forsaken, perfwaded, and hired, by *Aratus*, that he consented to resigne his Estate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermonia*, and *Cleonymus* that had oppressed the *Phlians*.

Whilest this businesse with the *Argines* was on foot, *Lysidas* the Tyrant of *Megapolis*, was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulsion, he gaue libertie to his Citie, and annexed it to the Councell of *Achaia*: whereby he got such credit, that he was chosen Generall of their forces (which was a yearely Office, and might not be hold two yeeres together by one man:) euery second yeare, for a certaine while, he and *Aratus* succeeded one another by turnes. But those late Tyrants, and now Citizens, *Lysidas* and *Aristomachus*, were carried with private passion from care of the generall good, in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as shall appeare in due time.

The *Achaens* hauing obtained so much puissance and reputation, that *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) Generall of their forces by Sea and Land, made open War vpon *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* *Gonatas*, for the liberty of *Athens*. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrell had lost a battaile, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in signe of ioy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the victory. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in vvhom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude, *Aut humiliter seruit, aut superbe dominatur*; It is either base in seruice, or insolent in command. Neuerthelesse when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by mony, which he could not by force; & corrupting the Capitaine of the *Macedonian* Garrison, purchased liberty to the *Athenians*, vvhom thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Achaens*, louing them, and speaking vvell of them, vvhich was all that they could doe: but into their Corporation they entred not, scorning it belike, in regard of their own out-worne glory.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increased within *Peloponnesus*, by iustice and honestie; so did the *Etolians*, in the viter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponnesus* it selfe, waxe very powerfull, by sturdinesse of body, & rude courage in fight, without help of any other vertue. They had stoutly defended themselves against *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to do & suffer much; partly by the naturall strength & fastnesse of their Country; but especially by the benefit of the time, vvhich called away these famous Capitaines to other businesse, as hath bin related. They had molested *Cassander* in fauour of *Antigonus*, & vvere themselves as much plagued by him, & by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a stout Nation, that tooke his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius*, the son of the first *Antigonus*, & more or lesse, with all the Kings of *Macedon* succeeding him. They likewise held often War vvvith the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirians*, & many Citiees in *Peloponnesus*: so that they vvere hardned with perpetuall traualle; seldome putting off their Armour. But their hardinesse ill deserued the name of valour, seeing they had no regard of honesty or friendship; measuring all things by their own insolent wils, & thinking all people base-minded, that were not as fierce and outrageous as themselves.

These *Etolians* had lately made great spoyles in *Peloponnesus*, and occupied a good part of the Country. They had inuaded the friends of the *Achaens*, taken and sacked *Pallene*, where although they were soundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gaine made them make a new voyage thither, as to a Country wherein somewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to looke another vway, by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus* *Gonatas*: who pressed them so hardly, that they vvere driuen to seeke helpe of the *Achaens*; which they obtained. The vvar vvhich the *Achaens* made vpon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit therof redounded chiefly vnto the *Etolians*, at whose instance it was set on foot: for thereby vvere the *Macedonian* forces diuered from them. Neither was this good turne vnacknowledged; though very basely the *Etolians* giuing thanks in words, deuided how to requite the benefit with some great mischiefe. They saw that the *Achaens* were desirous, to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance & Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedemonians* were very calous. Wherefore these *Etolians* laboured earnestly, to set the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaens* together by the eares: hoping that if this might come to passe, they themselves should be called in to helpe (it skilled not on what side) and so get no small share, both in bootie and Territorie. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their deuice vnto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their gaine, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses, that this Kingdome had sustained by the *Achaens*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to giue the *Lacedemonians* cause to take Armes. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late: and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had bin meddling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedamon*: and thereby had prouoked the *Lacedemonians* to looke about them; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their friends (who also were attempted) was already become *Achaean*.

The Citie of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times; and subiect to the iniuries of any longer Neighbor. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakened it; The *Etolians* entering *Laconia* with

an Armie, had carried away fiftie thousand flaves; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Auarice & Lukerie reigned among them; the poore was oppressed by the rich, & the generositie of spirit, that had sometime bin his generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than seven hundred natural Citizens; of whom not above one hundred had Lands; all the rest were needie people, and desirous of innovation. Heraipon followed intestine sedition; which endangered the Citie most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reforme the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict obseruation of *Lycurgus*, his lawes. To which purpose he caused them to passe an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equall diuision of Lands: All the younger, and pooreer sort were glad of this; but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse vnto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings who tooke their part: being himselfe a dissolute man, as one trained vp in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the Citie, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends & Counsaillors in this enterprize, abused his good meaning to their owne priuate commoditie. They were haſtie to take away all debts, & cancell all bands, for they themselves were deeply indebted: but the diuision of lands they afterwards hindered, because their own possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in *Sparta*, vvhich these men increased by their foule oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdom; and the two aduerſe Kings driuen to take Sanctuary, out of vvhich, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was dismissed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into priſon, and thereby his enemies condemned & strangled, together with his Mother, & his old Grandmother. The like to this was neuer known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this crueltie proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should haue giuen Patronage to the lawes, vsing their power, and more power than to them belonged, against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the Citie, as the law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; & ſetued to establish the impotent rule of a few tyrannicall oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope to adioyne *Lacedamon* to the *Achaens* Common-wealth: though it were great iniustice to take such aduantage, and attempt by force, that which would haue redounded to the generall good of *Peloponnesus*; and to the benefit of *Sparta* it selfe, if it could haue bin wrought by perswasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and reuenged the death of *Agis*, did also requite the iniust attempts of the *Achaens*, euen in their own kinde: obtruding vpon them by force, an vnion of all *Peloponnesus*; though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedemonians* and their King, should haue bin the principall; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* hauing thus caused *Agis* to be slaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautifull, and gaue her in marriage (perforce) to his own son *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, & sought to win her affection, as well as he had her person. He discoursed much with her about the purpose of her former husband *Agis*, & by pitying his misfortune, began to entertaine a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So comming himselfe to be King, whilest he was very young, he gladly embraced all occasions of War: for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in so corrupt an estate of the Citie, had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gaue him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenaum*, a Temple on the marches of *Luconia*, to vvhich both they & the *Megalopolitans* pretended title; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but sought to take by surprize *Tegæ* & *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedemonians*: wherein, his intelligence failing, he lost the labor of a painful nights trauel, & discovered his enmity to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing forrie. By these degrees the war began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had discovered the *Ætolian* practice, & therefore would haue staid the quarrell from proceeding too far. But *Lyſiadas* & *Aristomachus* would needs fight, and he could do none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so virgent. *Aristomachus* was at that time Generall of the *Achaens*, (He and *Lyſiadas* being of great account, since they had abandoned their tyrannie) who sent vnto *Aratus*, lying then in *Artemis*, and required his assistance in a iourne to be made into *Laconia*. No dissuasions of *Aratus* would he therefore

therefore he came in person, and tooke part of a businesse, little pleasing him in the present and lesse in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight; but opposed himselfe against *Aristomachus* who desired to giue battaile. Yet had the *Achaens* twenty thousand foot, and one thousand horse, in their Armie: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thousand in all. This gaue reputation to the *Lacedemonian*, and raised an ill report vpon *Aratus*, which *Lyſiadas* helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardize. Neuerthelesse the *Achaens* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their Generall the yeare following, against *Lyſiadas* his accuser that sued for the place. Being Generall himselfe, it behooued him to confute, with deedes, the slanderous words of *Lyſiadas*. Therefore he purposed to set vpon the *Eleans*: but was met withall on the way, neere vnto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquished him in a great battaile, and draue him to hide himselfe all night for feare; so that he was thought to haue bin slaine. This misadventure *Aratus* recompenced by a trick of his owne more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Armie, that which could hardly haue bin expected, had he bin victorious. For whilest there was no suspition of any great matter that he could vndertake; he suddenly wrought with some of the *Mantineans*, who did let him into their Citie. These *Mantineans*, (whom he had thus brought to his purpose) had once before ioyned themselves with the *Achaens*; but shortly vpon feare, or some other passion, they gaue themselves to the *Ætolians*; and from the *Ætolians*, presently after this victorie, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus wonne. For this their leuitie they were not punished, but freely admitted now againe into the *Achaen* societie. As this good successe repaired the credit of *Aratus*, so another battaile almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountered neere vnto *Megalopolis*, where the *Achaens* had somewhat the better at the first, but their General durst not follow his aduantage. Thereupon *Lyſiadas*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horse, brake vpon the *Lacedemonians*, whom he routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too far into places of hard passage, he was slaine by them, and his followers driuen backe vpon their owne Companions; in such sort, that finally all the Armie was disordered and put to flight. This was a great losse, and incensed the *Achaens* against *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* tooke patiently, and followed the warre neuerthelesse, wherein though *Cleomenes* wanne some Townes, and *Aratus* got the better in one small fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achaens* being wearie, and the *Spartan* King intentiue to another businesse.

Cleomenes hauing ledde into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painfull iournies, forooke the *Achaen* warre on a sudden, and came vnexpected home to *Sparta*, where he slue the *Ephori*, and restored by force the ancient discipline of *Lycurgus*. Then gaue he an account of his doings: and shewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroched vpon the power of Kings, & many disorders had grown in the Citie; he iustified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equall diuision of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplied the defect of Citizens, by choosing new, out of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: so that henceforth his Countrie might not altogether stand in need of Mercenarie helpe, as it lately had done, to saue it selfe from the *Ætolians*, *Thyrians*, and such other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the *Spartans* well satisfied; and *Cleomenes* himselfe ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any aduantage of these his domesticall troubles.

The *Achaens* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the Citie, for feare of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had wasted all the Countrie of *Argalopolis*; had ranged ouer all *Arcadia* at his pleasure; and was admitted into *Mantinea*; and ready to take other places, euen of *Achaia*. These newes displeased them not a little: but they must patiently endure to heare worse. For when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authoritie, he proceeded more roundly in his worke; being better obeyed and by better men. His *Lacedemonians* resumed their ancient courage; and he himselfe had the heart to demand the Principalltie of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend about the possession of a few Townes: but aduentured to wiane or lose all.

all. The *Ætolians*, in fauour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side: and whereas he had gotten *Mantinea*, *Tegea*, and other places, to which they had some title, they willingly renounced all their interest vnto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Countrey, and saw that *Antigonus*, with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begunne. Therefore he deuised how to provide against the worst, and rather to repaire all, or (if it could not be) to saue all from utter ruine. The office of General when it was next put vpon him, he refused; fearing to be so far prest, as to hazard in one battaile all the force of his Countrey, to which as he had neuer any affection, nor perchance courage, so was his manner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted to by surprise, & defended vpon the aduantage of place, after the manner of the *Irish*, and of all other Nations, ouer-charged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forsake the care of the Weale-publique, though in aiming at the generall good, it seemed that private passion drew him into an ill course. He saw, that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazard of battaile; that *Mantinea* had not onely opened her gates vnto *Cleomenes*, but slaine the *Achaean* Garrison that lay therein; that other Townes had yeelded vnto him, without compulsion; and that *Aristomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and since Generall of the *Archeans*, was now reuolted vnto the enemy, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolomie* was too farre off to helpe; and the neere-ness of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be vsfull, if this King would, (as *Polybius* saith) like others, be friend or enemy, as should best agree with his owne profit. To make triall heereof, *Aratus* practised with some of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt vnto his purpose; and instructed them how to deale both with *Antigonus*, and the *Acheans*.

The Citie of *Megalopolis* had bene well affected to the *Macedonians*, euer since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it vnto him by some speciall benefits. At this time it lay neerest vnto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deferred succour; yet could not well be releued by the *Acheans*, with their owne proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadors should be sent vnto the generall Councell of *Achaia*, requesting leaue and good allowance, to trie the fauour of *Antigonus* in their necessitie. This was granted, for lacke of what else to answer: and the same Embassadors dispatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their Citie had of long time borne vnto him and his Predecessors; of their present neede; and how it would agree with his honour to giue them aide. But when they deliuered the more generall matter, wherein *Aratus* had giuen them instruction; shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his owne great losse or danger, if the one and the other were not in time preuented; how *Aratus* himselfe did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Acheans* vnder the Patronage of *Macedon*: then beganne *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive care to their discourse. He embraced the motion: and to giue it the more life, he wrote vnto the *Megalopolitans*, that his helpe should not be wanting, so farre forth, as it might stand with the *Acheans* good liking. Particularly he commended himselfe, by these Messengers to *Aratus*, assuring them, that he thought himselfe highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceiued, not to haue bene grounded vpon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but onely vpon a iust and worthy loue to his owne Nation. With this answer they returned to *Megalopolis*: and are presently sent away to the Councell of *Achaia*; there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessity of the time required. The *Acheans* were glad to heare, that *Antigonus* was so inclinable to their desire; and therefore were ready to entertaine his fauour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gaue his consent; and praised the wisdome of his Countrymen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest means of their common safetie: adding neuertheless, that it were not amisse, first of all to try their owne abilitie; which if it failed, then should they doe well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he shewed himselfe moderate, in that which himselfe of all others did most wish: to the end, that he might not afterward sustaine the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amisse; since it might appeare, that hee had not bene Author of this Decree, but onely followed, and that leisurably, the generall consent.

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Neuertheless in true estimation, this finenesse of *Aratus* might haue bin vsed, vwith his greater commendation, in a contrary course. For it had bin more honourable, to make an end of the War, by yeelding vnto *Cleomenes* that power which they gaue vnto *Antigonus*: since thereby he should both haue freed his Countrey from all further trouble; & withall should haue restored vnto the vniuersall state of *Greece*, that honourable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pitty) that Vertue hauing risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it selfe, (as it were) in the seat of Principality, by length of time, and successe of many actions, can ill endure the hasty growth of any others reputation, wherewith it sees it selfe likely to be ouer-topped. Other cause to despise the *Lacedemonians* there was none, than that they lately had bin in dangerous case: neither could any reason be found, why *Aratus* should preferre *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had stood in doubt of the one, when he thought himselfe more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was lustily plagued, vwhen he saw his own honours reuerfed by the insolent *Macedonians*; and instead of liuing as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was descended of a long race of Kings, the posterity of *Heracles* was faine to do sacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, as vnto a god; and was finally poysoned by *Philip*, whose Nobility was but of fine descents, & whom perhaps he might haue seene his fellows, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the loue of *Ptolomie* was lost: who forthwith tooke part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not supply him with such liberality, as he had vsed to the *Acheans*; being warned, as may seeme, by their example, to be more wary both in trusting and disbursing. *Cleomenes* himselfe, vvhilest this businesse with *Antigonus* was a-foot, passed through *Arcadia* with an Armie; and laboured by all means to draw the *Acheans* to battaile. At the Citie of *Dyme* in *Achaia* were assembled all the remaining forces of the Nation, with which it was concluded, to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their estate, without seeking helpe of the *Macedonians*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, & there fought with them, where he had so great a victory, that the enemy was no longer able to keep the open field. The calamitie was such, that *Aratus* himselfe durst not take vpon him to be their Generall, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the *Acheans* were compelled to sue for peace; which was granted vpon this easie condition: That they should not arrogate vnto themselves the command of *Peloponnesus*, but suffer the *Lacedemonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in warre. Hereunto if they would condescend, he promised vnto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, & all his prisoners ransom free: also that they should enjoy their own Lawes & Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Acheans*: who desired him to come to the Citie of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the Warre.

Now seemed the affaires of *Greece* likely to be settled in better order, than they had euer bin since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Wars, yea or since the *Persian* inuasion: when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindred all, with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in great heat, & thereupon fell extreame sicke, & so could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Neuertheless he sent home the chiefe of his prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the *Acheans*, in their desire of his friendship: who assembled againe at *Argos*, there to establish the League. But *Antigonus* was violently bent against it; & fought by great words, & terrible threats, to make his Countrymen afraid of resolving. When all would not serue turne, he betooke himselfe to his cunning, and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that he should do well to leaue his Armie behinde him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiuing hostages for safetie of his person. *Cleomenes* was already far on his way, when he met with this aduertisement: and tooke it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had bin an easie matter, to haue told him so much at the first, and not haue made him come so far with an Armie, which afterwards he must dismiss. Yet that which chiefly seemed to haue troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners, who sought thereby, either to make him waite without the Citie, and deale only with themselves and their Messengers; or if he would aduenture himselfe into the Citie, then to deprive him of all Royall shew, that might breed respect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, & for which he sought to hinder his coming thither in person: lest the people, hearing the promises

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of *Cleomenes*, ratified by his owne mouth, should presently be wonne with his gentle words, and finish the bargain without more adoe. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote vnto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining against these juggling trickes: and *Aratus* was not farre behind within him, in as bitter an Oration. So betwene feare of the one, and reuerence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake vp, leaving all as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* tooke his advantage of their present weakness, and renewed the Warre. Many Cities yeelded vnto him willingly; many he forced; and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wanne *Argos*, which neuer King of *Sparta* before him could doe. In this case *Aratus* sent his owne sonne to *Antigonus*, entreating him to deferre no time; but come presently to relieue the distressed *Achaens*. *Antigonus* gaue good words as could be wished: saying that hee vtterly refused to doe anything, vnlesse hee might first haue *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demand was somewhat like vnto that of the Hunter, who promised to helpe the Horse against his enemy the Stagge: but with condition, that the horse should suffer himselfe to be saddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contended, but wanted all honest colour to doe it; seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deserued, to be thus giuen away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiuing what hee intended, were minded to arrest him. So he withdrew himselfe out of their Citie, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that their Castle should be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ranne to *Cleomenes*; who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he fought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to saue it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it within Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leaue. Whilest this was doing, he tooke speciall order, that *Aratus* his house and goods, within the Towne, should be kept for the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the Barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Illyrians*, to *Peloponnesus*; promising that if he would hearken to these perswasions, then would he giue him double the same pension, which he had been wont to receiue of King *Ptolomie*. As for the Castle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured soueraignie of the Country; hee desired that it might not be committed vnto his owne disposition, but be jointly kept by the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaens*. All this entreaty serued to no purpose. For *Aratus*, reflecting vtterly the motion, sent his owne sonne as an Hostage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achaens*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* vnderstood, he seized vpon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Countrey of *Sicyon*, wherof this his Aduersary was natue.

Antigonus in the meane time drew neere to the *Isthmus*; hauing passed with his Army through *Euboea*, because the *Etolians* held the streights of *Thermopylae* against him. This they did, either in fauour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatnesse, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attaine by the good successe of this iourney. At his comming thither he found the *Lacedemonians* ready to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazzard battaile, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able so to doe: he secretly got into the *Corinthian* Hauen; but was violently driuen out againe, with great losse of men; finally he resolved to turne aside, and seeke a passage ouer the gulf of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity newes from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no lesse troubled his enemies. The *Achaens* were gotten into that Citie; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driuen out of the Citadell, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present helpe. *Argos* had alwayes bin enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* tooke it, he forbore to chafe out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreaty of friends; and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that hee would cause all debtors to be discharged from their creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places where it would haue been tyrannicall, he did it not. Thereupon,

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such as were disappointed of their vniust hopes, began to turne good Common-wealths, men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not doe the like abroad. So they tooke their time; inuited the *Achaens*; assailed his Garrison; cut in peeces the Rescue that he sent; and compelled him at length, to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and looke vnto the enemies that were behind his back. For when he vnderstood by continuall messages, that his men which held the Citadell at *Argos*, were almost lost; he began to feare, lest his labour in guarding the entry, should grow fruitles; the *Achaens* in the meane while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forsooke his custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if he could saue, he meant to trust torture with the rest. And so farre he preuailed at his comming to *Argos*; that both *Argiues* and *Achaens* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the streets; when the horsemen of *Antigonus* were disquered a farre off, hasting to relieue the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himselfe (to whom *Corinth* was yeelded, as soone as the *Spartan* had turned his backe) following apace with the body of his Army. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, than to make a safe retrait. This he did, and got him home into *Laconia*: losing in short space all, or most of that which he had bin long in getting.

Antigonus hauing shewed himselfe at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where he vvan such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*; and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he tooke his vway to *Aegium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achaens*; to whom he declared the cause of his comming, and spake braue words, that filled them with hope. The *Achaens* were not behinde with him; but made him Capitaine Generall ouer them and their Confederates; and further entred into covenant with him, That they should not deale with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while, and somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon*, his owne Town (for Winter was come on) where he not only tasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done vnto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if in stead of *Cleomenes* that would haue bin a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poore, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen vpon the *Achaens*. This was hardly taken: yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himselfe ouer-carefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which he had throwne downe in *Argos*, were againe erected by *Antigonus*; or when the statues, which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all throwne downe by the same King, and one only left vnto himselfe at his earnest entreaty. It might therefore appeare, that this God was also spitefull. Neuerthelesse in taking reuenge vpon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satisfie his own passion by the ayde of these *Macedonians*. For with extreame torments he did put *Aristomachus* to death, vwho had bin once Tyrant of *Argos*; afterwards Generall of the *Achaens*, and from them reuolting vnto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantineans* for their ingratitude and cruelty shewed to the *Achaens*. For he slue all the principall Citizens, and sold the rest, men, women, and children, all for bondslaves: diuiding the spoile; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achaens*. The town it selfe was giuen by *Antigonus* to the *Argiues*: who peopled it with a Colony of their own, and *Aratus* hauing charge of this businesse, caused it to be new-named *Antigonia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuse, than euen the flattery, wherinto they had vrged and brought him; whom he, as in reuenge thereof, did thus requite. But leauing to speake of this change, which the comming in of the *Macedonian* wrought, in the Ciuill state of the *Achaens*; Let vs returne into his warre against the *Lacedemonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wan *Tegea*, *Mantineia*, *Orchomenus*, *Heraca*, and *Telphussa*; *Mantineia* he dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Achaens*: with whom he wintred at *Aegium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his own Territorie. The

reason why he stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantineia*, & to those other Townes that he wan, vvas this: He had few Souldiers, and had not mony enough to wage more. *Ptolomie* the *Egyptian* promised much, but would performe nothing, vnlesse he might haue *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his children in pledge. These were sent into *Egypt*, yet the aide came not. For *Ptolomie* vvas slow; as dealing in the businesse of *Greece*, rather for his mindes sake, than vpon any apprehension of necessitie. *Cleomenes* therefore prouided for himselfe, as well as his own ability would serue. He manumised all the *Heilotes*, which vvere the *Lacedemonian* slaues: taking mony for their liberty, and arming two thousand of them, after the *Macedonian* fashion. Hauing thus increased his forces, he came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*; that lay secure, as hauing defended it selfe in more dangerous times, and hauing now *Antigonus* neere at hand in *Argo*. The towne he wan: but after he was entred, all that vvere fit to beare Armes, rose hastily against him; and though they could not driue him out, yet saued the multitude, to whom they gaue a Port free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Town and goods to them againe, if they would be of his party. But they brauely refused his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great bootie that he found therein. These newes astonished the *Acheans*, at *Argium*: who thereupon brake vp their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering places: but they were so long in coming, that *Cleomenes* vvas safely gone home. Therefore he returned them backe to their lodgings, and went himselfe to *Argos*; there to passe the rest of his vn lucky winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the grieved *Acheans*. When he had laine a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* vvas at the gates; with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argines* perceiuing that their Country would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the field; vvere very earnest with him to go forth and fight. But he vvas wiser than to be moued with their clamors, and suffered them to see their villages burnt, to bid him resigne his Office of Protector vnto some that vvere more valiant; and to satisfie their passions with foolish words, rather than he vould be ouer-come in fight, and thereby lose more honor than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakening the reputation of his enemy: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other strength, vnto *Lacedamon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for war, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troups; meaning to requit these brauado's of his enemy, vvith the conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* on the other side, laboured to keepe the vvar from his own gates; and therefore entred vpon the Country of *Argos*, where he made such haucke, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended inuasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was faine to endure, in coasting of the *Spartan* King; that ranging ouer the Country of the *Argives*, *Phliasians*, and *Orchomenians*, draue a Garrison of his out of *Oligythi*; and did sacrifice, as it were, before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Tuno*, that was shut vp; sending vnto him in scorne, to borrow the keyes. These were light things; yetserued to dis-hearten the *Achean* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazzard; by setting vp his rest, without any more delay, vpon *Sparta* it selfe. He had in his Army eight and twenty thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gauls*, *Epirotes*, *Boeotians*, *Acaruanians*, and others; together vvith the *Acheans*, and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts, twentie thousand, vvith which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seeke entrance. *Antigonus* coming vnto *Selasia*, found his enemy so strongly incamped, vpon and between the hills of *Eua* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could aduance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blowes, vvich he greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Army, in assaying their well-defenced Campe. But at length (as it happens, when men are wearie both of their hopes and feares) both Kings being resolved to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted vvith his *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the hill *Eua*. But his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achean* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, and light-armed foote, incamped in the streight vally between those hills, issuing forth, fell vpon their skirts, and not onely

disordered them, but were like to haue endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himselfe had stood in that part of the battaile, he would haue made great vse of such a faire beginning. But *Enclydas*, his brother, a more valiant than skilful Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this aduantage, nor tooke such benefit as the ground afforded; whereon he lay. *Philopamen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis* who afterwards proued a famous Capraine, serued then on horse, as a priuate young man, among the *Acheans*. He seeing that all was like to go to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driuen to fall back vpon the Army following them; perswaded the Captaines of the *Achean* horse, to breake vpon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had giuen order, that they should keepe their places, untill they receiued a signe from him, which was not as yet. *Philopamen* perceiuing them to be more orderly, than wel aduised; entreated some of his own Countreimen to follow him, and charge on the *Spartans*; & forced them, not only to leaue the *Illyrians*, but secke how to saue themselves. Being so far aduanced, he found the place vvich the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to be wonne, through the skilfulnesse of him that held it. Wherefore he allighted, and perswaded the men at Armes his Companions to do the like: the folly of *Enclydas* being manifest, vvho kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight vpon euenn termes. So he recoured the Hill top; where though he was sore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, vntill the whole Army came vp to him; by vvich the *Lacedemonians* were beaten from it, vvith great slaughter of them in their descent. This ouerthrow, and death of *Enclydas*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: vvho fighting brauely on the other side, vpon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himself, vvas like to haue bin surrounded and lost, if he had not vvithdrawn himself vvith an extraordinary speed. In this battaile ended the glory of *Lacedamon*, vvich, as a light ready to goe out, had vvith a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

Cleomenes fled vnto *Sparta*: where he had no desire to stay, finding onely two hundred left, of sixe thousand *Spartans* that he had led vnto this battaile, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yeld themselves vnto *Antigonus*; and promising to doe all that should at any time lye in his own power, for their good, he hastned away to the Sea-side (vvhere he had shipping long before provided against all that might happen) & imbarqued himselfe for *Egypt*. He vvas lovingly entertained by *Ptolomie Evergetes*; who vnderooke to restore him to his Kingdome, and (perhaps) meant no lesse, as being much delighted vvith his gallant behauiour and qualities. In the meane season he had a pension allowed him, of foure and twenty Talents, yearly. But this *Ptolomie* died, and his son *Ptolomie Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious young Prince, vvholly gouerned by lewd Women, and base Men, vvithout full of all vertue, and hating any in vvhom it vvas found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was desirous to returne into *Greece*, vvich the troubles in *Peloponnesus*, did seeme to inuade him; *Ptolomie* and his Minions, vvould neither giue him aide, nor yet dared to dismisse him (as he desired) to trie his own friends in *Greece*, because he vvas too vvell acquainted vvith the weakenesse of *Egypt*: nor vvell knew how to detain him against his will. At length they deuised matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last act of him, vvas; that vvith thirty of his Countreimen, he vnderooke a desperate enterprise: breaking out of the prison, and prouoking the *Alexandrines* to rebell and seeke their liberty. In vvich attempt he slue some enemies of his that he met; and hauing vvalked vp and down the streets vvithout resistance (no man offering to take his part, or vvich is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalfe) he, and his Companions, agreed together to be ministers of their own death. Vpon his dead body *Ptolomie* vvvas bold to shew his indignation: and slue his Mother and Children, that had bin sent thither as Hostages, together vvith the vvives of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending vpon the old Queene. Such vvas the end of *Cleomenes*; a generous Prince, but Son of *Leonidas*, vvho had caused *Spis*, vvith his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to such a bloody end, as now befell his own Wife, Son, and Grand-children.

After the victory at *Selasia*, *Antigonus* vvithout resistance, entred *Sparta*: vvherein no force of any Enemy, before him, could make vvay. He kindly entreated

the Citizens, and left them to their own Lawes and Gouernment: tarrying there no longer than two or three daies; after which he hastened out of *Poloponnesus*, and neuer returned. The cause of his speedy departure vvas, an aduertisement that he receiued out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* ouer-ran, and destroyed the Countrey. Had these newes come a litle sooner; or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few daies longer, or at least-wise tarried a few daies after the fight, in *Sparta*: the Kingdome of *Lacedemon* vould haue stood, and perhaps haue extended it selfe ouer all *Greece*. But God had otherwise determined.

Antigonius fought a great battaile vvith the *Illyrians*, and ouercame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any vvound, but by ouer straying his voyce; wherewith he brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his life, vvho vvas troubled before vvith a consumption of the lungs. His Kingdome descended vnto *Philip*, the son of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that *Antiochus*, surnamed (I know not why) the Great; and *Ptolomie Philopater*; began to reigne in *Asia*, and *Egypt*; Boyes all. Of these, *Ptolomie*, though old enough to loue Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy, all the seuteen yeares of his reigne. The vvrippinge of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred such intestine inconuenience to their Kingdomes, as is vviall in the minoritie of Princes: but their elder yeares brought them acquainted vvith the *Romans*; vpon vvhich occasion, vvhen it comes, vve shall more seasonably speake of them, and of their Kingdomes, more at large.

S. VII.

How the *Illyrians* infested the coast of *Greece*, and how they were subdued by the *Romans*.

W Hilest things thus passed in *Greece*; and whilest the *Carthaginians* were busie in their conquest of *Spaine*: the *Romans* had found themselves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corseans*, that were easily subdued at first, and easily vanquished again, when they rebelled. They made also war vvith the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour vvith little pain. With the *Gauls*, they had much ado, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Linie* saith, a tumult than a vvwar. So that by all these light exercises their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Ilands in the *Mediterran Sea*, it hath bin shewed before: of their dealings vvith *Illyrians* and *Gauls*, it is not meete to be vtterly silent.

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Countrey now called *Slauonia*: a troublesome Nation, impatient of rest, and continually making war for gaine, without either regard of friend or foe. They were invited by *Demetrius* King of *Macedon*, to help the *Mydionians*, his friends, that were besieged by the *Aetolians*; for that they refused to be of their society. Before the *Illyrians* succours came, the *Mydionians* were so far spent, that the *Aetolians* contended about the booty: the old Prætor, or chiefe Magistrate of their Nation, vvho was going out of his Office, clayming to haue the honour of the victory, and the diuision of the spoyle to be referred vnto him; for that he had in a manner brought the siege to an end, and won the towne: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a pretie strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in later ages, vvho thought vpon diuiding the prey, before they had vvon the victories, vvich anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Aetolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus: That the old, & the new Prætor, should be ioynly intitled in the victorie, and haue equal authority in distribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, & after another fashion. They arriued, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell vpon the *Aetolians*, and though good resistance was made, yet got the victorie, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their own busines, but stoutly sallied out of the Towne. Many of the *Aetolians* were slaine, more vvere taken, their Campe and all their baggage was lost: the *Illyrians* tooke the spoyle, & went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophie, inscribing the names, both of their old and new Magistrate (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Aetolians* had directed them by example.

The successe of this voyage, highly pleased *Agrippa* King of the *Illyrians*: not onely in regard

regard of the mony, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance; for of the booty that was gotten; but for that hauing vanquished the stoutest of the *Gauls*, he found it not vn easie, to enrich himselfe by setting vpon the like vvildlike. For he took this he feared, and drank so immoderately, that he fell into a *Fluxurie*, vvich in few dayes ended his life. His Kingdome, together vvith his great hopes, he left vnto *Tolomy*, his wife.

Tolomy gaue her people free liberty, to rob all sorts at Sea; making no difference between friend and foe; as if she had bin sole Mistresse of the *Ionian* Waters. She armed a fleet, and sent it into *Orontus*, vvilling her Captaines, to make vvare vvhere they found advantage, vvithout any further respect. These fell vvith the vvesterne coast of *Poloponnesus*; vvhere they invaded the *Eleans*, and *Messeniens*. Aftervvards they returned along by *Epirus*, and stayed in the Citie of *Phenice*, vvith their vvictualles and other necessities. There lay in *Phenice* eight hundred *Gauls*; that hauing bin Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Agrippa*, then *Pyrrus*, to the *Romans*; but failing to doe either, they neuertheless revolted, and were for their misdeedes disarmed & cast into Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by these *Epirians*, and trusted to lye in Garrison vvithin their Towne. The *Gauls* vvere soon growne acquainted vvith the *Illyrians*, vvho vvith whom they betrayed *Phenice*; vvich obstructed none other in trusting them. All *Epirus* vvvas presently in armes, and hastened to driue out these vvelcome guests. But whilest the *Epirians* lay before the Towne, that came newes into their Campe, of another *Illyrian* Armie, that vvvas marching thitherward by Land, vvnder one *Scerdilaides*, vvho vvvas whom *Queen Teuta* had sent to help his fellowes. Vpon this aduertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigenia*, to make good that Towne, & the streights adioyning, by vvhich these new commers must enter into their Countrey; another part of them remains at *Phenice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one, nor the other, sped vvell in their businesse. For *Scerdilaides* found meanes to ioyne vvith his fellowes; and they that vvere besieged vvithin *Phenice*, sallied out of the towne, and gaue such an ouerthrow to the *Epirians*, as made them despaire of liuing their Countrey, vvithout great and speedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embassadors vvvere sent to the *Aetolians* and *Ætolians*: craving their help, vvith very pittifull tearmes of chreatie. They obtained their suite; neither vvvas it long, before an Army, sent by these two Nations, vvvas ready in *Epirus*, to present battaile vnto *Scerdilaides*. But *Scerdilaides* vvvas called home, by letters from *Teuta* the Queen, that signified a rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: so that he had no mnde to put his forces to hazard, but offered composition, vvich vvvas accepted. The agreement vvvas, That the *Epirians* might ransom their Towne, and all their people that vvvere prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart, vvith all their booty and slaues. Hauing made this profitable and honourable bargaine, the *Illyrians* returned into their own Countrey by Land, sending their booty away by Sea. At their coming home, they found no such great trouble; as that vvich they brought, or had occasioned in this voyage. For in fulfilling the commandement of their Queene, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, vvilest they lay at *Phenice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made vnto the *Roman* Senate, vvvere so frequent, that Embassadors vvvere sent to require of *Teuta*, that she should abstaine from doing such iniuries. These Embassadors found her very iolly; both for the riches vvich her fleet had brought in; and for that she had, in short space, tamed her Rebels, and brought all to good order, saue only the towne *Issa*, vvich her forces held streightly besieged. Swelling vvith this prosperity, she could hardly afford a good look to the *Romans*; that found fault vvith her doings, and calling them by a true name, *Pyrracy*, required amends. Yet vvhen their speech vvvas ended, she vvouchsafed to tell them, That iniury in publike she vvould do them none: as for priuate matters, no account vvvas to be made of them; neither vvvas it the manner of Kings to forbid their Subjects to get commodity, how they best could by Sea. But (said the younger of the two Embassadors) we *Romans* haue a manner, & a very laudable one, to take reuenge in publicke, of those priuate wrongs that are borne out by publike authority: therefore vve shall teach you, God vvilling, to reforme your kingly manners, and learne better of vs. These vvords the Queene tooke so impatiently, that no reuenge could satisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, vvithout all regard of the common Law of Nations, she caused him to be slaine: as if that had bin the way, to set her heart at rest; vvich vvvas indeede the meane to disquiet and affraid it more after.

The *Romans*, prouoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, consisting of two hundred saile, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Posthumus*. They trouble not themselves any more, with requiring satisfaction: for this iniurie is of such nature, as must be requir'd with mortall war. It is indeede contrary to all humane Law, to vse violence towards Embassadours: the reason and ground whereof, seemes to be this; that since without mediation, there would neuer be an end of vvar and destruction, therefore it vvas equally receiued by all Nations, as a lesson taught by Nature, that Embassadours should passe freely, & in safety, between enemies. Neuerthelesse, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State, lay hold vpon Embassadours sent by their enemies, not vnto themselves, but vnto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrell; then it is as lawfull, to vse violence to those Embassadours (thus employed, to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, & subiects of an enemy. And so might the *Athenians* haue answered it, when they slew the *Lacedemonian* Embassadours, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a vvar vpon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadours, vvith practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any Law vvhatsoever. For vvhereas the true Office of an Embassadour residing, is the maintenance of amitie; if it be not lawfull for one Prince, to practise against the life of another, much lesse may an Embassadour do it without incurring iustly the same danger of punishment, vvith other Traitors, in which case, his place giues him no priuiledge at all. But we will leaue this dispute to the *Ciuitians*, and go on with the reuenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the slaughter of their Embassadour *Cornelianus*.

The *Illyrian* Queen vvvas secure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to stir against her. She vvvas indeed in an error; that hath vndone many of all sorts, greater and lesse than she, both before and since: Having more regard vnto fame, than vnto the substance of things. The *Greekes* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirians* had the name of the most warlike people in *Greece*; these had she easily vanquished, and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* she should be little troubled. Had she considered, that her whole Army, which wrought such wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater, than of ten thousand men; & that neuerthelesse, it preuailed as much, by odds of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; she vvould haue continued to vse her advantage, against those that were of more fame than strength, vvith such good caution, that she should not haue needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mighty than her selfe. But she vvvas a woman, and did what she listed. She sent forth a greater fleet than before, vnder *Demetrius of Phares*, with the like ample commission to take all that could be gotten. This fleet diuided it selfe, & one part of it fell with *Dyrrachium*, the other with *Corcyra*. *Dyrrachium*, vvvas almost surpris'd by the *Illyrians*; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In *Corcyra* the *Illyrians* landed, wasted the Isle, and besieged the Towne. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Achaïans*, vvvere called in to helpe: vvho came, and vvvere beaten in a fight at Sea; losing, besides others of lesse note, *Marcius Caryneus*, the first Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* succeeded. The Town of *Corcyra*, disinclined vvith this ouerthrow, opened the gates vnto *Demetrius Phariis*, vvho tooke possession of it, with an *Illyrian* Garrison, sending the rest of his forces to besiege *Dyrrachium*. In the meane season, *Tenta* vvvas angry with her Captaine *Demetrius*; I know not why; but so, as he resolved to trie any other course, rather than to trust her.

The *Romans* vvvere euen ready to put to Sea, though vncertaine which vvay to take, when aduertisement was brought to *C. Fulvius* the Consull, of *Demetrius* his feare and discontent. Likely it vvvas, that such an occasion might greatly helpe to aduance the business in hand. Wherefore the Consull sailed thither; vvhere he found the Town of *Corcyra* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only receiued him willingly, but deliuered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and submitted it selfe vnto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the Consull sailed along the coast, to *Apollonia*, accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he vsed thenceforth as his counsailler and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Posthumus*, the other Consull, with the Land-Armie, numbered at twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hasten towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but vpon newes of the *Roman* Armie, they disperse themselves.

From

From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by Sea, take twenty of their ships, and enforce the Queene *Tenta* to forsake the coast, and to couer her selfe in *Rison*, far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haste them homeward, and leaue the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part staies behinde, and prosecutes the war, in such sort, that *Tenta* was forced to beg peace: which she obtained vpon miserable conditions; to wit, That she should quit the better part of *Illyria*, & pay tribute for the rest; & from thenceforth, neuer send any of her ships of war, towards the coasts of *Greece*, beyond the Island of *Lissa*: except it were some one or two vessels, vnarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* war, the *Romans* sent Embassadours into diuers parts of *Greece*, signifying their loue to the Country, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made war with good successe vpon *Tenta*, and her people. They hoped, belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wise enough to play their own games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadours were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Isthmian* pastimes. This was an idle courtesie, but well meant by the vaine *Greekes*, & therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* Expedition got nothing in *Greece*, saue a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

§. VIII.

Of the warre betwene the *Romans* and *Gauls*, somewhat before the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italic*.

The *Gauls* that dwelt in *Lombardie*, vvvere the next, against whom the *Romans* tooke Armes. These were a populous Nation, and often molested *Rome*; sometimes vvith their own forces, and sometimes vvith the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good; when they tooke *Rome*, and burnt it: though the issue of that war proued not answerable to the beginning, if we may giue credit vnto *Roman* Historians. In following times, their successe was variable, and commonly bad. Many ouerthrowes they receiued; and if they got any victory, it yeilded them no profit, but was soone extorted out of their hands. They were indeede more fierce, than well aduised: lightly stirred vp to vvar, and lightly giuing ouer. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that vvvas past, lesse than vvomen. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: yet gaue alwayes carefull heede to their approach, vvvere it only bruted. For the danger of them vvvas sudden, and vncertaine; by reason of their neighbourhood and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts vpon *Rome*, vvvere called warres, but tumults *Gallici*, tumults of the *Gauls*: and rightly. For they gaue many alarms to *Italic*, and vsed to rise with great Armies: but after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion serued to disperse them. Having receiued an ouerthrow; they would rest ten or twelue yeares, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they were stirred vp again, by younger heads, vnacquainted with the danger. Whilest they rested, the state of *Rome*, that against these made only defensue vvar, had leisure to grow, by setting vpon others. Herein God prouided well for that Monarchie, which he intended to raise: that the *Gauls* neuer fell vpon *Italic* with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous war. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilest *Pyrrhus* was traouailing in the same enterprise; or in either of the two former *Punicke* wars: it may be doubted what would haue become of this imperious Citie. But it seemes that the *Gauls* had no better intelligence in the affaires of *Italic*, than strangers had in *Gaul*. At least, they knew not how to vse their times: and were therfore like to smart, whensoever the enemies, whom they had much prouoked, and little hurt, should finde leisure to visit them at their own home: which was now after the first *Punike* Warre. Once before this, the *Romans* had bin bold, to set vpon the *Gauls* in their own Country: and that was three yeares before the coming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italic*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gauls*, inuading *Hetruria*, and besieging *Arretinum*, had with a great battaile, and slaine *L. Cæcilius* with the most of his Armie. *Mannius Curius* the new Consull, sent Embassadours to them, to treat about ransome of prisoners. But these

Embassa-

a *Dyrrachium*, sometime called *Epidauris*, and now *Durazzo*, seated vpon the *Adriatick* Sea, betwene the Islands of *Pharus* & *Corcyra*, an Island of the *Adriatick* Sea, not farre from *Durazzo*: called now *Corfu*, and in the possession of the *Venetians*.

c *Apollonia*, a Citie neere *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, vpon the Sea-coast. *Pyrrhus* called it *Sissypolis*.

e There were diuers nations of the Boij; as in *Latonia*, *Illyria*, *Germania*, *in Transalpes*, and in *Aquitania*; but these Boij were of the French race and dwelt at this time about the mouth of the Ruer of Lo.

Embassadors they slue. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it so well, that they expelled these *Senones* out of their Country, & sent a Colony of their own to inhabit it. This caused the *Boij*, another people of *Gaul*, to feare the like measure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their side. But the *Romans* ouerthrew them in two great battailes; and thereby made them sue for peace, which lasted vntill this end of the *Illyrian* war.

It vexed the *Gauls*, to see a *Roman* Colony planted in their Country; who had bin accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their Neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Transalpes* (so the *Romans* called those in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to vs they were neerer; like as they called *Cisalpes*, or *by-hither the Alpes*, those who dwelt between them and the Mountaines) to draw them to their party: reasonably presuming, that as their dis-iunction had caused their losse, so their vnion might recompence it, with large amends. But the businessse was so foolishly carried, that the *Cisalpes* and *Transalpes*, fell together by the eares, putting the *Romans* only to a *tumult*, without further trouble of war. Soone after, they were vrged by a greater indignity, to go more substantially to work. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome*, proposed a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colony already planted in the territory of the *Senones*, as many more should be caried thither, as would serue to people the whole Country between *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating vnto those *Gauls*. Such an offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it self, would not ouer-ioy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of *Rome* took this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger ioyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had euer after their good will.

This dreadfull President extremely displeased the *Boij*: who being Neighboursto *Ariminum*, feared the like displantation. And because the rest of the *Gauls* had reason to resolute, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Insubrians*, which inhabited the Duchy of *Milan*, ioyned with the *Boij*, and vpon a common purse entertained the *Gessates*, Nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in these times. The *Gessates* hauing receiued a great Imprest, come to the field vnder the conduct of their Kings, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroeslus*: who with the *Boij* and *Insubrians*, compounded an Armie of fiftie thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that euer inuaded the *Roman* Territorie; to whom, the *Senogalli*, that had bin beaten out of their possessions, gaue a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the *Venetians*, and the *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better beleeuing in their prosperitie & rising fortune. For feare of whose incursions therefore, the *Gauls* were forced to leaue a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of *Milan*: vwith the rest of their forces they entred into *Tuscane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, send *Emilius* to *Rimini*, to stop their passage; and in the place of *C. Asilius* their other Consull, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of *Tuscane*.

Being at this time greatly troubled, vwith the consideration of this powerfull Armie, which the *Gauls* had assembled, they caule a view to be taken, as well of all their owne forces, as of those of their Allies: vwho were no lesse willing than themselves, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their own destruction could not be prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserue to be recorded: because they set out the power of the *Romans* in those dayes. With the Consulls they sent forth to the war foure Legions of their own: euery Legion consisting of fise thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two hundred horse. There were also appointed for Supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* fiftie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse; vwhich Armie was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Embri* and *Sarfinates*, which inhabited the *Apenines*, there were twentie thousand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomanni*, other twenty thousand: which latter Armies were directed, to inuade the *Boij*, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the generall Armie of the *Gauls* should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides these, to be ready against all vncertaine chances of war, thirtie thousand foot, and fiftene hundred horse, garrisond in *Rome* it selfe, of their own people; and of their Allies, thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Over and

about

about the se great troups; in the Roll of the *Latines*; that was sent vnto the Senate, where were numbred foure score thousand foot, and fiftie thousand horse; in that of the *Samnites*, seuentie thousand foot, and of horse seuen thousand; in that of the *Latins*, & *Volturnians*, fiftie thousand foot, and sixtene thousand horse; the *Lucans* sent a list of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Marsi*, *Marrucini*, *Ferentians*, and the *Vesuntians*, of twenty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse. The *Romans* had also two Legions in *Sicily*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thousand foure hundred foot, & foure hundred horse. So as of the *Romans* and *Campanians* ioynly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there were registred two hundred and fiftie thousand foot; and of horse, three and twenty thousand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fiftie thousand foot, and about fixe thousand horse. Casting vp the whole forces of all the Provinces in *Italy*, both of the *Romans* & their Confederates, it amounted to fower hundred thousand foote, and seuentie thousand horse. But the number is somewhat misse-cast by *Polybius*; not with a purpose to enrich himself by the dead paies: for where hee reckons nine hundred horse too many, hee fals short nine thousand two hundred of the foot.

How great soeuer this Muster was, it seemes to haue been like vnto that, which *Lodouick Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the twelfth inuaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himselfe, and his subiects, he tooke a Roll of all persons able to beare armes; within the Duchie, though indeed he were neuer able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battailes of *Trebia*, *Trasymene*, and *Canna*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* faine to arme their slaues, euen for want of other Souldiers, after their ouerthrow at *Canna*. Wherefore the manuaile is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified, with report of such a multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helms: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in general, as good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Nowwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the *Gauls* keepe on their way: and entering into *Tuscane*, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*, hoping to finde the *Romans*, rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the *Roman* Army, sent into *Tuscane*, hauing taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had misse of them, came againe fast after them, to arrest them in their iourney. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head: and in the same evening discouered the *Roman* Army, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparant necessity, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with stratagem: that shewed no great fineness of wit, but such, as well becomed those that had none other occupation than warre; and stood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not farre: leauing their horse in guard; to vvhom they giue order, to come off at the first light of day, with such a speed, as might rather argue a running away, than a retrain, as if they had not dared to abide battaile. The *Romans*, interpreting this their hasty departure, as the *Gauls* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gauls* returne, charge them; and kill fixe thousand vpon the place; the rest take a piece of ground of aduantage, and defend themselves, till *L. Emilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their succour. Vpon the coming of the Consull, the *Gauls* consult, whether they should giue the *Romans* battaile, or forbear. In which dispute, *Aneroeslus*, one of their Kings, perswades them, rather to returne into their owne Countries; where, after they had disposed of the great spoiles and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the warre, being without carriage, pester, or other impediment. This aduice they all embrace; for seeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoiles of their enemies; they thought it wisdome, to hazzard neither it, nor themselves, any further.

This indeed had been a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had both in fight. But as well in the warres of these latter ages, as in former times, it hath been found extreme dangerous, to make a retrain in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire, doe often turne head; yet in alwaies going on from the pursuing enemy, they finde within a few miles, either streight, hedge, ditch, or place of disaduantage, which they are inforced to passe in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier knowes

R. Iapyges, and Messapies seeme to be one Nation; who are also called Salernitani, Iapygians, & Calabrians: The Country is now *Apulia*, containing the Northernmost head-land of *Calabria*. In A people of the kingdom of Naples. *Ptoleme* calls them a people of *Italy*. A people of *Campania*, called to this day *Fucutines*, both Leanders.

e *Cenomanni*, are the people about *Bergama*, on the Northside of the Ruer *Alp* in *Italy*. There were also of these *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Countrie of *Main*.

knowes it, as well as the Captaine; than he which forsakes the field; perceiues, and seares some aduantage of the Enemies. For which is the betrayer of these succours that Reason offereth, when it hath once possessed the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and vnderstanding. They that make the reitrait, are alwayes in feare to be abandoned; they that lead the way, feare to be engaged: and so the hindmost treads on his heels that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, run, & perill, if those that sauaour the reitrait, be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable ouerthrow that the French received in Naples, in the year 1503. vpon a reitrait made by the Marques of Sal, doth testify no lesse. For although a great troupe of French horse sustained the pursuing Enemy a long time, and gaue the foot leisure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the Spanish foot ouertooke, and defeated them vicerly. During the wars between the Imperials, & the French; Boiss and Mont were lost at Brignolles, who in a brauery would needs see the Enemy, before they left the field. So was Strofi ouerthrowne by the Marques of Marignan, because he could not be perswaded, to dislodge the night before the Marques his arriual. Therefore did the French King Francis the first, wisely: when without respect of point of honour, he dislodged from before Landersey, by night; as many other, the most aduised Captaines, (not finding themselves in case to giue battaile) haue done. *Je ne trouue point* (saith the Marshall Monluc) *au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une reitrait; I finde nothing in the art of warre so difficult, as to make a safe reitrait.* A sure rule it is, that there is lesse dishonor to dislodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof M. de la Noue giues this iudgement of a dayes reitrait, made in France, presently before the battaile at Moncontour. For (saith he) staying vpon our reputation, in shew, not to dislodge by night, we lost our reputation indeede, by dislodging by day: whereby we were forced to fight vpon our disaduantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that vvorthy Gentleman, Count Lodowick of Nassau, brother to the late famous Prince of Orange, make the reitrait at Moncontour with so great resolution, as he saued the one half of the Protestant Army, then broken and disbanded; of vvhich my selfe was an eye-witnesse, and was one of them that had cause to thanke him for it.

Now the Gaules, embracing the safe aduice (as they take it) of one of their Kings, turn their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. *Emilius* followes them, as neer as he can, without engaging himselfe, attending his aduantage. In the meane while, *C. Atilius* the other Confull, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Pisa*; so as the Gaules, inclosed between two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Rear, and Front. To sustaine *Emilius*, they appoint the *Gessates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front, they range the *Piemontois*, and the rest of the Gaules inhabiting vpon the River of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* describeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the Gaules fell; and so did *Atilius* the Confull: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the Gaules, *Concolitanus* and *Anerasius*, with forty thousand of their Vassals. 1

After this fatall ouerthrow, the Gaules lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italie*. For they were inuaded the year following this ouerthrow, by the new Consuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. The Romans knew vvell how to vse their victory: they gaue not ten, twentie, or thirty yeares time, to the Gaules, to repaire their forces, as the Gaules had done to them. These new Consuls beat the *Bois*; but by reason of the great raines that fell, and the great pestilence that reigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second year, *Furius*, & *Flaminius*, inuade the *Milanois*; and preuaile very far, being strongly assisted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Venicians*. Neuertheless these Consuls were reuoked out of their Prouince, by the Senate of Rome, & compelled to resigne their Office: because the *Augures*, or *Soothsayers*, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all sorts of their diuination, the Romans were extremely superstitious) had not onely foreshewed little good, vvhen they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiuing letters of this reuocation, from the Senate, & being otherwise aduertised of the contents, was not hasty to open them: but first gaue battaile vnto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Country; then persued the letters; & returning home obtained a triumph, fore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that he sided in faction with the Commonalty, though a man of great Nobilitie.

This

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for diuiding the Countrey of the Senones among the people of Rome. He was the first, or one of the first, that vnderstanding the Maiestic of Rome to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by way of Delegation, or grand Commission; did not stand highly vpon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and vse their power, ouer himselfe, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the surer side, and found imitators, that rose by the same art, vvhich is proccesse of time grew the onely or chiefe way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being deposed, *M. Caudius Marcellus*, and *C. C. Caracilius Scipio*, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of that year. The Gaules about this time desired peace, and were like to haue obtained it: though the new Consuls were against it as fast as they vvould vvork. But when thirty thousand of the *Gessates*, following their King *Britannicus*, were come ouer the Alpes, & ioyned with the *Insabrians*; & other discourses, than of present warre, was at an end. So the Consuls halted: into their Prouince, where they beleaged *Acerra*, a town not farre from *Nouaro* (so far had the Romans pressed already) in the Duchie of Milan. To diuert them from this siege, *Britannicus* far down before *Clastidium*, a towne in the same Tract, with great part of his force, leaving the rest, with the *Insabrians*, to attend vpon the Consuls at *Acerra*, and to look to the defence of Milan. But this would not suffice, to make the Romans breake vp their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and fixe hundred foot lightly armed; thought to deale vvell enough with those at *Clastidium*. *Britannicus* heard of the Consuls coming, and met him vpon the way: so suddenly, that the Romans had no leisure to reiect themselves after their iourney, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein *Britannicus* had done vvell, if he had not forthwith, in a rash brauery, lost his game at a cast. He had aduantage enough in number, both of horse and foot: but he thought so vvell of his own personall valour, that he rode out single before his Armie, prouoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no lesse daring, than the barbarous king: whether more vvise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to overcome him. He slue and slaine *Britannicus*, in presence of both Armies: whereby his Prouince tooke such courage, and his enemies were so dismayed, that without much trouble of fight the Romans obtained a great victory.

This was the third and last time, that ouer any Roman Generall slue the Generall of the enemies, vvith his owne hand. To this kinde of victory, belonged a peculiar triumph, whereof onely *Romulus*, *Cosius*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare say, that the two *Scipios*, and diuers other Roman Captaines, especially *Cesar*, were better able to vvaite than any of these three, though they neuer offered vp to *Iupiter*, *Opima spolia*. The Armour of a Generall slaine by himselfe, vvhen they were Generals, nor perhaps afforded so to doe.

After this victory, *Acerra* was yielded to the Romans; & Milan soone after vvith all that belonged to the *Cisalpinis*, or Gaules, that dwelt in *Lumbardie*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had so many yeeres vexed the State of Rome, and in former times taken the Citie itselfe, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territories possessed by the Romans; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting *Italie*; formerly as vvould not subiect their necks to the Roman yoke, either forced to abandon their Countries, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountaines, like *Out-laners* and *Theues*. And thus did the Romans spend the three and twentie yeeres, following the peace made vvith *Carthage*. In part of vvhich time, they were at subleisure, to destroy vvhat they vvould of the Temple of *Ianus*: vvhich they neuer did before, (it standing alvvays open, vvhen they had any vvare) since once, in the reigne of *Numa*, nor in long time since vvith the reigne of *Augustus*. But this their present happinesse was not to last long: a vvild and warrey and perhaps the greatest that had ouer beeb, vvvas to come vvith their hands, vvhich being vvell leaded, they might boldly vvadertake, to extend their Monarchie, as their ambition could teach.

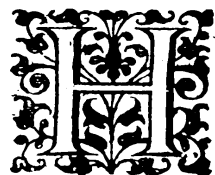
vvild and warrey and perhaps the greatest that had ouer beeb, vvvas to come vvith their hands, vvhich being vvell leaded, they might boldly vvadertake, to extend their Monarchie, as their ambition could teach. CHAP. 9.

CHAP. III.

Of the second Punick Warre.

S. I.

The Warres of Hannibal in Spaine. Quarrells betwene the Romans and Carthaginians. Hannibal besiegeth and taketh Saguntum, whilst the Romans are busied with the Illyrians. Warre proclaimed between Rome and Carthage.



Hannibal, the sonne of Amilcar, was about fixe and twenty years old, when he was chosen Generall of the Carthaginian forces in Spaine. He was elected by the Armie, as soone as Asdrubal was dead: and the election was ratified by the State of Carthage; wherewith Hanno and his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the Barchine family (so called of Amilcar, whose surname was Barcha) that had command in chiefe, ouer the men of warre. Which honour would perhaps haue beene lesse enuied, by these domestically enemies, if the Allies and Friends of the Barchine house, had not also borne the whole sway in gouernment, and been the onely men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This generall good will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of Amilcar, in sauing his Countrie from imminent ruine, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it with treasures and great reuenues; so was it retained by the same good arts, among his friends and followers. Hanno therefore, and his Partisans, being neither able to taxe the vertue of their enemies, that was vnreprovable, nor to performe the like seruices vnto the Common-weale, had nothing left, whereby to value themselves, excepting the generall reprehension of Warre, and cautious aduice of not prouoking the Romans. This they seasoned other-whiles with detraction, saying, that the Barchine faction went about to oppresse the libertie of the Citie. But their malicious words were vnregarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to Rome, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no lesse Barchine, than Hannibal himselfe. For it was long since apparant, that the oath of the Romans, to the articles of peace, afforded no securitie to Carthage, were she neuer so quiet, and officious; vnlesse she would yeeld to become their Subiect. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than vntill the Romans could finde some good aduantage, to renew the vvarre: it was rather desired by the Carthaginians, that whilst their owne state was in good case, the vvarre should begin; than that in some vnhappy time of famine or pestilence, or after some great losse of Armie or Fleet, they should be driuen to yeeld vnto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to giue away basely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done, or miserably fight, vpon termes of disadvantage.

This disposition of his cuntrymen, Hannibal well vnderstood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time deuised of this businesse) that in making war with the Romans, it was no small aduantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an Armie into Italie, without molestation; there was good hope, that he should finde friends and assistance, euery of those people, that helped to increase the Roman armies in forreigne wars. But this could neuer be effected, if the matter were openly disputed at Carthage. For it was to be doubted, that the Carthaginians, how glad soeuer they would be, to hear that he had set the vvar on foot, would neuertheless be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen, then were the Romans like to be made acquainted, not onely with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discoursed of, in procuring allowance to his designe. This might suffice to disorder the whole Project. Wherofore, he resolved to lay siege vnto Saguntum, which might seeme not greatly to concerne the Romans, and would highly please the Carthaginians, that had fresh in minde the indignitie of that Spanish Towns alliance with their halfe friends. So should he assaie both the patience of his enemies, and the disposition of his owne Citizens.

Having

Having this concluded, he neuertheless went faine and orderly to worke: and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approaching vnto Saguntum by degrees. This he did (saith Lucius) to giue some colour to his proceedings; as if he had not principally intended the warre against Saguntum; but had beene drawne thither by course of businesse. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that (without regard of such formalities, it was needfull to finish the conquest of the rest, before he did any thing that should prouoke the Romans. First therefore he entred vpon the Territorie of the Olcades, and hauing besieged Akthra (Lindocalleth it Carteia) their chiefe Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Master, not onely thereof, but of all the other townes of their Countrie. This Nation which he first vnderooke, being subdued, and the winter at hand, he rested his Armie in New Carthage, or Carthage, and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the Spoiles he had gotten in his late conquest.

In the Spring following, he pursued the warre against the Vaccæi, and without any great difficultie, wan first Salmantica, now called Salamanca; and after it, Arbucala, by assault though not without a long siege, and great difficultie. But in his returne, he was put to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martiall iudgement. For all such of the Vaccæi, as were able to beare armes, being made desperate, by the spoile of their country, with those of Salamanca, and of the Olcades, that had escaped in the late overthrow, joining themselves with the Tolkians, compounded an Armie of an hundred thousand able men: and stayed Hannibal on the bankes of the River Tagus, which runneth into the Sea by Lisborne in Portugale. These foure Nations, hauing had experience of Hannibals inuincible courage, and that he neuer saw enemy, vpon whom he durst not change; were thoroughly resolute, that his naturall valour would at this time be lesse neglect the cold aduise of discretion, than at other times it had seemed to doe, when the like great occasion perswaded him to vse it. But he that makes himselfe a body of Chrysall, that all men may look through him, and discern all the parts of his disposition, makes himselfe (withall) an Asse: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or drue him. Wise men, though they haue single hearts in all that is iust and vertuous, yet they are like Coffers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, being opened, they see not all that they hold, on the sudden, and at once. It is true, that this Carthagean, when he serued vnder Asdrubal, was, of all the men of mark in that Armie, the most aduenturous. But that which may becoming a Captaine, or inferior Commander, doth not alwaies become a Chiefe; though it hath sometimes succeeded well with such great ones, as haue beene found more fortunate, than wise. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to dissemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with drew himselfe from the River side, as if fearefull to stand, thereby to draw ouer that great multitude, from their bankes of aduantage, the Spaniards, apprehending this in such sort, as Hannibal desired, that they should thrust themselves in furie and disorder, into the swift streame, with a purpose to charge the Carthaginians, abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defence of their contrary side. But when Hannibal saw them in their way, and well nigh on, he turned backe his Elephants to entertaine them at their landing: and thrust his best men, both aboue and below them, like the River. These carrying a kind of *lanze de puy*, sharpe at both ends, which they held in the middle of the fluy, had such an aduantage ouer the foot, that were in the River, vnder their strokes, they came together, and vnable to stand, but flit their bodies, as on firme ground; that they (like those, in a manner) without resistance, which were already cheerd in the water, and pursued the rest, which like them were amazed, with so great a battell, they from that day forward, there was not any Spaniard, on that side the River of the Saguntines excepted, that durst the least lift up their hands against the Carthaginians. The Saguntines perceiving the danger toward them, cryed before they were hurt, that they should send for succour, and besought themselves, as likely to suffer that, which they feared. But they suffered indeed, more by reason of their alliance and friendship with the Saguntines, than by reason of the Carthaginians. This late moued the Saguntines more a weapon, that Saguntum was already besieged. Hereupon some cryed, that Saguntum should be proclaimed by Land and Sea, as also that the two Consuls should be sent with Armies, the one into Spaine, the other into Affrick. But others were

* A people (saith Stephani) neere the River of Ebro. But in the old description of Spaine, in Ortelius, they are found neere Tagus, and by Strabo, not far from New Carthage. a A people of Castile the old. b Arbucala, or Albricla, an inland Citie of the Vaccæi in Aragon.

Sfff z

more

more Roman-like to worke, and carried it. So it was onely concluded, that Embassadours should be sent into Spaine, to view the state of their Confederates, which were indeed none other, than the Saguntines. For if *Hannibal* intended warre against Rome, it was likely, that he would giue them ere it were long, a more plausible occasion to take armes against him; if he had no such purpose, yet would it be in their power, to determine what they listed themselves, upon the report of these Embassadours, and this their gravity, in being not too rash at first, would serue to countenance their following Decree. Of these Embassadours, *Liue* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before Saguntum, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to Carthage, where also they were not received, nor heard. But *Polybius*, an Historian of sincerer lesse questionable, that they found him at Carthage, & had conference with him, though such as left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the rest of *Hannibal* his whole course. And surely we might wonder, why the Carthaginians should afterwards admit a more peremptorie Embassage (as *Liue* confesseth) & fall to disposition about the continuance of peace, if they had rejected that which was sent upon none other pretence, than pre-
 uention of warre.

While the Embassadours passed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not onely his forces; but some Roman pretences, against Saguntum. He found out Mamertines, or people that should doe as the Mamertines in Sicil had done for the Romans; and implore his helpe against the Saguntines. These were the Tuderitania Nation adioyning to Saguntum, & hauing many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbors) of which, *Hannibal* himselfe had hatched some. Finding therefore such an occasion, whatsoever it was, as made him able to say, that the Saguntines had first prouoked him, he meddled with them, he made no more ado, but sat down with his whole power before their Towne. He was now more secure, than he had formerly been, of his owne Citizens; for that they had not entertained the Roman Embassadours, with any trembling reuerence, as of late yers they had been wont. Neuerthelesse, he was glad of any hand, some colour, to shew his actions, not onely because the war, which he so much desired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his course, as an open enemy, before he could set foot in Italie. The Romans had the like, though contrary desire. They were glad of the quarrell, as hoping, that Carthage, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their owne. Yet were they not hasty to the combat, before they were ready to strike; but meant to temporize, until they had an Army in readinesse to be sent into Spaine, where they thought to make Saguntum, the scene of the Warre.

In the meane while, *Demetrius Phrygius*, whom the Romans had made King over a great part of Illyria, rebelled against them, either for that he found himselfe ouer-sightfully tyed up by them, with hard conditions, or rather because he was of an untractable disposition. The commotion of the Gauls, and afterward, the fame of the Carthaginian warre, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to haue defended and aided in all perils, even with the hazard of his whole estate, which he had assumed of their gifts. But he was a Traitor to his owne Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kind, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First he built ships, & spoiled the Isles of Greece, against the commands to which he was bound. Then he advanced further, & seized upon some places, that the Romans kept in their owne hands. If he had begun sooner, or rather if he had delayed somewhat longer, he might haue spied better. For the buisness with the Gauls, was ended with *Hannibal*, not throughly begun; when he declared himselfe by his doings, an enemy; and was thus quitted. The Senate of Rome, *Scipio* being against him, was in such a danger, that the strong Towne of Dimallum, and thereby through such a way upon the Romanes round about, that Embassadours were sent from all places, to yeeld themselves, and to put him to death. And the Consul *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* prepared to resist, which he might haue done long, if he had heeded *Brutus* had been too foolish, to resist at last, & a great part of his Army, in the Isle of Rhodus, by night, and before they were in order, putting himselfe the next morning with his ships before the Towne, and offering to surrender to him, & to promise with all his power, if he would, that the Consul, & was so much interested from the Towne, by that this day in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by paths to a chace, where he had shipping ready

ready for him, and imbarqued himselfe: leauing all his estate vnto them, of whose liberty he first had it.

This buisness, though it were soone dispatched, yet preuented it not the siege of Saguntum, before which *Hannibal* sat downe, ere *Scipio* was landed in Illyria. In the beginning of the siege, the Carthaginians were much discouraged, by reason of the braue sallies made by the Saguntines, in one of which, their Generall received a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many dayes vnable to move. Neuerthelesse he was not vnimindfull of his worke in the meane while, but gaue order to raise certaine mouable Towers, that might equal those which were built on the wals of the Citie, to add to prepare to batter the curtains, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soone wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of diuers Towers, and a great length of wall, whereat an hot assault was giuen: but it was so well sustained by the Saguntines, as the Carthaginians were not onely beaten from the breach, but out of some ground within the Towne, which upon the first furie they had won; that they were pursued euen to their owne trenches and campe. Neuerthelesse the Carthaginian Armie, wherein were about an hundred and fiftie thousand men, did for manye the townsmen with continuall trauaile, that at length it got within the wals, and was onely hindered from taking full possession of the Citie, by some counter-works of the Saguntines, that were also ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a Saguntine, that conueyed himselfe out of the towne, to treat with *Hannibal* for some record. But the conditions which the Carthaginian offered, were so seuer, & without all compasse of honour, as *Alcon* durst not returne to propound to his countymen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had, gold, siluer, plate, and other riches within the citie: yea, the citie it selfe to be abandoned by the citizens, promising, that he would assigne some other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carry out with them any other thing, vnder which to sustaine themselves, than the cloathes on their backs; or other armes, to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they farre better haue submitted themselves vnto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might haue inioyed their liues, and saved the honour of their wiues and daughters) than to haue rested at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soone after they did; by whom their viues and daughters were despoiled before their own faces, and all put to sword; that were about fourteen yers of age. For it was a poore comfort, which a great number of them tooke, vhen not daring to fight, and sell their blood at the dearest rate, they shut themselves vp like most wretched creatures in their own houses, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had: so dying vreuenged. The treasures found in Saguntum, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Armie: the slaues, and other bootie, he diuided among his Souldiers, reseruing some things of choice, vnder which to present his friends at Carthage, and to animate them in the Warre.

These tidings exceedingly vexed the Romans, who had good cause to be angry at their own slownesse, in forbearing to send helpe vnto the Saguntines, that held out eight monthes, looking still for succour, but in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking sharpe reuenge. To this end they sent Embassadours against Carthage: demanding onely, whether it were by generall consent and allowance of the Carthaginians, that *Hannibal* had made warre upon Saguntum: which if they granted (as soone as they would) then to giue them defiance. Hereunto answer was made, in the Senate of Carthage, to this effect; That this their second Embassage, howsoeuer qualified with milde words, was indeed more insolent than the former. For in that, they onely required iustice against *Hannibal*, but in this, the very State and Commonwealth of Carthage, was vrged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (said the Carthaginian) whether the Generall of our Armie in Spain, in besieging Saguntum, haue only followed his owne counsaile, or vvhether he did it, by direction from vs: it is not the question which the Romans ought to aske vs. That which is indeed worthy examination, or dispute, is, whether he were lawfull or unlawfull for *Hannibal* to doe as he hath done. For it belongs to vs, to call our own Commanders in question, and to punish them: according to their faults and errors, to you, to challenge vs, if we haue done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Scipio* the Consul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the Saguntines were not

not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made, for by your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement, between you and *Asdrubal*, wherein you will say, that the Saguntines were comprehended by name; it is you that haue taught vs, how to answer that particular. For whatsoever you found in the Treatie between vs and *Lutatus*, to your owne disadvantage, you cast it vpon your Consuls presumption; as promising those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of Rome. If then it be lawfull for the Romans, to disauow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and precise varrant; the same liberty may we also assume, and hold our selves no way bound in honour, to performe those bargaines, which *Asdrubal* hath made for vs, without our commandement and consent.

This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a meere cauill. For *Lutatus* the Consul, in his Treatie of peace with the Carthaginians, had expressly referred the allowance thereof to the people of Rome. It had been therefore much better, to haue dealt plainly; and to haue alleadged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the Romans, in robbing the Carthaginians of the Ile of Sardinia, and withall of twelue hundred talents: vvhich perurie the State of Carthage, being now growne able, would reuenge vvith open vvar. As for the Saguntines, it little skilled that the Romans had admitted them into confederacie; and forthvvith inscribed their names into the Treatie of peace vvith *Asdrubal*: seeing that the Treatie vvith *Asdrubal*, and all other businessse between Rome and Carthage, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away Sardinia, were no better than Roman iniuries, as implying this commination, *Do whatsoeuer we require, else will we make warre, without regard of our oath, which we haue already broken.*

But this the Carthaginians did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Lutatus* himselfe doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of Sardinia from the Carthaginians, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* vvith desire of reuenge: we may reasonably thinke, that the mention of this iniurie was omitted, not so much vpon forgetfulnessse, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping vp such ancient matter of quarrell, to shew that the vvar, now towards, had long been thought vpon, and like to be made vvith extraordinary force; in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the Carthaginian Senate moued the Roman Embassadors, to deliuer vnto them in plain termes the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, vvith which they had long determined against them: as for the Saguntines, and the confining of their Armies vvithin *Iberus*, those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering vp the skirt of his Gowne, as if somewhat had bene laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I haue here (quoth he) in my Gowne-skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, vvich of them you like best, & purpose to imbrace. Hereat all cryed out: at once. Euen vvich of them you your selfe haue a fancy to offer vs. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the Warre, and share it among you. Which all the assembly vvillingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolved to make warre, it was merely friuolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, haue euer bin maintained by the partie vnwilling, or vnable to sustaine the warre. The rustie sword, and the empiric purse, doe alwaies plead performance of covenants. There haue been few Kings or States in the World, that haue otherwise vnderstood the obligation of a Treatie, than vvith the condition of their owne aduantage: and commonly (seeing peace between ambitious Princes and States, is but a kinde of breathing the best aduised haue rather begun vvith the sword, than vvith the trumpet. So dealt the Arragonois vvith the French in Naples, *Henry* the second of France, vvith the Imperials, when he wrote to *Brissac*, to surpriue as many places as he could, eue the war brake but; *Don Iohn* vvith the Netherlands, and *Philip* the second of Spaine, vvith the English, vvhen in the great Imbarge heooke all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of Carthage, and the common feeling of iniuries receiued from these enemies, had another private and hereditarie desire, that vvictoriously carried him against the Romans. His father *Amilcar*, at vvhat time he did sacrifice being ready to take his iourney into Spaine, had solemnly bound him by oath, to pursue them vvith immortall hatred, and to worke them all possible mischiefe, as soone as he

he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine yeeres old, vvhen his father caused him to lay his hand vpon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no maruel, if the imprecation were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denyed. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, but that some of these Kings, vvith vvhom we are now in peace, haue receiued the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soone as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of England.

S. 11.

Hannibal takes order for the defence of Spaine, and Africk. His iourney into Italy.

WArre being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved, not to put vp his sword, vvich he had drawne against the Saguntines, vvntill he had therewith opened his passage vnto the gates of Rome. So began the second Punicke Warre: second to none, that euer the Senate and people of Rome sustained. *Hannibal* vvintred at Carthage, vvhere he licensed his Spanish Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the meane vvhile he gaue instructions to his brother *Asdrubal*, for the gouernment of Spaine in his absence. He also tooke order, to send a great many troopes of Spaniards into Africke, to equall the numbers of Africans formerly drawne thence into Spaine; to the end, that so the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the Spaniards, he transported into Africk thirtie thousand, eight hundred and fiftie foot, and twelue hundred horse, also eight hundred slingers of the * *Baleares*. Besides these, he selected foure thousand foot, all young men, and of qualitie, out of the best Cities of Spaine; vvich he appointed to be garrisoned in Carthage it selfe, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serue for hostages: for among those foure thousand, the best of the Spanish Citizens, and those that were vvayed most in their seuerall States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. He also bestowed his brother to guard the coast and Ports, *Asile* and *scien Gallies*, vvhereof thirty seuen were presently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of Africans and other Nations strangers, he left vvith him about twelue thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twenty Elephants.

Having in this sort taken order for the defence of Spaine and Africk, he sent Discouersers before him, to view the Passages of the Pyrenean Mountaines, and of the Alpes. He also sent Embassadors to the Mountainers of the Pyrenes, and to the Gauls, to obtaine a quiet passage: that he might bring his Arme entire into Italy, and not bee compelled to diminish his forces, by any warre in the way, till hee came to encounter the Romans. His Embassadors and discouersers being returned vvith good satisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, hee passed ouer the River of *Iberus*, vvith an Arme consisting of foure thousand and ten thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse. All those parts of Spaine, vvich he had not entred before, hee now subdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old commander of his house, vvho late still at Carthage vvatched Spaine on the East side of *Iberus*, vvith vvhom hee left an Arme of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of Spaine, some of his Spanish Souldiers returned home, vvithout asking pay; vvich that others might not also doe, or attempt, hee courteously dismissed many more, that seemed vvilling to be gone. Hereby it came to passe, that the iourney seemed the lesse tedious vnto those that accompanied him; as being not enforced by compulsion. Vvith the rest of his Arme, consisting now but of fiftie thousand foot, & one thousand horse, hee past the Pyrenes, & entred into Gauls. Hee found the Gauls that bordered vpon Spaine, ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Countrey: but vvithout vvith gentle speech, and rich presents that hee bestowed vpon their Leaders, to saue out his Expedition. So vvithout any molestation, hee came to the banks of *Rhodanus*, vvhere dwelt, on each side of the River, a people called *Volci*. These were vvacqued vvith the cause of his coming; and therefore sought to keepe him from passing ouer the water. But hee vvvas greatly assailed by some of these Gauls, vvich inhabited on the West side of *Rhodanus*, to vvith by those of *Viuerz* and *Lionnois*. For althoough many of them had transported themselves and their goods, into the Countrey of *Daulphine*,

phine, thinking to defend the further bank against him: yet such as remained, being very desirous to see their Countrey of so many ill gutts, were better pleased to have their Countrey-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their owne store of corne and cattell wasted, by the long stay of so great an Army as lay vpon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boats, informed him of another more facile passage, higher vp the Riuer: and lent him guides. When the Vessels for transportation of his Armie were in readinesse, he sent *Hanno*, the sonne of *Bomilear*, vp the Riuer: himselfe in the meane while making countenance to enter the Foord below. The end of this labour, was: that *Hanno* charging the Gaules vpon their owne side, and *Hannibal*, at the same time, passing the Riuer in their faces, the further bank was wonne, though with some difficultie; and the enemies dispersed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conueying ouer his Elephants; who maruellously feared the water. Hee was therefore driuen to make raffles of trees, and couer them with earth and Turfe, whereof he fastened one to each bank, that might serue as a bridge; to and from another of the same sort, but loose, vpon which the beasts were towed ouer.

Having past this first brunt, and ouer-come both the rage of the Riuer, and of those that defend it, he was visited by the Princes of the Gaules Cisalpine, that inhabited Piemont and Milan, who lately had revolted from the Romans. These informed him of the passages of the Alpes, that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; and from these he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding, he found himselfe extremely incombred by the Sauoians: and lost both of his carriages, and of his Carthaginians, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainly assailed by them, before he could recover the plaine Countrey on the other side. And whereas this journey ouer the Mountaines cost him fifteene dayes trauaile, hee was every day, more or lesse, not only charged by those Mountaineers, but withall extremely beateen with grievous weather and snow: it being the beginning of Winter, when hee began, and ouer-came this passage. But the faire and fertile Plainnes, which were now ready to receive them; with the assistance and conduct of the Cisalpine Gaules, who by their proper forces had so often invaded the Roman Territorie; gaue them great comfort and encouragement to go on: having nothing else of difficultie remaining, but that which from the beginning they made account to ouer-come, by their proper valour and resolution; namely the Roman Armies, and resistance.

§ III

How the Romans in vaine solicited the Spaniards and Gaules to take their part. The rebellion of the Cisalpine Gaules against the Romans.

THe Countreys of Spaine and Gaule, through which the Carthaginians marched thus farre, had bene solicited before, by the same Roman Embassadors, who had denounced the warre at Carthage. These, as they were instructed by the Senate, took Spaine in their way homeward from Carthage, with a purpose to draw into the Roman Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least to dissuade them from contracting any friendship with the Carthaginians. The first which they attempted, were the Volcians, a people in Spaine; from whom, in open assembly they received by one that spake for the rest, this uncomfortable answer: With what face (saith he) can ye Romans perswade vs to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendship of the Carthaginians; seeing we are taught by the example of the Saguntines to be more wise, than so? For they, relying on your faith and promised assistance, haue bene utterly rooted out, & destroyed by the Carthaginians, whom they might else haue held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of Spaine haue found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this resolution from vs, That for our parts (and so I thinke, I may answer for the rest of our Countreymen) the Romans henceforth are not to expect any kindnesse at our hands; who are resolved, neuer to make account of their protection, nor amitie. From the Volcians, the Embassadors took their way towards the Gaules, vnder their best arguments to perswade them not to suffer the Carthaginians to passe into Italy, through their Territorie: and withall greatly glorifying in themselves,

themselves,

in their strength, and large Dominion. But the Gaules taught them to scorne, and had hardly the patience, to heare them speake: For shall we (saide one of their Princes) by resisting *Hannibal*'s passage into Italy, entertain a war which is doe meant to be made against vs? Shall we hold the warre among our selues, and in our owne Territorie, by force, which marcheth with a speedy pace from vs, towards our ancient enemies? Haue the Romans deferred so well of vs, & the Carthaginians so ill, that we should set fire on our owne houses, to saue theirs from burning? No, wee know it well, that the Romans haue already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territorie and inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the Carthaginians, our enemies; who haue no way as yet offended vs, nor we them.

With this vnpleasing answer the Embassadors returned home; carrying no good newes, of friends likely to helpe them; but rather some assurance from the people of *Milissia*, which were Confederates with Rome, that the Gaules were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the Cisalpine Gaules gaue hastie proofe, for when the newes was brought into Italy, that the Carthaginians had passed Iberus, and were on the way towards Rome; this alone sufficed to stirre vp the Boij, and Insubrians, against the Romans. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new Roman Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore vpon the Carthaginian succour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had giuen to the Romans, and fell vpon the new Colonies. The Townes it seemed they could not winne; for *Hannibal* shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the Roman Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Countrey) to flee to *Modena*: where they besieged them. The siege of *Modena* had continued some small time, when the Gaules, hauing little skill in assaulting Cities, wearied, & seemed desirous to haue peace, and to come to some good accord with the Romans. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein hand vpon the Roman Deputies, thereby to redeem their hostages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the Romans sent out Embassadors to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in these quarters with an Armie, hearing this outrage, marched in all haste to the reliefe of the besieged. But the Gaules, hauing laid a strong ambush in a wood lying to the way, fell vpon the Prætor so opportunely, as hee was utterly ouerthrowne, and all his followers left dead in the place, a few excepted, that recovered by fled running, a little village, but defensible, vpon the Riuer of *Po*. When this was heard at Rome, *G. Asilius*, another of the Prætors, was hastily sent; to relieue the besieged, with a Legion, and five thousand of the Roman associates: which forces were taken out of the Consul's Armie, and supplied by a new leuie.

As the Gaules were too rash and hastic; so were the Romans too slow, and indeed too ill-advised, in the beginning of this war: They were not perswaded, that Carthage, which had almost feruently endured so many indignities, in time of this late peace, would be so brisling and courageous on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of Italy in selfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls, to make warre in Spaine, the other in Italy, resting secure of all danger at home. *Titus Acilius* took his way towards *Adria*, with an hundred and sixty *Quintunens*, or Gallics; of such an oare, which population may seem to threaten euen the City of Carthage; to which he shall need no more add. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Consul, made all possible haste, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Prouence*; and vied such diligence, hauing the minde of so famous a battle, as in five dayes he recovered *Massilia*: There he was aduertised, that *Hannibal* had his Army past the *Rhodes* of *Medanus*, whom he thought to haue found halfe yet a while in Spaine; and that he had also newes of the Consul's arrival; whereof he was not in the least, nor sorry, but rather willing to haue to doe with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts, to discover the others numbers and doings: *Hannibal*, about five hundred Numidians; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed Roman horse. The former and fought, and the Numidians were beaten; yet could not the Romans greatly stragge; haueing haue only two hundred, and three of their twine, one hundred and forty. But when *Scipio* drew neerer, to know what befell the Carthaginians, he found, that they were gone three dayes before, and that as he then found assuredly true, was an intricate look vpon the walls of Rome.

This

This interrupted his intended voyage into Spain. Neuerthelesse hee sent away thither his brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Army, to trie what might be done against *Asdrubal* & the other Carthaginian Lieutenants in that Countie. He himselfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to Pisa, and so passing through Tuscane into Lombardie, drew together the broken troups of *Mantius* & *Asilius* that lately had bin beaten by the Gaules: with which forces hee made head against the enemy, thinking to finde him ouer-laboured, with trauaile of his painefull iourney.

S. IIII.

Scipio the Romane Consul overcome by Hannibal at Ticinum. Both of the Romane Consuls beaten by Hannibal, in a great battell at Trebia.

FIVE Moneths *Hannibal* had spent in his tedious iourney from Carthage; what great muster he could make, when hee had passed the Alpes, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foote at an hundred thousand, & his horse at twentie thousand; others report them to haue beene onely twentie thousand foot, and sixe hundred horse. *Hannibal* himselfe, in his Monument which he raised, in the Temple of *Iuno Lavinia*, agreeth with the latter summe. Yet the Gaules, Ligurians, and others that ioyned with him, are likely to haue mightily increased his Armie, in short space. But when hee marched Eastward from the bankes of Rhodanus, he had with him eight & thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; of which, all saue those remembred by himselfe in the Inscription of his Altar in *Iuno's* Temple, are like to haue perished, by diseases, enemies, Riuers, and Mountaines; which mischiefs had deuoured, each, their severall shares.

* These dwell about Turine, a goodly City, now subject vnto the Duke of Sauoy: which from them tooke the name of *Agusta Taurinorum*.

Having newly passed the Alpes, and scarce refreshed his wearied Armie in the Countie of Piemont; he fought to win the friendship of the *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held warre at that time with the *Insubrians*, which were his good friends; and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amitie. Wherefore he assaulted their Towne; and wanne it by force in three daies. Their spoyle serued well to heauen his Armie, and their calamitie, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the Gaules, without more adoe, fell vnto his side: many for feare, many also for good-will, according to their former inclination. This disposition ranne through the whole Countie: which ioyned, or was all in readinesse to ioyne with the Carthaginians; when the newes of *Scipio* the Consul his arriual, made some to be more aduised, than the rest. The name of the Romans was terrible in those quarters; what was in the Carthaginians, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the Roman Consul was already gotten through the most defensible passages, ere any speech had beene heard of his approach: many late still for very feare, who else would faine haue concluded a League with these new-come friends; and some, for greater feare, offered their seruice against the Carthaginians, whom neuerthelesse they had wished well to speed.

This wauering affection of the Prouince, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals hasten to the trial of a battaile. Their meeting was at Ticinum, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondred at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it strange that the Consul whom hee had left behinde him on the other side of the Alpes, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himselfe in the Plaines; *Scipio* admiring the strange adventure of passing those Mountaines; and the great spirit of his Armie. Neither were the Senate at Rome little amazed at *Hannibal's* successe, and sudden arriual. Wherefore they dispatched a Messenger in all haste vnto *Sempronius*, the other Consul, that was then in Sicilia, giving him to vnderstand hereof: & letting him further know, that whereas he had bin directed to make the warre in Africa, it was now their pleasure that he should forbear to prosecute any such attempt, but that he should turne the Armie vnder his charge, with all possible speed, to saue Italy it selfe. According to this order, *Sempronius* sent off his Fleet from Lilybæum; with direction to land the *Arminii* at Ariminum, a Port Towne not farre from Rattenna: quite another way from *Castrum*, whither he was making haste. In the meane while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come so neere, that fight they must; & they could part aunder: Hereupon, both of them prepared the minds of their Soldiers, by the best arguments they had: vnto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetoricke of a present example, that hee shewed vpon the prisoners

of the Sauoyans, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into Italy. For these, having beene no lesse miserably fettered and chained, than sparingly fed, and withall so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their desire, than to bee deliuered from their miseries by any kinde of present death, were brought into the middle of the Armie: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, til the one of them were slaine, with condition being the Victor, to receiue his libertie, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cause lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chieftaines of the Gaules were wont to vse in single combats. Euery one of these unhappy men wished, that his owne lot might speed; whereby it should at least bee his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victorie. That couple, whose good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolutely: as rather desiring, than fearing death; and hauing none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poore creatures were willing, vpon whatsoeuer vneuen termes, to ridde themselues out of slaueerie. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellowes which beheld them, wrought also vpon the Carthaginians, for whom the spectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victorie had gotten his liberty, together with an horse and armour: but euen him also, who being slaine in fight, had escaped that miserable condition, vnto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiuing what impression this dumbe shew had wrought in them, began to admonish them of their owne condition, speaking to this effect: That hee had laid before them an example of their owne estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the same fortune, that these slaues had done; all to liue victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed farre more grieuous) to liue in a perpetuall slaueerie: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himselfe any hope of life by flight; since the Mountaines, the Riuers, the great distance from their owne Countreies, and the pursuit of mercilesse Enemies, must needs retrench all such impotent imaginations. Hee therefore praied them to remember, that they, who had euen now praised the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their owne case, seeing that there was neuer any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had euer had bin broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrarie, hee told them that the Romans, who were to fight vpon their owne soile, & in view of their owne Townes, who knew as many waies to saue themselues by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertaine such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same necessity (to which nothing seemes impossible) did no way presse them, or constraime them. In this sort did *Hannibal*, with one substantiall argument, *That there was no means betwene Victorie and Death*, encourage his Companions. For, (saith a great Captaine of France) *la commodité de la retraite aduance la fuite*, The commoditie of a retreat, doth greatly aduance a flat running away.

Scipio on the other side, after that he had giuen order for the laying of a bridge ouer the Riuer of Ticinus, did not neglect to vse the best arguments and reasons he could, to encourage the Army he led: putting them in minde of the great conquests and victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had preuailed; and ouer how many Princes their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Armie commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of Carthaginians, whom in their late warre they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to consider, that at this time it was not onely so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troupe of Brigants and Theeues, than an Army likely to encounter the Romans; but so weather-beaten, and starved, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustaine the first charge that should be giuen vpon them. Nay (saide he) yet your selues may make iudgement what daring they haue now remaining, after so many troubles and miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had past the Roane, their horse-men were not onely beaten by ours, and driuen back to the very trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himselfe, fearing out approach, ranne head-long towards the Alpes: thinking it a lesse dishonour, to disperse by frost, famine, and precipitation, than by the sharpe swords of the Romans, which had so often cut downe his people,

people, both in Africa; and in Sicil. It was not long after this, ere the two Generall officers each being far advanced before the grosse of his Armie, with his Horse, and the Roman hauing also with him some light-armed foot, to view the ground; and the enemies maintenance. When they discouered the approach one of the other: *Scipio* sent before him his horsemen of the Gaules, to begin the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground between their troupes, to assist them: himselfe with his Roman men at armes, followed softly in good order. The Gaules (whether desirous to trie the mettrall of the Carthaginians, or hoping thereby to get fauour of the Romans) behaued themselves courageously, and were as courageously opposed. Yet their foot that should haue aided them, shrank at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Darte, for feare of being troden downe by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding, the Gaules maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they receiued; as presuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Consull vnmindfull to relieue them: their hardinesse deseruing his aide; and the haste flight of those that should haue stood by them, admonishing him that it was needfull. Wherefore he aduentured himselfe so farre; that he receiued a dangerous wound; and had bene left in the place, if his sonne (afterward surnamed *Africanius*) had not brought him off: though others giue the honour of this rescue to a Ligurian slave. Whilest the Romans were busied in helping their Consull; an vnexpected storme came driuing at their backs, and made them looke about how to helpe themselves. *Hannibal* had appointed his Numidian light-horse, to giue vpon the Romans in flanke, and to compass them about, whilest hee with his men at armes sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The Numidians performed this very well: cutting in pieces the scattered foot, that ranne away at the first encounter; and then falling on the backs of those, whose lookes were fastened vpon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impression, the Romans were shuffled together, and routed: so that they all betooke them to their speed, and left vnto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* saw his horsemen thus beaten, and the rest of his Armie thereby greatly discouraged; he thought it a point of Wisdome, hauing lost so many of his Fleet vpon the first puffe of the winde, to take Port with the rest, before the extreamest of the tempest ouertooke him. For he saw by the lowering morning what manner of day it was like to proue. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet vnbroken, he in a manner stole the reitrait; and recouered the bridge ouer Ticinus, which hee had formerly built. But notwithstanding all the haste that he made, he left sixe hundred of his Reare behinde him; who were the last that should haue passed, and staid to breake the bridge. Herein hee followed this rule of a good man of warre, *Si certamen quandoq; dubium videatur, tutum miles arripit fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda*: which must be vnderstood in this sort: If a Generall of an Armie, by some vnprosperous beginnings doubts the successe, or feele his Army fearefull or wavering; it is more profitable to seale a safe reitrait, than to abide the vn certaine event of battaile.

It was two daies after, ere *Hannibal* could passe the Riuer; *Scipio* the whilest refreshing his men, and ealing himselfe of his wound in Placentia. But as soone as *Hannibal* presented his Armie before the Towne, offering battaile to the Romans, who durst not accept it, nor issue forth of their Campe, the Gaules, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for feare, gathered out of his feare, courage to forsake him. They thought that now the long-desired time was come; in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than *Antiochus*, *Antiochus*, and *Gessates*, were come to helpe them: if they had the hearts to help themselves. Wherefore the same night they fell vpon the Roman Campe, wounded and slue many, especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate, with whose heads in their hands, they fled ouer to the Carthaginians, and presented their seruice. *Hannibal* receiued them exceeding courteously, and dismissed them to their owne places: as men likely to bee of more use to him, in perswading the rest of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other seruice at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Consull stole a reitrait, as he had done before; but not with the like ease and security. *Hannibal* had a good eye vpon him, and ere he could get farre, sent the Numidians after him: following himselfe with all his Armie. That night the Romans had receiued a great blow, if the Numidians, greedy of spoile, had not staid to ransacke their Campe, and thereby giuen time to all, save some few, in Reare, that were slaine or taken, to passe the Riuer of Trebia, and saue themselves.

Scipio,

being unable to maintaine by reason of his wound, & wishall finding it expedient to abide the coming of his fellow-Consull, incamp himselfe strongly vpon the banks of Trebia. Necessitie required that he should so doe; yet this diminished his reputation. Ready day, more and more of the Gaules fell to the Carthaginian side, among whom came in the day, that brought with them the Roman Commissioners, which they had taken in the late Insurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeeme their own Hostages: but now they deliuer them vp to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whose help they conceiued better hope of recouering their downe men and lands. In the meane while, *Hannibal*, being in great scarcity of victuals, attempted the taking of Clastidium, a Towne wherein the Romans had laid vp all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a Brundusian, whom the Romans had trusted with keeping it, sold it for a little money.

The newes of these disasters, brought to Rome, filled the Senate and People, rather with desire of hastie reuenge, than any great sorrow for their losse receiued, seeing that in manner, all their foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore hastied away *Sempronius*, that was newly arriued, towards Ariminum, where the Armie, by him sent out of Sicil, awaited his coming. Hee therefore hastied thither; & from thence he marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him vpon the banks of Trebia. Both the Armies being ioyned in one, the Consuls desired what that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* receiuing from *Scipio* the relation of what had passed since *Hannibal* was iouled; the fortune of the late fight; and by what error or misadventure the Romans were therein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the reitrait of the Gaules.

Sempronius, hauing receiued from *Scipio* the state of the affaires in those parts, sought by all means to trie his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himselfe the sole glorie of the victory, which he had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. Hee also feared the election of the new Consuls: his owne time being well-neere expired. But *Scipio* perswaded the contrary, obiecing the vnskillfulness of the new-come Souldiers: and wishall gaue him possession, to assure him that the Gaules, naturally vnconstant, were vpon termes of abandoning the party of the Carthaginians; those of them inhabiting between the Rivers of Trebia and Po, being already reuolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to finde out the dishonour which he might otherwise easily haue auoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing so much as delay and losse of time. For the strength of his Armie, consisting in strangers, to wit, in Spaniards and Gaules, he much feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatiencie of the other: when being farre from their owne home, had many passions mouing them to turne their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same tittle, the Gaules inhabiting neere vnto Trebia, complained of iniuries done by the Carthaginians. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as hee supposed that they might haue done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their safety, and to set them at libertie, he had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his owne Carver, and to take from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they fled to the Romans for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to ioyne with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this; hee suspected their falshood, and was assured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed that it stood with the honor of Rome, to preserue their Confederates from suffering iniurie: and thereby might be wonne the friendship of all the Gaules. Therefore he sent oute thousand horse: which coming vnlooked for vpon *Hannibal* his foragers, and finding them heavy laden, cut many of them in pieces, and chased the rest euen into their own Campe. This indignitie made the Carthaginians sallie out against them: who came to retire faster than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to backe his owne men; and called the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length, all the Roman Armie was drawn forth; and a battaile readie to bee fought, if the Carthaginians had not reuolted.

The victory for to the Consull would haue it called, made the Romans in general desire.

T. 11

desirous to trie the maine chance in open field: all the persuasions of his friends notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was aduised by the Gaules, his spies, that were in the Roman Campe. Therefore he be thought himselfe how to helpe forward the victorie, by adding some stratagem to his forces: hee found in the hollow of a water-courfe, ouer-grown with high reede, a fit trench to couer an ambush. There in he cast his brother *Mago* with a thousand choyce horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Armie, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves in their campe, hee led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, hee had sent ouer *Trebia* some companies of Numidian light-horse; to braue the enemy, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take his opportunity to fight: and therefore not onely issued out of his Campe, but forced the Riuer of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of food, did so enfeeble and coole their courages, as they wanted force to handle the armies they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the Latines: hauing of the one, sixteene, of the other, twentie thousand. The masse of these they ranged in a grosse Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse: thrusting their light-armed, and Dartes, in loose troupes in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vantguard. The Carthaginian numbers of foot, were in a manner equall to their enemies; in horse, they had by far the better, both in number and goodnesse. When therefore the Roman horse, ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the Numidians, when their foot were charged both in front and flank, by the Spaniards, Gaules, and Elephants, when finally the whole Armie was vnawares prest in the Reare, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush: then fell the Romans, by heapes, vnder the enemies sword, and being beaten downe, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the Riuer, by the horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of sixe and thirty thousand; than one thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errors *Sempronius* committed, of which euery one deserued to be recompensed with the losse that followed. The first was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champaine, being by farre inferior in horse, and withall thereby subiect to the African Elephants, which in inclosed or vn-cuen grounds and wood-lands, would haue been of no vse. His second error was, that he made no discouerie of the place vpon which he fought; whereby he was grossely ouer-reacht, and insnared, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that hee drencht his footmen with emptie stomackes, in the Riuer of *Trebia*, euen in a most cold and frostie day, whereby in effect they lost the vse of their limbs. For as one saith well; *There is nothing more inconuenient and pernicious, than to present an Armie tyred with trauaile, to an enemy fresh and fed; for as the strength of body faileth, the generosities of minde is but as an vnprofitable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the Roman Armie, was collected by *Scipio*, who got there with into *Placentia*; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding rainy, from the Carthaginians, who either perceiued him not, because of the showres, or would not persecute him, because they were ouer-weared. *Sempronius* escaped with extreme danger, flying through the Countie that was ouer-runne by the enemies horse. Hee was attended by more, than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer, than could haue made resistance, if the enemy had met with him. Neuertheless hee got away, and came to Rome, where he did his office in choosing new Consuls for the yeere following: and then returned into his Prouince, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

S. V.

The departure of *Hannibal* from the Cisalpine Gaules into *Hetruria*. *Flaminius* the Roman Consul saile, and his Army destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of *Thrasymene*.

The Winter growing on apace, was very sharpe, and vast for seruice to the great contentment of the Romans, who being not able to keep the same, they warme in *Placentia*, and *Cercinona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to be very quiet; but vexed them with continuall Alarmes, assailing diuers places, and taking some; beating the Gaules their adherents; and winning the *Lygurians* to his side, who presented him, in token of their faithfull loue, with two Roman Consuls, Treasurers,

Treasurers, two Colonels and five Gentlemen the Sonnes of *Schatoours*, which they had intercepted. These, and in generall all such prisoners as he had of the Romans, he held in *Arretium* places, loaden with yrons, and miserably fedde: these of their followers he not onely well intreated; but sent them to their Countries without ransome, with this protestation, That he therefore vndertooke the Warre in *Italie* to free them from the oppression of the Romans. By these meanes he hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and assistance. But the Gaules were not capable of such persuasions. They stood in feare, lest he should make their Countie the seat of Warre, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieued than reason willed them, at his feeding vpon them, and wasting their Territorie. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others adomished him of the danger; and these that gaue him the aduise, were ready soone after to practise against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to vse Perwigs of haire, and false beards of diuers colours, to the end that he might not be descied, nor knowne, to those that should vndertake to make him away. Faine he would haue passed the Appenines, vpon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the Gaules, till he had seene more Swallowes than one. At length, when the yeere was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leaue of these giddie Companions, and bring the warre nearer to the gates of Rome. So away he went, hauing his Armie greatly increased with *Lygurians* and Gaules; more seruiceable friends abroad, than in their owne Countie. That the passage of the Appenine Mountains was troublesome, I hold it needlesse to make any doubt. Yet since the Roman Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way; the great vexation which fell vpon *Hannibal*, when he was travelling through and ouer them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter that makes all waies foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that iourne. Neither lesse to auoid the length of way, together with the resistance & fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to haue been erected vpon the ordinary passages towards Rome: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to trauaile through the Fennes and rotten grounds of *Tuscane*. In those Marishes and bogges, he lost all his Elephants, saue one; together with the vse of one of his eyes, by the moystnesse of the ayre, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deep mire and water. In briefe, after he had with much adoe recovered the firm and fertile Plains, he lodged about *Arretium*; where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the Roman Consuls.

Flaminius, & *Cn. Seruilius* had of late been chosen Consuls for this yeere: *Seruilius*, a tractable man, & wholly governed by aduice of the Senate; *Flaminius*, an hot-headed popular Orator; who hauing once been robbed (as he thought) of his Consulship, by a deuice of the Senators, was afraid to be serued so againe, vnlesse he quickly finished the warre. This ialous Consul thought it not best for him to be at Rome, when he entered into his Office, lest his aduersaries, by fayning some religious impediment, should detain him within the Citie, or finde other businesse for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour, that he hoped to get in the Warre. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Towne; and meant to take possession of his office, when the day came, at *Ariminum*. The Fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, reuoked him by Embassadors: but he neglected their intunction; and hasting to meet with the Carthaginians, took his way to *Arretium*, where he shortly found them.

The fierie disposition of this Consul, promised vnto *Hannibal* great assurance of victorie. Therefore he prouoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the Roman, hoping thereby to draw him vnto fight, ere *Seruilius* came with the rest of the Armie. All the Countie between *Fesula* & *Arretium* he put to fire and sword, euen vnder the Consuls nose; which was enough to make him stirre, that would not haue sitten still, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true, that a great Captain of France hath said; *Pas gaste n'est pas perdu; A wasted Countie is not thereby lost.* But by this waste of the Countie, *Flaminius* thought his owne honour to be much impaired; and therefore advanced towards the Enemy. Many aduised him (which had indeed been best) to haue patience a while, and stay for his Colleague. But of this hee could not abide to heare, saying, that he came not to defend *Arretium*, whilest the Carthaginians were burning downe all *Italie* before them, to the gates of Rome. Therefore he took horse,

and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Ensignes stucke so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked vp by the Ensigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tully* makes a least; saying, That the cowardly knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) hauing hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto: for he commanded, that it should be digged vp, if feare had made the hands too weake to lift it: asking withall; whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their ielousie, both hee and the Senate that did giue him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territorie of Cortona, as farre as to the Lake of Thrasymene, was on a light fire, which whilst the Consul thought to quench with his enemies blood, hee pursued *Hannibal* so vnadvisedly, that hee fell with his whole Armie into an ambush cunningly laid for him, betwene the Mountaines of Cortona, and the Lake. There was hee charged vnawares, on all sides, (saue onely where that great Lake of *Perusia* permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from them) knowing not which way to turne, or make resistance. So was hee slaine in the place, accompanied with fifteene thousand dead carcases of his Countrey-men. About sixe thousand of his men, that had the Vantguard, tooke courage, as for the most part it happens, out of desperation; and breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way recovered the tops of the Mountaines. If these had returned, and giuen charge vpon the Carthaginians backs, it was thought that they might haue greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their feare, which kindled by necessity, had wrought the effects of hardinesse; was well asswaged, when they ceased to despair, of sauing their liues by flight. They stood still, in a cold sweat, vpon the Hill-top; hearing vnder them a terrible noise, but not any way discouering how things went, because of the great fogge that held all that morning. When it grew toward noone, the ayre was cleared, and they might plainly discern the lamentable slaughter of their fellowes. But they staid not to lament it: for it was high time, they thought, to be gone, ere they were discried, and attached by the enemies horse. This they should haue thought vpon sooner, since they had no minde to returne vnto the fight. For descried they were, and *Maharbal* sent after them, who ouer-tooke them by night in a Village, which he surrounded with his horse: and so they yeelded the next day, rendering vp their armes, vpon his promise of their liues and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirme; saying, That it was made by *Maharbal*, without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authoritie to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their owne. For if it were lawfull vnto the Romans, to alter couenants, or adde vnto them what they listed, if the Carthaginians must be faine to pay certaine hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargain; as also to renounce their interest in Sardinia, and be limited in their Spanish Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the Romans, whose present aduantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can *Hannibal* be as a Roman, as themselves; and make them know, that perfidioufnesse gaineth no more in prosperitie, than it loseth in the change of fortune. Fifteene thousand Italian prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which all that were not Romans, he set free without ransome; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the Roman tyrannie, that he had vndertaken this warre. But the Romans he kept in straight prison, and in fetters; making them learne to eat hard meate. This was a good way, to breed in the people of Italie, if not a loue of Carthage, yet a contempt of Rome: as if this war had not concerned the generall safetie, but onely the preserving of her owne neck from the yoke of slauey, which her ouer-strong enemies would thrust vpon her in reuenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by successe of many ages, is not lost in one or two batailles. Wherefore more is to bee done, ere the Carthaginians can get any Italian Partisans.

Presently after the bataille of Thrasymene, *C. Centronius*, with foure thousand Roman horse, drew neere vnto the Campe of *Hannibal*. Hee was sent from Ariminum, by *Serullius* the other Consul, to increase the strength of *Flaminius*: but coming too late, hee increased only the misadventure. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this

companie;

companie; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great ouerthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost halfe of them, draue the rest vnto an high piece of ground, whence they came downe, and simply yeelded to mercie, the next day. *Serullius* himselfe was in the meane while skirmishing with the *Gauls*, against whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes was brought him, of his Colleagues ouerthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him hasten backe to the defence of Rome.

In these passages, it is easie to discern the fruits of popular ielousie, which perswaded the Romans to the yearly change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all men are farre better taught by their owne errors, than by the examples of their fore-goers. *Flaminius* had heard, in what a trap *Sempronius* had beene taken vp but the yeere before, by this subtle Carthaginian; yet suffered hee himselfe to be caught soone after in the same manner. Hee had also belike forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to bee preuented by a new Consul, and ambitious of the sole honor of beating *Hannibal* in battaile, without helpe of his companion *Scipio*, had beene rewarded with shame and losse: else would he not, contrarie to all good aduice, haue beene so hasty to fight, before the arriual of *Serullius*. If *Sempronius* had beene continued in his charge, it is probable that he would haue taken his companion with him the second time, and haue searched all suspected places, proper to haue shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly auow it, that by being continued in his gouernment of France ten yeeres, *Cesar* brought that mightie Nation, together with the Heluetians and many of the Germans, vnder the Roman yoke; into which parts had there beene euery yeere a new Lieutenant sent, they would hardly, if euer, haue beene subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can doe, to informe it selfe, within one yeeres compasse, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions of the Places, Riuers, and of all good helpes, whereby to prosecute a warre to the best effect. Our Princes haue commonly left their Deputies in Ireland three yeeres; whence, by reason of the shortnesse of that their time, many of them haue returned as wise as they went out; others haue profited more, and yet when they began but to know the first rudiments of Warre, and Government, fitting the Countrey, they haue beene called home, and new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great preiudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath euer beene the course of the World, rather to follow old errors, than to examine them: and of Princes and Gouernours, to vp-hold their slothfull ignorance, by the old examples and policie of other ages and people; though neither likenesse of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, haue perswaded the imitation.

S. VI.

Now *Q. Fabius* the Roman Dictator, sought to consume the force of *Hannibal*, by lingering warre. *Minutius* the Master of the Horse, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successfull attempting; adventures rashly vpon *Hannibal*, and is like to perish with his Armie, but rescued by *Fabius*.

Greatly were the Romans amazed, at this their ill successe, and at the danger apparant; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than euer did was, since Rome it selfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and so little accustomed to receive an ouerthrow, that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all Italy was strangely affected with his successe, and held him in admiration, as one that could worke wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrell was not grounded vpon hate: hee onely sought honour, and fought (as it were) vpon a brauerie: demeaning himselfe like a couragious enemy. This Carthaginian detested the whole Roman name, against which he burned with desire of reuenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*, witnessed his purpose, & his abilitie. Which to withstand, they fled vnto a remedie that had long bin out of vse; and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subiect vnto contrall of the whole City. Wherefore this Officer was seldom chosen, but vpon some extremeitie, and sat no longer time than sixe moneths. Hee was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were so, that the Consul (if he stood vpon his prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time, the

one Consul being dead, and the other too sick off, the People took upon them, changing supreme authority, to give the Dictator by their election; to *Quintus Fabius*, the best reputed man of warre in the City. *Novum facimus, novum consilium expellimus, trarie vias, contrarie courses.* *Quintus Fabius* chose *M. Minutius Rufus* Master of the Horse: which Officer was customarily, as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more vpon him.

The first act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of somewhat amisse in matter of religion: a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion bene also good. But if it were true (as *Livy* reports it) that the Bookes of *Sybil* were consulted, and gave direction in this business of devotion; then must we beleue, that those books of *Sybil*, preserved in Rome, were dictated by an euill spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this warre to *Mars*, should be made anew, and amplified, as having not bin rightly made before: also that great Plaies should be vowed vnto *Iupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with such other trumperie. This vehemencie of superstition, proceeded alwaies from vehemencie of feare. And surely this was a time, when Rome was exceedingly distempered with passion: whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their sons returne alieue from *Thrasymene*, may serue to beare witness; though it be more properly an example of motherly loue. The walls and towers of the City were now repaired and fortified; the bridges vpon Riuer were broken downe; and all care taken for defence of Rome it selfe. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly set forth against *Hannibal*, word was brought that the Carthaginian fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to *Cin. Scipio* in Spain. Against these Carthaginians, *Fabius* commanded *Seruius* the Consul to put to Sea; and taking vp all the ships about Rome and Ostia, to pursue them: whilst he, with the Legions, attended vpon *Hannibal*. Fourte Legions he had leuied in haste: and from Ariminum he receiued the Armie, which *Seruius* the Consul had conducted thither.

With these forth with he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what aduantage the Numidian horse had ouer the Romans, he alwaies lodged himselfe on high grounds, and of hard access. *Hannibal* in the meane while, pursuing his victorie, had ranged ouer all the Countrey, and vsed all manner of cruelty towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the Roman Nation, of whom he did put to the sword, all that were able to beare arms. Passing by Spoletum & Ancona, he incamped vpon the Adriatick shores; refreshed his diseased, and ouer-trauailed Companies, armed his Africans after the manner of the Romans, and made his dispatches for Carthage, presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoiles that he had gotten. Having refreshed his Army, fed his horses, cured his wounded Souldiers, & (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horse heels of the scratches, by washing their pasterns in old wine: hee followed the coast of the Adriatick Sea towards Apulia, a Northerne Province of the Kingdome of Naples, spoiling the Marriages, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he p[er]u[er]sed, hee had not taken any one City: only he had assailed Spoletum, a Colonie of the Romans; and finding it well defended, presently gaue it ouer. The malice of a great Army is broken, and the force of it spent, in a great siege. This the Protestant Armie found true at Poitiers, a little before the battaile of Moncouter, and their victorious enemies, anon after, at *S. Iuan d'Angely*. But *Hannibal* was more wise. He would not engage himselfe in any such enterprise, & should detain him, and giue the Romans leaue to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once he was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he presented *Fabius* with battaile, as hee saw him; and prouoked him with all manner of bravado's. But *Fabius* would not bite. Hee well knew the differences, betwix the Souldiers bred vnder discipline, since they were Boyes, in warre and in blood, trayned and hardened in Spain, made proud and honourous by many victories there, & of late by some notable blouds against the Romans; and such, as had no former seen this enemy, than bin vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the Carthaginian so neere, as hee kept him from doing any thing more; and presented the countrey round vnder spoyle. He injured his men by tithes, and livery, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees, and he brought them first to take on the Lyon a faire off, that in the end they might sit on his taile. *Majorem ad nosq[ue] hostem adhibuit.*

Now

Minutius had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*; taxlog *Fabius* with cowardise and feare. But all stirred not this well-advised Commander. For while men are no more moued with such noise, than with winde bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiscretion, and danger, than to pursue misfortune: It waiteth it selfe sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the inuading Armie that desires battaile; and this of *Hannibal*, was both the inuading and victorious. *Fabius* therefore suffered *Hannibal* to crosse the Apennines, and to fall vpon the most rich & pleasant Territory of Campania; neither could he by any arguments be perswaded, to aduocate the Roman Armie in battaile: but being farre too weake in horse, he alwaies kept the Hills & fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no means draw this warie Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, & that the Towns stood firme for the Romans, whose Legions were in sight, though a farre off; he resolved to rest his Armie, that was laden with spoyle, in some plentifull and assured place, till the following Spring. But ere this can be done, he must passe along by the Dictators campe, that hung ouer his head vpon the hills of Callicula, and Casilinum: for other way there was none, by which he might issue out of that goodly Garden-countrey, which he had already wasted, into places more abundant of prouision for his wintering. It was by mere error of his guide, that he first entred vwithin these streights. For he would haue bin directed vnto Casilinum, vvhence he might both assay the false citie of Capua, which had made him friendly promises vnder hand, & hinder the Romans from coming neer it to prevent him. But his guide mis-vnderstood the Carthaginian pronounciation, and conducted him awry another vway, from Casilinum to Casilium, vvhence *Fabius* hoped that he should not easily escape. Now began the wisdom of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the Carthaginians in a trap, & won the victory, without blowes. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himselfe, by a slight inuention, yet seruing the turne as well as a better. In drining the countrey, he had gotten about two thousand Kine, vvhose homes he dressed with dry faggots, and setting fire to them in the darke night, caused them to be driuen vp the hills. The spectacle vvas strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those, that knew it to be a worke of a terrible enemy. What it should mean, *Fabius* could not tell: but thought it a deuice to circumuent him; and therefore kept vwith in his Trenches. They that kept the hill-tops, were horribly afraid, vvhhen some of these fiery Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinking that the enemies were behind their backs, & fell among the light-armed Carthaginians, that were no lesse afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his vvhole Armie, reconered sure ground without molestation: vvhence he staid till the next morning, and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the Romans, that began to hold them in skirmish. After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his iourney towards Rome: & the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner, keeping still on high grounds, betwix him and the Citie, whilst the Carthaginian wasted all the Plaines. The Carthaginian tooke *Geryon*, an old ruinous Town in Apulia, forsaken by the Inhabitants, which he turned into Barnes and Store-houses for winter, and incamped vnder the broken wall. Other matters of importance he did none: but the time passed idly, till the Dictator was called away to Rome, about some business of Religion, and left the Armie in charge with *Minutius*, the Master of the horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion, to shew his owne sufficiency. He was fully persuaded, that his Romans, in plaine field, would be too hard for the Africans & Spaniards, by whom if they had been foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtiltie and ambush, which he thought himselfe wise enough to prevent. All the Armie was of his opinion, and that so earnestly, as he was preferred, by indgement of the Souldiers, in worthinesse to command, before the cold and warie *Fabius*. In this folly of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forbidden so to do by the Dictator, the breach of whose command was extreme perillous. But the honour of the victory, which he held vndoubtedly his owne, and the loss of the Armie, and the friends that he had at home, bearing off in Rome, were enough to saue him from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter neuer to haue murthered. *Hannibal* on the other side was no lesse glad, that he should play with a more dangerous gameller. Therefore he drew neere, & to prouoke the Romans, sent forth his third

part

part of his Armie to waste the Countrey. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seemes, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two camps; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupie it, the Carthaginians seized vpon by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plaine force, wan it from them the next day; and intrenching himselfe thereupon, became their nearer neighbour.

The maine businesse of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not onely for his men but for his horses, which he knew to be the chiefe of his strength; that he might keepe them in good heart against the next Summer: if besides this he could giue to the Romans another blow, it would increase his reputation, incourage his owne men, terrifie his enemies, and giue him leaue to forrage the Countrey at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes issue forth of his Campe, the Carthaginian sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in haruest. This aduantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and tooke. For he led forth his Armie, and setting it in order, presented battaile to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, euen at his owne Trenches. His horses, and all his light Armature, diuided into many companies, he sent abroad against the forragers, who being disperfed ouer all the fields, and loaden with bootie, could make no resistance. This angered *Hannibal*, that was not able to helpe them; but worse did it anger him, when the Roman took heart to assaile his Trenches. They perceiued that it was meere weaknesse, which held him within his campe, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the businesse, *Asdrubal* came from Geryon with foure thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the Roman horse. This imboldned *Hannibal* to issue forth against the Romans; to whom neuertheless he did not such hurt, as he had receiued.

For this piece of seruice *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Armie, and more highly by the People at Rome, to whom he sent the newes, vvith somwhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the Roman Armie had recouered spirit, so far forth that it dared to set vpon *Hannibal* in his own campe; & that in so doing, it came off vvith the better. Euery man therefore praised the Master of the horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as far out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: sauing that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so ioyfull of a little good lucke, as angry vvith the breach of discipline, and fearefull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. He said that he knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Master of the horse to doe so likewise, and make him giue account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good successe, issuing from bad counsaile, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be warie. Against these Sermons euery one cried out, especially *Metellus* a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to speake, and doe what he list, vvithout feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our onely Man, chosen to be Generall, and Lord of the Towne, in our greatest necessitie, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all Italie to be wasted before his eyes, to the vtter shame of our State; vnlesse he also hinder others, from doing better than himselfe can, or dares? It were good to consider what he meanes by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not chosen any new Consull all this while; *Seruilus* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and He, haue as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborne to spoyle some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into enuie and suspicion) and the Dictator giuing him leaue to spoyle all others, vvithout impeachment. Surely his drift is euen this: He would haue the warre to last long, that he himselfe might be long in Office, and haue the sole Governement both of our Citie, and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonaltie of Rome, which gaue him this authority, should againe take it from him, and conferre it vpon one more worthy. But lest, in mouing the people herto, I should seeme to doe him iniurie, thus farre forth I will regard his honour: I will onely

onely propound, That the Master of the Horse may be ioyned in equall authority vvith the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor lesse necessary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, euen the Senators, vvere ill perswaded of the course vvich *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficiall at the present; yet was there none so iniurious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publique, was lesse than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in passing of any Act, that some man of credit & authority, besides the propounder, should stand vp, and formally deliuer his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both vnto a worthy Personage, and (therewithall) vnto that dignity, whose great power, had freed the State at severall times, from the greatest dangers. Onely *C. Terentius Varro*, who the yeere before had bene Praetor, vv as glad of such an opportunity, to winne the fauour of the Multitude. This fellow vv as the sonne of a Butcher, afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of contentious spirit, grew, by often brabbling, to take vpon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being aduanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobilitie fauoured his very basenesse. And now he thought the time was come, for him to giue a hard push at the Consulship; by doing that, vvich none of the great men, fearing or fauouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hor inuectiue, not onely against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobilitie; saying, That it grieued them to see the people doe well, and take vpon them what belonged vnto them, in matter of Governement; That they sought to humble the Commons by pouertie, and to impouerish them by vv arre; especially by warre at their owne doores, vvich would soone consume euery poore mans liuing, and finde him other worke to thinke vpon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wise: and since they had found one, (this worthy Master of the Horse) that was better affected vnto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deserts, and giue him authority, according as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled, to proceed as he had begun. So the Act

passed. Before this busie day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of a new Consull, vvich was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the roome of *C. Flaminius*: and hauing finished all requisite businesse, went out of Towne, perceiuing well, that he should not be able to vvithstand the multitude, in hindering the Decree. The news of *Minutius* his aduancement, was at the campe as soone as *Fabius*: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colledge, began to treat vvith him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in vvhat sort he thought it best to diuide their authority: vvether that one, one day, and the other, the next; or each of them successiuelly, for some longer time, should command in chiefe. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horse equall to the Dictator, but that he should neuer be his superiour: Hee would therefore diuide the Legions vvith him, by lor, according to the custome: *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that vvith halfe of the Armie he could not worke such wonders, as otherwise he hoped to accomplishe. Neuertheless he meant to doe his best, and so taking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and halfe from the Dictator. Needfull it was (though *Linie* seemes to taxe him for it) that he should so doe: For vvhere two seuerall Commanders are not subordinate one vnto another, nor ioyned in Commission, but haue each intire and absolute charge of his owne followers, there are the forces (though belonging vnto one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in vvich regard, one Campe shall not hold them both, vvithout great inconuenience. *Polybius* neither findes fault vvith this distinction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was vvilling to command in chiefe successiuelly (as the two Consuls vvied) vvith *Minutius*; by turnes. He saith that *Minutius* was very refractary; and so proud of his aduancement, that continually he opposed the Dictator: vvho theretvpon referred it to his choyce, either to diuide the forces between them, as is said before, or else to haue command ouer all by course. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of subiection, vvhen once they haue broken loose from the rigour of authority, loue nothing more, than to contest vvith it: as if herein consisted the prooffe and assurance of their libertie.

It behoued the Master of the horse, to make good this opinion which had thus aduanced him, Therefore he was no lesse carefull, of getting occasion to fight, than was *Fabius* of auoiding the necessity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally desired, could not long be wanting. The Country lying between them was open and bare; yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adioyning, had many, and spacious caues; able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places, *Hannibal* bestowed five hundred horse; and five thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discouered. But lest by any misadventure they should be found out, and buried in their holes; he made offer, betimes in the morning, to seize vpon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the Romans, from their more needfull care, to business little concerning them. Like vnto this was the occasion; which not long before, had prouoked *Minutius*, to adventure vpon the Carthaginians. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as he gouerned, he sent forth his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his owne troups with fresh companies) he followed in person with the Legions. He was soone caught, and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retreat. In this dangerous case, whilst the Romans defended themselves, losing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew neere, in very good order, to relieue them. For this old Captaine, perceiving a farre off, into what extreimty his new Colleague had rashly throwne himselfe and his followers, did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Country, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approue himself by hastning to doe good, than by suffering his enemy to seele the reward of doing ill. Vpon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired: fearing to be well warded with a shewre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops; *Minutius* forthwith submitted himselfe to *Pabius*; by whose benefit he confessed his life to haue been saved. So from this time forwards, the Warre proceeded coldly as the Dictator would haue it; both whilst his Office lasted, which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he deliuered vp his charge vnto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Scruilius the Consul had pursued in vaine a Carthaginian fleet, to which he came neerer within kenning. He ran along all the coast of Italie; tooke hostages of the Sardinians and Corsicans; passed ouer into Africke; and there negligently falling to spoyle the Countrey, was shamefully beaten aboard his ships, with the losse of a thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, he returned home by Sicily; and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Consul, where they tooke charge of the Armie.

§. VII.

The Roman people, desirous to finish the warre quickly, chosse a rash and unworthy Consul. Great forces leuied against Hannibal. Hannibal taketh the Romans provisions in the Castle of Canne. The new Consuls set forth against Hannibal.

WITH little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in Rome, hear the great commendations that were given to *Fabius* by the principall Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiuing a great overthrow: but he had neither finished the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seeme, that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the worke to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custome; since it was neuer heard before, that any Roman Generall had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performance: as if it were honourable to doe iust nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready euery man, to discharge the griefe and anger of his own priuate losse, vpon the ill administration of the publike.

This affection of the people, was very helpfull to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoued him to strike, whilst the Iron was hot: his owne worth being little or none, and his credit ouer-weake, to make way into that high Dignity. But the

Commis-

Commiseric was then in such a mood, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Where-
 iaro helpe, he had a kinsman, *Dubius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who spar-
 ed not to give the liberty of his place; in saying what hee listed, without all regard of
 truth, or modestie. This bold Orator stucke not to affirme, that *Hannibal* was drawne
 into Italie, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen. That *Mini-*
 tius indeed with his two Legions, was likely to haue bene ouerthrowne, and was rescu-
 ed by *Fabius* with the other two: but had all bene ioynd together, what they might
 haue done, it was apparent, by the victorie of *Minutius*, when hee commanded ouer all
 as Master of the horse; that without a Plebeian Consull, the warre would neuer bee
 brought to an end; That such of the Plebeians, as had long since bene aduanced to ho-
 nous of the people, were growne as proud as the old Nobilitie, and contemned the
 meaner sort, euer since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mightie;
 That therefore it was needfull to chosse a Consul, who should be altogether a Plebeian;
 a more new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples loue, nor could wisht
 more, than to keepe it, by well deserving of them. By such persuasions, the Multitude
 was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could
 not endure to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detaching from their ho-
 nous; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the
 People to sell out, or at least was alleadged, that neither of the two present Consuls
 could be spared, from attending vpon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore
 a third was named for that purpose: and he againe depolled; either (as was preten-
 ded) for some religious impediment, or because the Fathers desired an *Inter-regnum*,
 wherein they might better hope to preuaile in choice of the new Consuls. This *inter-*
regnum tooke name and being in Rome, at the death of *Romulus*; and was in vse at the
 death of other Kings. The order of it was this: All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the
 time were an hundred, parted themselves into *Tens*, or *Decuries*; and gouerned successiue-
 ly the space of five dayes, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet so, that the *Lictors*,
 or *Patres*, carrying the *Fasces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited onely vpon the chiefe
 of them with these Enignes of power. This custome was retained, in times of the Con-
 sulship; and put in vse, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary Magistrates
 of the old yeare, to substitute new for the yeere following. The advantage of the Fa-
 thers herein was, that if the Election were not like to goe as they would haue it, there
 needed not more, than to slip five dayes, and then was all to begin a new: by which in-
 terruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well alluaged. Vpon such change
 of those that were Presidents of the Election; it was also lawfull vnto new Petitioners;
 to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time
 limited, wherein they should publicly declare themselves to seeke those Offices. But no
 device would serue, against the generall fauour borne vnto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum*
 passed ouer, and the malice of the Fathers, against the vertue (as it was beleeued) of this
 meane, but worthy man, seemed so manifest; that when the People had vnged the busi-
 nesse to dispatch, onely *Terentius* was chosen Consull: in whose hand it was left, to hold
 the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gaue ouer. For where-
 as men of ordinary make had stood for the place before; it was now thought meet, that
 both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this vnexpert, and hot-headed
 man, one of great sufficiencie, and reputation, should be ioynd with him, as both Com-
 mon and opposite. So *L. Aemilius Paulus*, he, who few yeeres since had ouer-come the
 Kings; and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was urged by the Nobility
 for the place: which he easily obtained, having no Competitor: it was not the
 part of this honorable man, to trouble himselfe any more in such great business of the
 state, or wealth. For notwithstanding his late good seruice, and *M. Licinius* that had
 been his companion in Office, were afterwards iniuriously vexed by the People, and
 came vnto judgement; wherein *Licinius* was condemned, and *Aemilius* hardly escaped;
 by of this iniustice they shall put the Romans well in minde, each of them in his second
 Consulship, wherein they shall honorably appaie their worth, like one of them nobly
 dying, in the most glorious losse; the other braving winning, in the most happy victory.
 These new Consuls, *Terentius* and *Pabius*, ouer-ruled the Peoples deligence in preparing
 the warre; wherein though *Terentius* made the greater noise, by saying what wonders
 he

he would worke, and that he would aske no more, than once to haue a sight of Hannibal, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day; yet the providence and care of *Senatus*, traualled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote vnto the two old Consuls *Servilius* and *Mutius*; desiring them to abstaine from hazard of the maine chance; but neuertheless, to plic the Carthaginians with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when hee and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Armie which they were now leuying, they might finde the foure old Legions well accustomed to the Enemy, and the Enemy well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the slanders, with which *Terentius* and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised, is vncertaine. Fourescore thousand foot, at the least, and sixe thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking vpon Hannibal.

Here, the old King of Syracuse, as he had relieued the Carthaginians, when they were distressed by their own Mercenaries; so did he now send helpe to Rome, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barlie, and other provisions. Nothing more, than that one of these two mightie Cities should destroy the other, whereby his owne estate would fall to ruine; that stood vpright, by hauing them soe, what euently ballanced. He gaue them also counsaile, to send forces into Africa, (perhaps) by that meanes they might diuert the warre from home. His gifts, and counsaile were louingly accepted; and instructions were given to *Timon* of Sicily, that he should waite for the Carthaginians, which was to goe into Sicily, that he should accordingly passe over into Africa, if he found it expedient.

The great Leuies, which the Romans made at this time, doe much more seru to declare their puissance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of such as were notedly drawne into the field, and fitted for seruice. For besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into Sicily, twentie five thousand, with *L. Postumius Albinus* another of the Prators, went against the Gaules, to recleatne that Prouince, which the passage of Hannibal through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength, might well embolden them to doe as they did. They sent Embassadors to *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, King of Macedon, requiring him to deliuer into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who hauing beene their subiect, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdome. They also sent to the Illyrians, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they receiued, it is not knowne: onely this is knowne, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent vnto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to haue an eye vpon them, little to their good. As for the Illyrian money, by the shifts that they were driven soone after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little soeuer) would haue beene welcome to Rome, and accepted, without any ciuill about forfeiture for non-payment of the whole.

Whilst the Citie was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as neere vnto Hannibal, as possibly they could, without incurring the necessity of a battaile. Many skirmishes they had with him; wherein their successe for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not onely blemished the honour of their other seruices, but was indeede the occasion, to draw on the misery following. Hannibal, for the most part of that time, made his abode at Geryon, where lay all his store for the Winter. The Romans, to be neere him, lodged about Cannus; and, that they might not be driuen to turne aside for all necessities, to the losse of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Castle of Cannus: for the rowne was razed the yeere before. This place Hannibal wan, and thereby not onely furnished himselfe, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, vntill they would be troubled with farre carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himselfe to abide in that open Countrey, fit for the seruice of his horse: longer than the Romans, hauing so many murtherers to feed, could well endure to tarry, without offering battaile; which he most desired. Of this mishap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them vnderstand, how this Peece, taken by Hannibal, would serue him to command the most part of the Countrey adiacont; it then seemed needfull, to send vnto the Fathers themselves, to aduise a battaile with the Carthaginians, rather than suffer him, thus to take root in the ground

of Italy. Neuertheless, answer was returned vnto *Servilius*, that hee should haue patience yet awhile: for that the Consuls would shortly be there, with a power sufficient to doe as need required.

When all things were ready in the Citie, and the season of the yeere, commodious to take the field, the two Consuls, with their Armie, set forth against Hannibal. This was alwaies done with great solemnities: especially, whensoever they went forth to warre against any noble orredoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and solemn Vowes, were made vnto *Jupiter*, and the rest of theingods, for good successe and victorie: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the principall men, (not onely such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Volunaries, for loue; but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leaue taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited vpon *Emilius Paulus*, as the onely Man, whom they thought, either worthy of this honour, or likely to doe his countrie remarkable seruice. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troupe no lesse in greatnesse, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Paulus* the late Dictator, is said to haue exhorted the Consull *Paulus*, with many good words, to shew his magnanimitie, not onely in dealing with the Carthaginians, but (which he thought harder) in braying the outrageous follie of his fellow Consull. The answer of *Paulus*, was, That he meant not againe to runne into danger of condemnation, by offending the multitude; that he would doe his best for his Countrey: but if he saw his best were likely to be still taken, he would thinke it lesse rashnesse to aduenture vpon the Enemies sword, than vpon the malice of his owne Citizens.

§. VIII.

Diffinition betweene the two Roman Consuls. Whether it be likely, that Hannibal was vpon point of flying out of Italy, when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great battaile of Cannus.

These new Generals, arriuing at the Campe, dismissed *M. Atilius* one of the last yeeres Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weaknesse; *Servilius* they retained with them, as their Assistant. The first thing that *Emilius* thought necessary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad successe hitherto, had gathered more cause of feare, than of courage. He willed them to consider, not onely now, their victories in times past against the Carthaginians, and other more warlike Nations than were the Carthaginians, but euen their owne great numbers: which were no lesse than all that Rome at the present was able to set forth. Hee told them in what danger their Countrey stood; how the state and safetie thereof, rested vpon their hands; vsing some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectual part of his Oration, was, That Hannibal with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plaine force and valour: but that onely by deceit and ambush he had stolne the honor, which he had gotten at Trebia & Thrasymene. Hertwithall he taxed the inconsiderate rashnesse of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one saw not his enemies, vntill hee was surrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darknesse, whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their snares. Finally, declaring what advantages they had against the Enemy; and how destitute the Enemy was of those helpes, by which he had hitherto preuailed against them; he exhorted them to play the men, and doe their best. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the Roman vertue in matter of armes, gaue them cause to thinke, that vnder a Captaine so well experienced, and euery way sufficient, as *Emilius* was knowne to bee, they should easily preuaile against the Carthaginians: that came short of them in all things else, saue craft; which would not alwayes chruce. But in one thing they mistooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his desire, that they should haue heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of awaiting a convenient season. But they, hauing preconceiued a victorie, thought all delays to bee impediments: and thereby sought to robbe themselves of their best helpe, which

Vvvv

was,

was good conduct. They remembered what talke they had heard at Rome: and were themselves affected with the Vulgar desire, of ending the warre quickly; wherein since *Emilius* had acknowledged, that the aduantage was theirs, why did he make them forbear to vse it? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Confull *Terentius*; who was no lesse popular in the Campe, than hee had beene in the Citie. Expectation is alwayes tedious; and neuer more, than when the Euent is of most importance. All men longed, both at Rome, and in the Armie; to bee freed from the doubtfull passions of Hope and Feare: therefore *Terentius*, who hastened their desire to effect, was likely to win more thankes, than should his Colleague, though greater in performance.

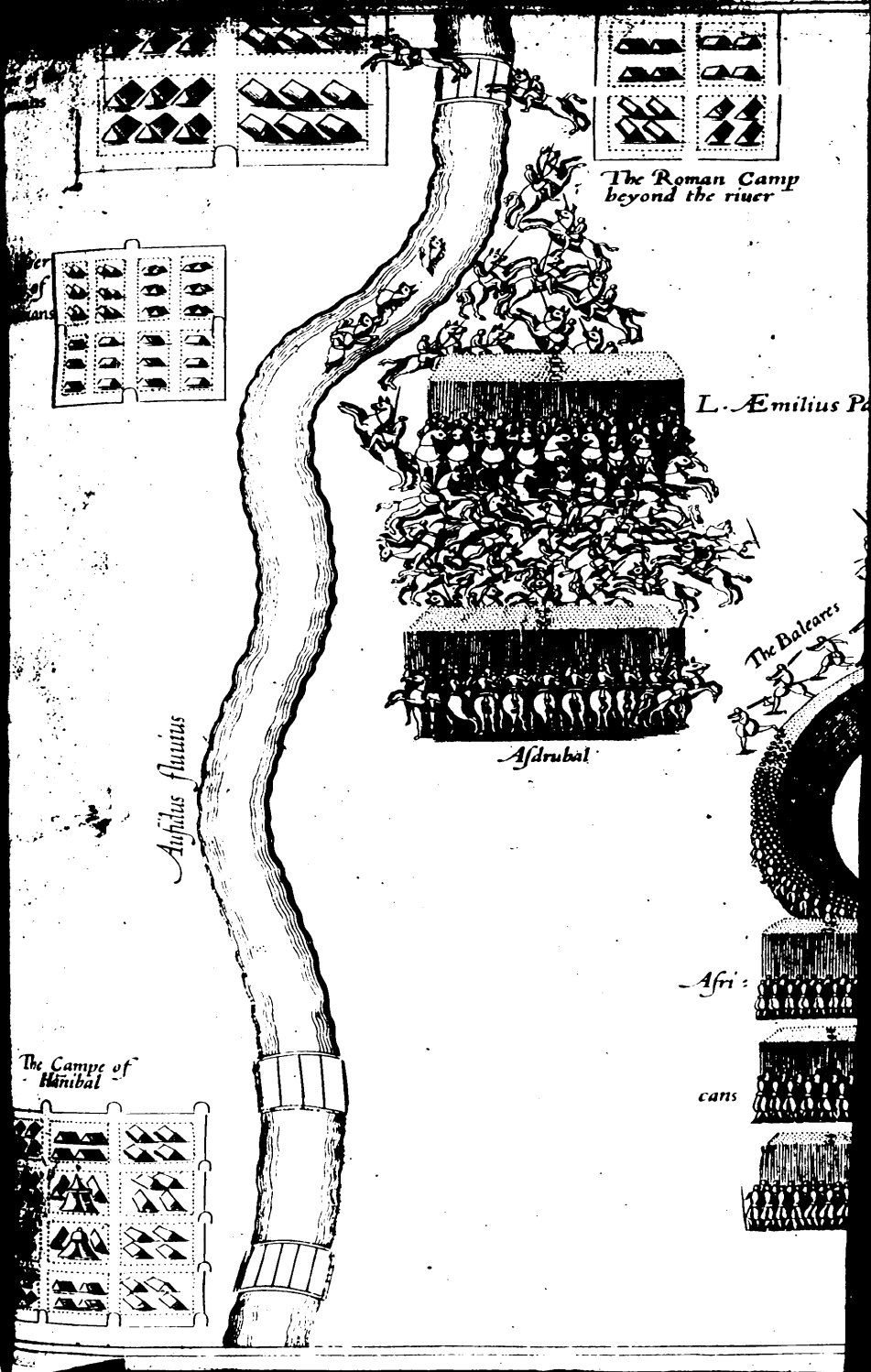
Thus while the Romans thinke themselves to haue the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconuenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Dissension* of their chiefe Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Emilius* would so too; but said that it was not yet time; why? because the enemy must shortly dislodge, and remoue hence, into places losse fit for his horse. But shall the Romans wait, till *Hannibal*, hauing eaten vp his last yeres provisions, returne into Campania to gather a second Haruest? This would (said *Varro*) fauour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (said *Paulus*) doth fauour no lesse of *C. Flaminius*. Their deedes were like their words: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably every day. *Emilius* lodged fixe miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was somewhat vncuen. Thither if the Carthaginians would take paines to come, hee doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leaue running till they were out of Italie. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the Plaines; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Neuertheless he fate downe close by *Hannibal*: who as an vnbidden guest gaue him but a rude wel-come and entertainment. The Carthaginian Horse, and light armature, fell vpon the Roman Vantcoursers; and put the whole Armie in tumult, whilest it was yet in march: but they were beaten off; not without losse, for that the Romans had among their Velites, some troupes weightily armed, whereas the Carthaginians had none. The day following, *Emilius*, who could not handsomely withdraw the Armie out of that leuell ground, incamped vpon the Riuer Aufidus, sending a third part of his forces ouer the water, to lye vpon the Easterne banke, where they entrenched themselves. Hee neuer was more vnwilling to fight, than at this present: because the ground serued wholly for the aduantage of his enemy; with whom he meant to deale, when occasion should draw him to more equall tearmes. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himselfe; expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remoue towards *Gerion*, *Canna*, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necessaries: whereof an Armie foraging the Countrey, was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quantity, for any long time.

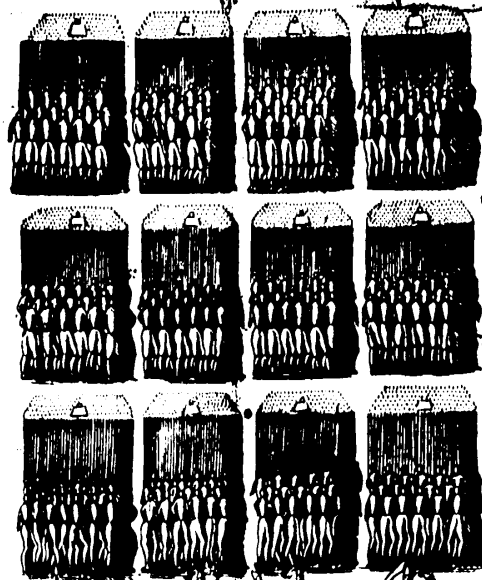
Here it would not be passed ouer with silence, That *Linie* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*: telling many strange tales, of the misery into which *Hannibal* had beene driuen; and of base courses that he deuised to take, if the Romans could haue retained their patience a litle longer. Hee had (saith *Linie*) but tenne dayes prouision of meat. He had not money to pay his Souldiers. They were an vnruely Rabble, gathered out of severall Nations, so that he knew not how to keepe them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Prouant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the Spaniards were ready to forsake him, and run ouer to the Roman side. Yea *Hannibal* himselfe was once vpon the point, to haue stolne away into Gaule with all his horse, and left his foot vnto their miserable destinies. At length for lack of all other counsaile, he resolved to get him as farre as he could from the Romans, into the Southermost parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his vnfaithful Souldiers might finde the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early haruest. But whilest he was about to put this deuice in execution, the Romans pressed him so hard, that they euen forced him to that, which hee most desired; euen to fight a battaile vpon open Champaine ground: wherein hee was victorious. It was not vncommendable in *Linie*, to speake the best of his owne Citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That, without their owne great folly, they had done passing well. Further also hee may be excused, as writing onely by report. For thus hee saith; *Hannibal de fugâ in Galliam (dicitur) agisse: Hannibal (is said) to*

haue brought himselfe of flying into Gaule: where hee makes it no lesse than a matter of heere-say; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the possession of *Solfe*, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of Gaule, through the *Marais* and Bogs of *Hennria*, could finde victuals enough, and all things needfull vnto his Armie, the Summer foregoing: what should hinder him to doe the like this yere; especially seeing he had plaid the careful husband in making a great haruest, since he had long beene Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the Roman provisions? Suteable herunto is all the rest. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but corrie and cattell; his Souldiers might perhaps haue fallen into murinie for pay. But he brought gold with him into Italy: and had so well increased his stocke, since he came into that Countrey, that he had armed his African Souldiers, all Roman-like; and laden his followers with spoyle: hauing left wherewith to redeeme as many of his owne, as were taken by the Enemy; when the Romans were not willing, as finding it not ealie to doe the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the generall agreement of Historians: who giue it as a principall commendation vnto *Hannibal*, That he alwayes kept his Army free from sedition, though it were composed of sundry Nations; no lesse different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might hee so doe, hauing not onely pronounced, That which of his men soeuer fought brauely with an Enemy, was therby a Carthaginian; but solemnly protested & sworn, (besides other rewards) to make as many of them, as should deserue and seeke it, free Citizens of Carthage. The running away into Gaule, was a senselesse deuice. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Army, tooke so little pleasure in the Countrey and People, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should he now doe there with his horse, or how could he be trusted, either there or elsewhere? yea, how could he desire to liue; hauing betrayed all his Armie; and relinquished his miserable foot, to the butcherie of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth, who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his directions from *Linie*. But of this and the like it is enough to say; That all Historians loue to extoll their own Countrey-men; and where a losse cannot be dissembled, nor the honor of the victory taken from the Enemy, and giuen vnto blinde Fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange misgouernment of their own forces: as if they might easily haue won all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemy can hope to finde in them another time.

Now let vs returne backe to the two Armies, where they lye encamped on the Riuer *Aufidus*. *Varro* was perswaded, that it concerned him in honour, to make good his word vnto the people of Rome: and since he had thus long waited in vaine, to get the consent of *Paulus*, now at length to vse his owne authoritie; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his owne day came. When therefore it was his turne to command; at the first breake of the day he began to passe the Riuer, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him; and fought, as in former times, to haue dissuaded him, from putting the estate of his Countrey to a needlesse hazard. Against whose words and substantiall arguments, *Terentius* could allege none other, than point of Honour. *Hannibal* had presented them battaile at their Trenches: should they endure this Brauado? He had sent his Numidians ouer the Riuer but euen the day before, who fell vpon the Romans that were fetching water to the lesser Campe; and draue them shamefully to runne within their defences, which also they made offer to assaile: must this also be suffered? Hee would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the Roman Souldier; which as yet was liuely, and full of such courage, as promised assured victory. When *Emilius* perceived; that hee could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion, hee tooke all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand Roman foot he caused to be left behinde, in the greater campe, opposite vnto the Carthaginian; to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled to leaue behinde him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucitie he was lesse able to spare from the battaile, than were the Romans) or that these ten thousand, falling vpon the Carthaginian Campe, when the fight began, & taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly doe such accidents) terrifie and distract the Enemies in the heate of fight. This done, the two Consuls went ouer the water with their Armie to the lesser Campe; whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battaile: the ground

fingers of the Balcares: *Asdrubal* was upon the main flank, and was ready to
 countred; nor after the manner of horse on horse, but on horse back, with the most
 about *Amil*: but *Asdrubal* being on the right hand, could not be hindered
 the River on the one hand, and the number of the foot on the other hand, so that
 was no way left, but a great retreat, and a great slaughter: they not only lost their
 Lances and Swords; but rolling violently among the Enemies, grasped one another
 and so, their horses running from under them, many fell to the ground; where falling
 again, they began to be slain by blows like to men in a battle: the Roman horse
 utter-borne, and driven by plain force to the great confusion: This the Consul *Paulus*
 could not resist: For *Asdrubal*, with his Boisterous Gauls and Spaniards, was
 resisted by these Roman Gentlemen, unequal both in number, and in
 When the Battails came to fighting, the Roman Battails found work enough
 somewhat more than enough, to break that great Crescent: upon which they
 so strongly for the while, did the Gauls and Spaniards make resistance, that
 the two points of their Battails drew towards the midst: by whose sides the
 sides were forced to disband, and flye backe to their first place: This they did
 haste and feare: and were with no less haste, and folly pursued upon the
 stood behind them, they needed not call for aid: both for *Asdrubal* there was
 room enough; and forasmuch as the Reare, or Flankes of this Moore, pointed
 the safe retreat, where *Hannibal* with his Carthaginians was ready to re-enforce them,
 when time should require. In this happy retreat, of night, of the Gauls and Spaniards
 it hapned, as was necessary, that they who had stood in the limbe or vnter comle of
 the halfe Moore, made the innermost or conuest surface thereof disordered and
 though it were) when it was forced to turne the inside outward: the hornes of point
 thereof, as yet, untouched, only turning round, & revolving very little. So the Romans
 in pursuing them, were fastened in an halfe circle; which they should not have needed
 greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thin and broken, and the be-
 come of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and seeming vnable to make resis-
 tance) had all the enemies foot bin cast into this one great body, that was in a manner
 dissolved. But while the Legions, following their supposed victory, rushed on upon
 those that stood before them, and thereby vnwittingly engaged themselves deeply
 in the principall strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two A-
 frican Battalions on either side advanced so far, that getting beyond the Reare of them,
 they encloset them, in a manner, behind and forward they could not passe farre, with-
 out removing *Hannibal* and *Asdrubal*; which made that way the least easie. Hereby it is
 apparant, That the great Crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as covered the
 Africans, who lay behinde it vndiscerned, vntill now: For it is agreed, that the Romans
 were thus empaled *unawares*; and that they behaued themselves, as men that thought
 vpon no other worke, than what was found them by the Gauls. Neither is it credible,
 that they would haue beene so mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulke of their
 Armie, into the throat of slaughter; had they seene those weapons bent against them
 at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be
 imputed to their heat of fight, and rashnesse of inferiour Capitaines: but since the Con-
 sull *Paulus*, a man so expert in warre, being vanquished in horse, had put himselfe a-
 mong the Legions; it cannot be supposed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage
 themselves. *Asdrubal*, hauing broken the troupes of Roman horse, that were led by
 the Consull *Paulus*, followed vpon them along the Riuer side, beating downe and
 killing, as many as he could, (which were almost all of them) without regard of taking
 prisoners. The Consull himselfe was either driuen vpon his owne Legions, of wil-
 lingly did cast himselfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, not-
 withstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Neuerthe-
 lesse he cheered vp his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with
 the example of his owne stout behaviour: beating downe, and killing many of the e-
 nemies with his owne hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his Carthaginians, in the
 same part of the battaille, and with better success. For the Consul receiued a blow from
 a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a troupe of Roman Gentlemen, riding a-
 bout him, did their best to saue him from further harme, yet was he so hardly laid at, that
 he was compelled, by wounds and weaknesse, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his
 company





Cn: Scruilius wth 8000 foot

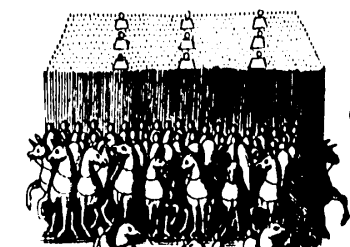
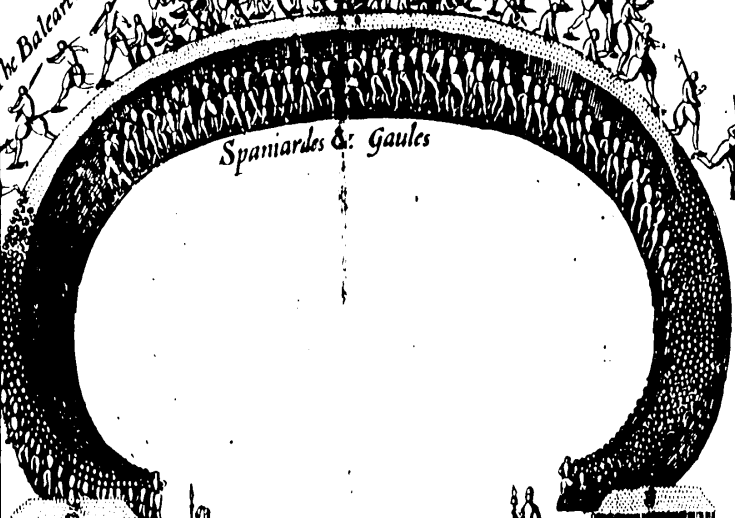
Emilius Paulus

The Roman Velites



the Balears

Spaniards & Gauls

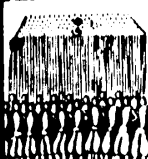
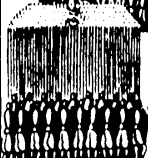


C: Terentius Varro



Hanno or Maharbal

Afri:



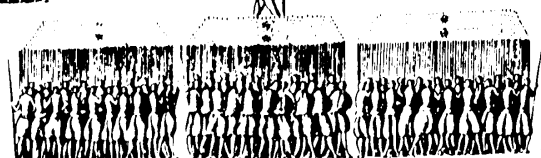
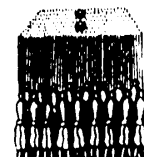
Hannibal &c



Mago



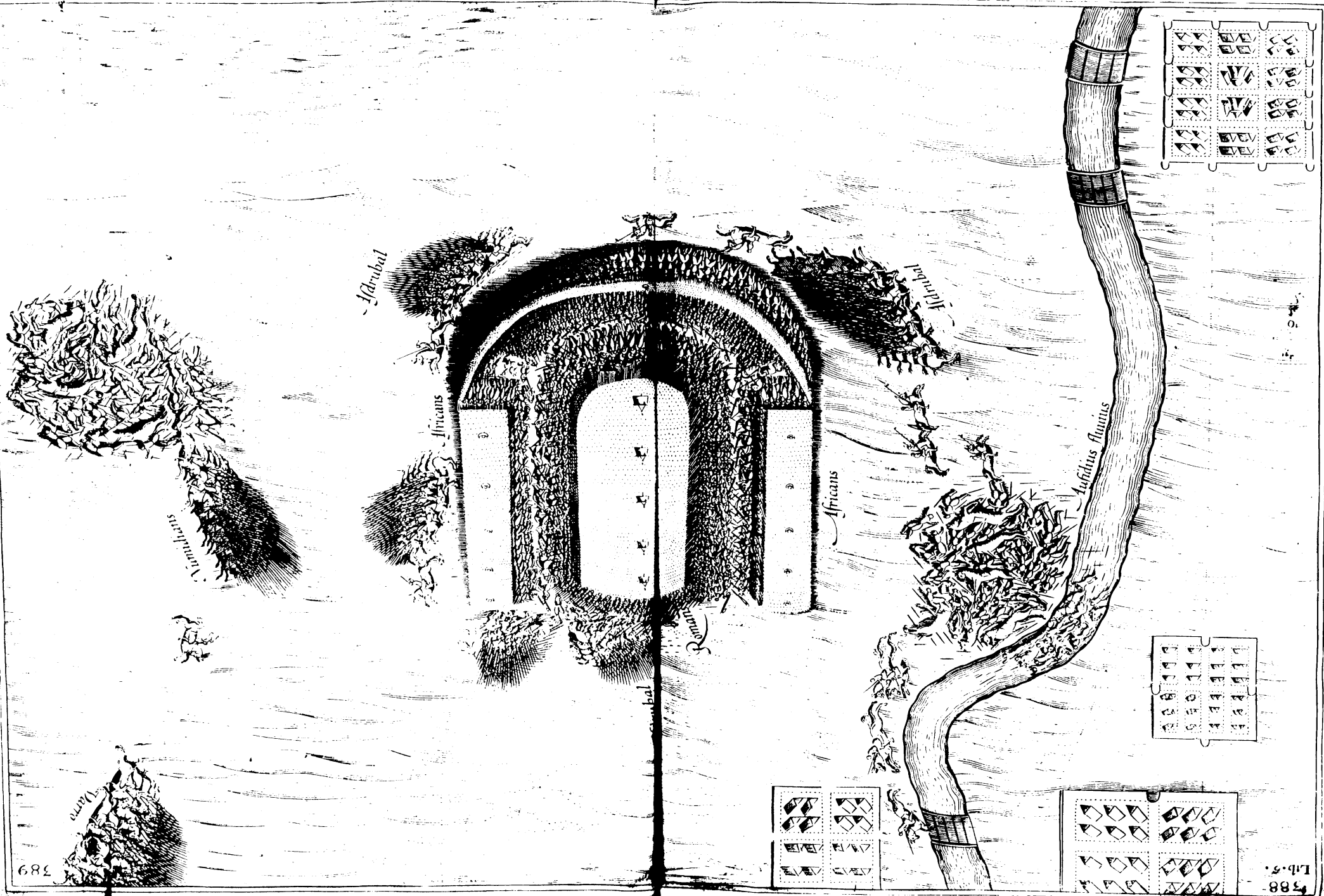
Carth



delighted, thinking that the Consul had given order so to doe: as in many bat-
 tles when men at armes had left their harnes, to help their foot in distress. When
 he for the time next at hand perceived this, and understood that the Consul had
 given order so to doe, he was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had re-
 ceived this intelligence from the Consul, that he had given order so to doe*: meaning, that he had them
 bound as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with
 his confederates, lighted left wing, was marvellously troubled by *Hanno* (or *M.
 the Numidian*) who beating vp and downe about that great sandy Plaine,
 about which was a strong Southwinde, blowing there accustomedly, draue in
 and out many of the Romans. These, vsing their aduantage both of number
 and of the wind, with the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither giuing
 any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at
 last they seemed to promise him a happy day of it. For when the battrailes were
 broken, the hundred of these Numidians came pricking away from their fel-
 lows, which they had behinde their backs, (as was the manner of those which
 were) throwing downe their armes, rendred themselves. This was good lucke
 for the Romans, had been good meaning: *Varro* had not leisure to examine
 them, but was forced to followe them, to get them behinde the Army
 and to let them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty aduencurers did as he
 did, for a while, till they found opportunitie to put in execution the purpose, for
 which they had yielded. Under their jackets they had short swords and poyards,
 which they found other scattered weapons about the field, of such as were slain,
 which they threw vpon the handmost of the Romans, whilst all eyes and thoughts
 were another way: so that they did great mischief, and raised yet a greater terror
 in a plaine leuell ground, found meanes to lay an ambush at the backs of
 the Romans. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was giuen by the
 Numidians. *Asdrubal* hauing in short space broken the Roman troups of
 and put in pieces all, save the Companie of *Emilius* that rushed into the grosse of
 and a very few besides, that recovered some narrow passage between the Roman
 and Browne Battalions, did not stay to charge vpon the face of the Legions, but
 turned the Reare of his owne, and fetching about, came vp to the Numidians:
 he ioyned, and gaue vpon *Terentius*. The Numidians, seeing this, gathered
 a great cloud, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left be-
 hind the other side: so did it prognosticate a dismall storme vnto those vpon
 whose side it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, hauing wearied
 themselves much in doing little, and seeing more worke toward, than they could hope
 to do, thought it the best way, to auoid the danger by present flight. The Consul
 was wiser than they, in apprehending the greatnelle of his own perill, nor more
 in struing to worke impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many shrank
 from him, to sustaine the impression alone, which he could not haue indured with their
 aid. Now he found, that it was one thing to talke of *Hannibal* at Rome; and an-
 other to encounter him. But of this, or of ought else, excepting hasty flight, his pro-
 posall would not serue him to consider. Close at the heeles of him and his flying
 followed the light Numidians, appointed by *Asdrubal* vnto the pursuit, as fit
 for that seruice. *Asdrubal* himselfe, with the Gaules and Spanish horse, compas-
 sed them, fell vpon the backs of the Romans, that were ere this hardly distressed,
 in manner surrounded on all parts else: He brake them easily, vvhich before made
 them valiant, being inclosed, and laid at on euery side, not knowing which way to turne,
 and a pittifull slaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging vp and downe,
 not whither or which way, whilst euery one sought to auoid those enemies,
 that were nearest. Some of the Roman Gentlemen that were about *Emilius*, got vp
 and saved themselves: which though it is hardly vnderstood how they could
 do, will rather beleue it, than suppose that *Linus* so reporteth, to grace thereby his
 tale. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, galloping along by a place,
 saw the Consul sitting all bloodied vpon a stone, intreated him to rise and save
 himselfe, offering him his assistance and horse. But *Paulus* refused it; willing *Lentulus*
 to save himselfe, and not to lose time: saying, *That it was not his purpose to bee brought
 to this judgement by the People, either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guilty him-
 selfe*.

*selfe of that dayes losse. Further, he willed Lentulus to comfort him up the Sciron, and to
 particular to Fabius: willing them to forsake Rome, as fast as well they could; and telling
 Fabius that he lined and doted himselfe of his whole soul: counsaile. These words moved
 uenture) or some to like purpose, the Consul vttered to Lentulus, either when againe he
 will he was drawne to that Battaille, or when he beheld the first defeat of his country
 what time he put himselfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Lentulus*
 knew vvhether he said a good while before this, when he thought the Consul & his troops
 in little better case than if they had been bound. The whole Grosse of the Romans was
 inclosed indeed as within a sacke; whereas the African Battalions made the sacke, the
 Spaniards, Gaules, and *Hannibal* with his Carthaginians in the bottome, and *Asdrubal* with
 his horse, closed vp the mouth: in vvhich part, they first of all were thrust together,
 and beganne the Rout, vvherein all the rest followed. *Emilius* therefore, who could
 not sit his horse, whilest the battaille yet lasted, and whilest the spaces were so wide
 open, by which he might haue withdrawn himselfe, was now (had he neuer so well be-
 mounted) vnable to flie, hauing in his vvvay so close a throng of his owne miserable fol-
 lowers, and so many heapes of bodies, as fell aspace in that great Carnage. It is not
 vnto his honour, That in the Battaille he fought no lesse valiantly, than he had way be-
 fore, both abtaind himselfe, and dissuaded his fellow-Consull, from fighting any more;
 when the day was vtterly lost, it had lien in his power to saue his own life, vnto the end
 of his country, neuer more needing it; I should thinke, that hee either too much
 esteemed himselfe, or being too faintly minded, was vvvieie of the World, and so
 thankfull Citizens. But if such a resolution were praise-worthy in *Emilius*, as
 depending out of Roman valor, then was the English vertue of the Lord *John Talbot*, when
Lisle, sonne to that famous Earle of Shrewsbury, vvho died in the Battaille of *Castillon*,
 more highly to be honoured. For *Emilius* was old, grievously, if not mortally, woun-
 ded, & accomptable for the ouerthrow receiued: *Talbot* was in the flower of his youth,
 unhurt, easily able to haue escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when
 he refused to forsake his Father; who foreseeing the losse of the battaille, and desir-
 ing to staine his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble sonne to
 be gone and leaue him.*

be gone and leaue him. In this terrible ouerthrow died all the Roman foot, saue two or three thousand, who as *Linie* saith) escaped into the lesser campe; whence, the same night, about sixe hundred of them brake forth, and ioyning with such of those in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conueyed themselues away ere morning, about four thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in vvhole troups, partly disperfed, into *Cannusium*: the next day, the Roman camps, both lesse and greater, were yeilded vnto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them: *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: onely he reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Æmilius* had left on the West side of *Aufidus* (as was shewed before) to set vpon the campe of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed, but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-nere done, the battaile was lost: and *Hannibal*, comming ouer the vvater to them, draue them into their own campe; vvhich they quickly yeilded, hauing lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first fight of *Hannibal*, comming vpon them with his vvictorious Armie, a greater number of these did flie; and thereby escaped, whilest their fellowes, making defence in vvain, retired into their campe, and held the enimie busied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not halfe full, but made vp by addition of others, whose fault or fortune vvvas like) that hauing serued at *Cannæ*, vv ere afterwards extreamely disgraced by the State of Rome, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the Roman horse what numbers escaped, it is vncertaine: but very few they vv ere that saued themselves in the first charge, by getting behinde the Riuer; and *Terenus* the Consul recovered *Venusia*, with three score and ten at the most in his companie. That he was so ill attended, it is no maruell: for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his needfull vvay thither, had been through the midst of *Hannibals* Armie, if the passage had bene open. Therefore it must needs be, that vvhen once he got out of fight, he turned vp some by-way, so disappointing the Numidians that hunted *courses*. Of such as could not hold pace vvith the Consul, but tooke other vv aies, and were scattered ouer the fields, two thousand, or thereabout, vv ere gathered vp by the Numidians, and made prisoners: the rest vv ere slaine, all saue three hundred; who disperfed themselves in flight, at *Cannæ* led



and got into sundry Townes. There died in this great Battaille of Cannæ, *Terentius Fabius* the Consul, two of the Roman Quæstors or Treasurers, one hundred Colonels or Tribunes of the Souldiers, fourescore Senators, or such as had office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were all made, as hauing been *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, or *Consuls*: among whom was *Cornelius* the last years Consul, and *Minutius*, late master of the horse. The number of men taken in this battaille, *Livius* makes no greater than three thousand foot, and hundred horse: too few to haue defended for the space of one halfe houre, both in Camps, which yet the same *Livius* saith, to haue bin ouer-cowardly yielded may therefore doe better, to giue credit vnto one of the prisoners, whom the *Storion* shortly after introduceth, speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they losse than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were as the Enemy spared, when the fury of Execution was past: but to these must be added about five thousand more, who yielded in the greater campe, when their comrades were either slaine or fled. So the reckoning falls outright: which the Romans, by the Consul *Varro*, had before cast vp (as we say) without their Host, nothing credible, as now they finde it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some foure thousand, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horse, or thereabouts: a losse not sensible, in the ioy of so great a victory; which if he had pursued, as he aduised him, and forthwith marched away towards Rome, it is little doubted, the Warre had presently been at an end. But he beleued not so farre in his prosperity, and was therefore told, That he knew how to get, not how to use, a

6. IX.

Of things following the battaille at Cannæ.

Dr without good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two Historians, *Fabius* the Roman, and *Philinus* the Carthaginian: who regarding more the pleasure of them, vnto whose honour they consecrated their trauailes, than the truth of the information of posteritie, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all their proceedings, the one of his Carthaginians, the other of his Roman Quirites, as conscript. No man of sound iudgement will condemne this liberty of censuring which *Polybius* hath vsed. For, to recompence his iniurie (such as it was) he produced substantiall arguments, to iustifie his owne Relation; and confuteth the vanity of former Authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill cohering: and it is to be suspected, that he would not haue taken, had he been borne in these two Cities, but haue spared some part of his diligence, and been contented to haue all men thinke better and more honourably than it deserved, of his owne Relation. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter finde in others; and it is some cause to wish, that either they were somewhat lesse Roman, or else, that the works of ther opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least heare both sides: being henceforth destitute of *Polybius* his helpe, that was a man indifferent. This cannot be, we must be sometimes bold, to obserue the coherence of the Relation, and beleue so much only to be true, as dependeth vpon good reason, or (at least) probability. This attentiu circumspection is needfull at the present: such is the negligence, or forgetfulnesse, which we find in the best Narration, of things following the battaille of Cannæ. For it is said, that foure thousand foot & horse gathered together at the Consul *Terentius* at Venusia; that others to the number of ten thousand got into the city of *Canusium*, choosing for their Captaines, yong *P. Scipio*, and *Sp. Claudius*; yet that the Consul *Terentius Varro*, ioyning his company vnto those of *Scipio* at *Canusium*, brought them to the Senate, that he had now well-neere ten thousand men about him; that the rest of the Consul were brought to Rome, when the Senate was newly risen, and been taking order for pacifying those tumults in the City, which grew vpon the fruit of the ouerthrow; and yet, that Embassadors from *Capua* (after some time) whether it were meet to send any, or, without further circumstance, to side with the Romans, were sent vnto *Terentius*, and found him at Venusia, a pretty while before he wrote those letters, which ouer-took (in a manner) at Rome the first news of the ouerthrow

ouertrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter ensuing: mutuell dependence in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the Roman camp, and trussed vp the spoiles, forthwith he dislodged, and marched away into Samnium; finding a disposition in the Hirpines, and many other people thereabout, to forsake the Roman partie, & make alliance with Carthage. The first towne that opened the gates vnto him, was *Cossa*, where he laid vp his baggage: & leaving his brother *Mago* to take in other places, He hasted into Campania. The general affection of the multitude, in all the cities of Italie, was inclinable vnto him; not onely in regard of their grievous losses, sustained abroad in the fields, which the Romans themselves; who could not hinder him from spoyling the countrey, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly indure; but in a louing respect vnto that great countie (as it seemed) which he vsed, vnto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great victory at Cannæ, He had louingly dismissed as many of the Italian Confederates of Rome, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so obstinate, against him that had sought to deliuer them from bondage. Neither spared he to win their loue by gifts; pretending to admire their valour; but seeking indeed, by all waies & means, to make them his, whilst all other motiues were concurrent. At this time also he began to deale kindly (though against his nature) with the Roman prisoners; telling them, that he bore no mortall hatred vnto their Estate, but being prouoked by iniuries, sought to right himselfe and his countrey; & fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, Rome or Carthage, should beare soueraigne Rule, not which of them should be destroyed. So he gaue them leaue to choose ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the Fathers about their ransom: and together with these, he sent *Carthala* a Nobleman of Carthage, and Generall of his Horse, to feele the disposition of the Senate, whether it were bowed as yet by so much aduersity, and could stoop vnto desire of peace. But with the Romanes these arts prevailed not, as shall be shewed in due place. The people of Italie, all, or most of them, saue the Roman Colonies, or the Latines, were not onely wearie of their losses past, but entertained a deceivable hope, of changing their old Societie for a better. Wherefore not only the Samnites, Lucans, Brutians, and Apulians, ancient enemies of Rome, & not vntill the former generation vicerly subdued, began to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the Campans, a Nation of all other in Italie most bound vnto the State of Rome, and by many mutuell affinities therewith as streightly conioyned, as were any saue the Latines, changed on a sudden their loue into hatred, without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania, is the most goodly and fruitfull Prouince of Italie, if not, (as some then thought) of all the Earth: and the citie of Capua, answerable vnto the country, whereof it was Head, so great, faire, and wealthie, that it seemed no lesse conuenient a seat of the Empire, than was either Rome or Carthage. But of all qualities, brauery is the least requisite vnto soueraigne command. The Campans were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themselves like layes by their feathers, despised the vntfortunate vertue of the Romans their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principal among them, as in other cities, that bore especiall regard vnto the Maiestie of Rome, and could not indure to heare of Innouation. But the Plebeian faction had lately so prevailed within Capua, that all was gouerned by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacurnius Calaninus* an ambitious Nobleman, whose credit grew, and was vp-held by furthering all popular desires: whereof, the coniunction with *Hannibal* was not the least. Some of the Capuans had offered their city to the Carthaginians shortly after the battaile of Thrasymene: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his iourney into Campania; the Dictator *Fabius* waiting vpon him. At that time, either the neer nesse of the Roman Armie, or some other feare of the Capuans, hindered them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leisure to treat about any article of new Confederacie: or had leisure serued, yet were the multitude (whose inconstant loue *Hannibal* had wonne from the Romans, by gentle vsage, & free dismissing, of some prisoners in good account among them) vnable to hold any such negotiation, without aduice of the Senate, which mainly impugned it. So they that had promised to yeeld vp their town to *Hannibal*, & meet him on the way, with some of their nobility that should assure him

him of all faithfull meaning, were driven to sit still in a great perplexitie: as hauing failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discouered themselves, to draw vpon them the hatred of the Romans. In this case were no small number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more intensed against their Senate, on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their own cowardize. The people holding so tender a regard of liberty, that even the lawfull Gouernment of Magistrates grieued them; with an imaginary oppression, had now good cause to feare, lest the Senators would become their Lords indeed, & by helpe of the Romans bring them vnder a more streight subiection, than euer they had indured. This feare being ready to breake into some outrage, *Pacurnius* made vse of, to serue his owne ambition. He discoursed vnto the Senate, as they sat in Council, about these motions troubling the citie: and said, That he himselfe had both married a Roman Ladie, and giuen his Daughter in marriage to a Roman: but, that the danger of forsaking the Roman partie was not now the greatest: for that the people were violently bent to murder all the Senate, & after to ioyne themselves with *Hannibal*; who should countenance the fact, and saue them harmelesse. This he spake, as a man well knowne to be beloued himselfe by the People, and priuy vnto their designs. Hauing thoroughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging ouer them: He promised neuerthelesse to deliuer them all, and to set things in quiet, if they would freely put themselves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other assurance that they should demand, for his faithfull meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting vp the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor issue forth, without his leaue, He called the people to assembly: and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to heare, he told them, that these wicked Gouernours were surprisid by his policie, & all fast, ready to abide what sentence they would lay vpon them. Onely thus much he aduised them, as a thing which necessity required, That they should choose a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger vpon the old. So rehearsing vnto them the names of one or two Senators, he asked what their iudgement was of those. All cried out, that they were worthy of death. Choose then (said he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, vnprovided for such an election, was silent; vntill at last, some one or other aduentured to name whom he thought fit. The men so nominated, were vtterly disliked by the whole Assembly; either for some known fault, basenesse, and insufficiency, or else euen because they were vknown, and therefore held vnworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whilst more were to be chosen, (the fittest men to be substituted, hauing been named among the first, and not thought fit enough) *Pacurnius* intreated, and easily prevailed with the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtlesse) they would make, hauing thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not onely the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacurnius*, and esteemed him their Patron; but the Senators also were gouerned by him, to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted, for sauing all their liues. Neither did the Senate faile after this by all obsequiousnes, to court the People; giuing the reines vnto their lawlesse Wil, who else were likely to cast them down: All the city being thus of one mind; onely feare of the Romans kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battaille at Cannæ, this impediment was removed: and few there were, that would open their mouths to speake against the Rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principal gentlemen of the Campans, did then serue the Romans in the Ile of Sicill: the Parents and Kinsmen of these prevailed so far, that Embassadors were sent vnto *Terentius* the Consul, to see his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Feare. These, wherefoeuer they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the seruice of their State, and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented vnto them the greatnesse of the Roman misfortune: saying, that all was lost, and that the Campans must now, not helpe the Romans, who had nothing left wherewith to helpe themselves, but make warre in their defence against the Carthaginians; as the Romans had sometimes done for the Campans against the Samnites. Hereunto hee is said to haue added a foolish Inuectiue against *Hannibal* and his Carthaginians: telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of slaughtered carcases, & to feed vpon mans flesh; with such other stuffe, as only bewraied his own feare. As for the Campans themselves; He

He put them in minde of their present strength: they having thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, with monie, and all prouisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder than they came, & filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; vvhceras before, they were somewhat timorous, in aduenturing to seek their owne libertie. Having reported this at Capua: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to Hannibal, vvvith vvhom they easily made alliance, vpon these conditions; That the Campans should be absolutely free, and ruled by their own Lawes; That no Citizens of theirs should be subiect vnto any Carthaginian Magistrate, in vvhat case soeuer, whether in War or Peace; and, That Hannibal should deliuer vnto the Campans three hundred Romane prisoners, such as themselves would chooseth, vvhom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which vvcre in Sicil.

Against all this Negotiation, Decius Magius, an honourable Citizen, opposed himselfe earnestly: vsing, in vaine, many perswasions, to the wilful, and head-strong Multitude; vvhom he put in minde of Pyrrhus and the Tarantines, wishing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were sending Embassadors vnto Hannibal: and this also did he, when the new Alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a Carthaginian Garrison was entring the towne: at which time hee gaue aduice, either to keepe it out, or to fall vpon it, and to cut it in pieces, that by such a notable piece of seruice, they might make amends vnto the Romans, vvhom they had forsaken.

Aduertisement hereof was giuen to Hannibal: who lying about Naples not farre off, sent for Magius to come speake with him in the campe. This Magius refused: alleging, that he vvvas, by the late concluded Articles, free from subiection vnto any Carthaginian; & therefore would not come. Hannibal thereupon hasted himselfe towards Capua: forbearing to attempt any further vpon Naples, vvch he thought to haue taken in his way by Scalado, but found the wals too high, & was not well provided to lay siege vnto it. At Capua he was entertained with great solemnity and pompe: all the people issuing forth of the towne, to behold that great Commander, vvch had won so many noble victories. Having taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly Citie, and passed over his first Entertainments, He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the Roman yoke, promising, that ere long all Italie & Rome it selfe, should be driuen to acknowledge Capua as chiefe, and receiue Law from thence. As for Decius Magius, who openly took part with the Romans their enemies; He prayed them, that they would not thinke him a Campan, but a traitor to the State: & vsed him accordingly, giuing sentence out of hand vpon him, as he deserued. This vvvas granted: and Magius deliuered vnto Hannibal, vvho vnwilling to offend the Capuans, at his first coming, by putting so greata man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his libertie, if he kept him aliue, thought it best to send him away to Carthage. Thus Hannibal settled his friendship with the Campanes: among vvhom, onely this Decius Magius had openly dared to speake against him; being assisted by Perolla the sonne of Pacuvius. This Perolla would haue murdered Hannibal, vvhist he was at supper, the first night of his coming; had not his Fathers authority kept him from attempting any such attempt. All the towne (besides) were so earnest in the loue of their new Societie, that they are said to haue murdered all the Romans, vpon vvhom at the present they could lay hand; or, (vvch is all one) to haue smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of fortune, vvith those of Capua, ranne some other townes thereabouts, vvch depended on this, as their Mother-Citie. Nola, Nuceria, Naples, Casilene, and Acerria, vvcre the Citie next adioyning, that stood out for the Romans. Against these Hannibal went, thinking to finde them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The Romanes at this time vvcre not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled townes; but vvcre faine to leaue all places, except a few of the most suspected, vnto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. Rome it selfe was in extreame feare of Hannibals coming, at the first report of the ouerthrow at Cannæ: and the grieve of that losse was so generall, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the prouision against apparant danger. It vvvas hard to iudge, vvwhether the losse already received, or the feare of destruction presently threatening, vvcre the more terrible. All the Senators found vvork enough, to stint the noyse and lamentable bewailings, vvherof the streets were full. Courtiers vvcre

sent forth, to bring wordes riding thow all vvhen Letters from the Consul vvvas had throughly informed them; they vvcre amazed; that they vvran into barbarous supposition; & taking direction (as vvvas said) from their fatall bookes, buried alive the men & women drudes and Greekes, in their Oxe-markes. If the bookes of Sibyl giue them such instructions, vvmay iustly thinke; that Sibyl herselfe vvvas instructed by the diuelli. Yea it is not improbable, that extremity of feare caused them to hearken to vvicked sooth-sayers, vvwhose detestable counsells they afterwards, for their own honor (as alledged of such Authors) imputed to the bookes of Sibyl: An Embassador was sent to Delphos, to consult with the Oracle of Apollo, & enquire vvhat prayers & supplications they might pacifie the gods, & obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discover the greatness of their feare, though not serving to giue remedy. At that time came Letters out of Sicily, from the Prætor Octavius, vvhom the Senate had appointed; if he found it meet, to passe over into Africa: In these vvcre contained newes, of one Carthaginian Fleet, that vvwaited the kingdome of Hieron their good friend & confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Isles of Sicily, vvch vvvas in readines to set vpon Lilybæum; the rest of the Roman Prouince, if the Prætor stirred aside to the rescue of Hieron, in the midst of these extremities, it vvvas thought needfull to call home Terentius the Consul: that he might name a Dictator, to take soveraign charge of the Weale publique; vvith absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seeme strange, that all sorts of people vvvent forth to meet the Consul, & bid him vvelcome home; giuing him thanks for that he had not despaired of the weale publique. But this vvvas done (as may seeme) by order from the Senate: vvch therein (doubtlesse) provided vvvasely, for vvvhoulding the generall reputation. If his coming into the Citie, had renewed the lamentations & out-cries of the people: vvhat else vvould haue followed, than a contempt of their vvretchednes, among those that vvvere subiect vnto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gaue it not) of bestowing vpon him their vvwelcome, and thanks; they noysed abroad a vvame, vvch came perhaps vnto the eares of Hannibal, of their Magnanimity & Confidence: that might seeme grounded on their remaining strength. This therefore vvvas vvvasely done. But vvwhereas Livius vvould haue vs thinke, that it vvvas done generously, & out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleue him not. It vvvas done fearfully, and to couer their grieves: Had they dared to shew their indignation, they vvould haue stricke off his head; as in few vvweeks after, Cn. Fulvius had his life brought into question; & vvvas banished by them, being lesse blame-worthy, for a small offence. M. Minus, by appointment of the Senate, vvvas nominated Dictator; and T. Sempronius, Master of the horse: These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of vvvhom they raised foure new Legions, and a 1000. horse: though vvwith much difficulty, as being faine to take vp some, that vvvere very Boyes. These foure Legions are elsewhere forgotten in accompe of the forces leuiued by this Dictator; and two Legions only set downe, that had bin enrolled in the beginning of the vvyear for custody of the Citie. So it may be, that these two Legions being drawn into the field; foure new ones of Prætextati, or striplings vvvere left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, & so few, little confidence vvvas to be reposed, for vvvhich reason they increased their number, by adding vnto them 8000. sturdy slaves, that vvvere put in hope of liberty, if they should deserue it by manfull seruice. This not vvvasufficing, the Dictator proclaimed; That vvvhosoever ought mony & could not pay it, or had committed any capitall offence, should forthvvith be discharged of his debt, or punishment, if he vvould serue in the war. To arme these Companies, they vvvere faine to take down, out of their Temples and Porches, the spoiles of their enemies that had bin there set vp; among vvvhich, vvvere 6000. Armors of the Gauls; that had bin carried in the Triumph of C. Flaminius, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the Romanes, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they vvvere faine to issue forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, vvwhen Hannibal vvvas ready to encounter them vvwith his Africans, armed Roman-like.

About the same time it vvvas, that Carthago, vvwith the Agents of the prisoners taken at Cannæ, came to Rome: Castulo vvvas not admitted into the Citie, but commanded, vvwhilst he vvvas on the way, to be gone ere high out of the Roman Territory. To the messengers of the captiues audience vvvas giuen by the Senate. They made earnest Petition, to be ransomed at the publique charge; not only the teares & lamentation of their poore kinsfolke, but the great need, vv wherein the Citie then stood, of able Souldiers, vvcommending their

their fute; which yet they obtained not. Besides the generall custome of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner in the former Warre) not to be so tender of such as had yielded to the enemy; much was alledged against these who now craped ranfome: but the speciall point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might haue saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not vnto these poore men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls; they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted money: and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to auoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must we regard it, that the 10
flaues which were armed for the warre, are said to haue cost more, than the summe did amount vnto, that would haue ranfomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, deuised to countenance the *Roman* proceedings as if they had bene seuerer, when as indeed they were futable to the present fortune, poore, and somewhat beggarly. Mercof it is no little prooffe, That *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* flaues, whom he had taken in the Campe among their Masters, at no more, than euery one the third part of a common Souldiers ranfome: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat hee thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargaine for flaues might haue bene made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with priuate men; yet must we withall consider, that these priuate men did onely lend these flaues for a while vnto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forebear the price 20
of them (when by order from the Senate they were enfranchised) vntill the War should be ended. If *Hannibal* would haue giuen such long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would haue bene his Chapmen: but seeing he dealt onely for ready money, they chose rather to say, We will not giue, than, We cannot. The like austeritie, vpon the same reason, but contrary pretence, was vsed toward the souldiers that escaped from that great Battaille. These were charged for hauing fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might haue done so. True it is, that in such cases (if euer) that which they call *raggione del Stato* may serue for an excuse: when the Common-wealth being driuen 30
to a miserable exigent, is faine to helpe it selfe, by doing iniuries to priuate men. And so dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all those that had serued at *Canna*, to be transported into *Sicily*; and there to serue, not as others did, vntill they had fulfilled twenty yeeres in the Warres, or else were fifty yeeres of age; but vntill this Warre should be ended, how long fouer it lasted, and that without reward. The same thrifty censure, was afterwards laide vpon others, for their misbehaviour: but neuer vpon any man of quality, saue only (a good while after this, at better leisure) vpon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-brained fooles his companions; who being frighted out of their wittes with the terrour of so great a losse, were deuising, after the battaille, which way to runne out of *Italie*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce one Towne within it. The inequality of this rigour grew shortly distastfull to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed 40
by a Tribune of the people; neuerthelesse it was quietly digested, the excuse being no lesse apparant than the fault.

M. Iunius the Dictator, hauing dispatched all needfull businesse within the Citie, tooke the field with fife and twenty thousand men. What he did with this Armie, I cannot find: nor more of him than this, That he spent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater euill: for of any euill done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans* in this their weake estate, onely *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Ofilia*, with a Fleet ready to set saile for *Sicily*, hauing one Legion aboard his ships, and fiftene hundred other Souldiers newly taken vp: with which forces hee 50
was to defend that Iland, and doe what harme he could in *Africk*. But hearing of the ouerthrow at *Canna*, hee sent these of his new Leuy to *Rome*, for defence of the Citie; and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Cannusinum*: deliuering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, and chiefe Citizens of *Nola*, to helpe them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the rest of the *Campanians*) to let in the *Carthaginians*; and knew not how to auoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberat about the articles of this new Confederacy. Wherefore hee made great iourneys thitherward; and arrived euen time enough

enough to procure the Enemy. Many idle words, and many idle actions, hee was thought to say, saying by faine words, &c. terrible threats, the one to the other Citie, *Capua* was strong, and not infected with the least touch of dishonour; but also to a sure sign, that by it should in the last end, be sustaining much inconvenience, by spoyle of the Ilands and Villages abroad in the Country. But at last it was thought, a wiser consideration, That *Hannibal* was Master of the field, which if he laid waste all the poore people were utterly undone. So thought the Multitude of such talke vsed some, that had little feare of their own private want or poverty, but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginians*. Of these, one *Labentius* was chiefe; a stout young gentleman, and Souldier of speciall mark, well beloued in the Citie; one that had done good seruice to the *Roman* 10
armie, was wounded by *Hannibal*, halfe dead at *Canna*, and after much gentle viliage, and tendance, and cure of his wvounds, friendly dismissed with libtall gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to retorne the greatest thanks he could to so courteous an enemy. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wronged vpon the same 20
one of the Gentleman, and taking notice of him, as if it had bene by chance, began to wonder, why one that had so well deserved of the *Roman* State, had not repaid unto him the Prætor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himselfe also a man highly noted for his personall valour, he made this *Labentius* so fast in loue with him, that nothing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*, whereof he had not presently 30
the command. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*, and layd by, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison, vpon confidence whereof they gaue him a peremptorie answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Adria*; vvhich he tooke by composition, and so returned backe againe to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore vnto him: who although they durst not stirre in his quarrell, being 40
oppressed by the *Roman* Garrison, yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly beset, and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not be wanting vnto the accomplishment 50
of their own desires. He therefore brought his Army close to the Towne, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to doe much good, but only to shew of a meaning to force the Towne, which he sought in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night time there passed messages betwene him and the Citie, his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his 60
forces, could be trained into the field, the Multitude within the Towne should presently rise, and seizing vpon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was aduertised: and fearing, lest the Conspirators would shortly adventure, euen to find him busied within the Citie, whilst the *Carthaginians* should scale the vvaies, he thought it the surest way, to cut off the enemies hope, and send him away betimes. 70
Wherefore ordering his men in three Companies, within three seuerall gates looking toward the enemy: He gaue a streight command, that all the Citizens should keepe their houses. Thus he lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder, against whom he had customarily issued forth before more early, euery day, to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the wales were bare, and not a man appearing on them, then thought *Hannibal*, that surely all was discovered, and *Marcellus* now busied 80
with the Citizens. Whereupon he bad his men bring ladders, and make ready for the assault: which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very walle, and thought nothing lesse, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: suddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the best and oldest of his Souldiers, brake forth vpon them, with a great noise, to make his vnexpected fallie the 90
more terrible. Whilst the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, vvere some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like sort issued they of the new leuied Companies, vpon the enemies backs. The sudden terror was more auailable vnto the *Romans*, than their force: yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a victory, and reputed one of the brattest 100
performed in all that Warre; forasmuch as hereby it was first proued, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this, *Marcellus*, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a strict accompt of the Citizens of *Nola*: condemning about
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therefore & even of high Treason, who should be made off, & so leaving the Town in quiet obedience unto their Senate, vnto the same hard by about *Suessula* in the meane season was gotten to *Capua*: whither being excluded, he thought best to come to *Capua*, to see time to persuasions, but he was not able to do so. This terrified the People, who knew that he was not able to hold out there before his Works were finished, and they quite surrounded, they stole in by night and left him the Town empty: which he sacked and burnt. Then hearing news of the Dictator, that he was about *Capua*, thither went *Marcellus*: as being unwilling that an Enemy so neere should disquiet him at *Capua*, where he meant to winter. He came, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of *Marcellus* had nothing abated the spirit of the *Carthaginians*: who durst with a small part of his Army seek out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the Roman strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, vpon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his men, at the most, and those not slain in plaine battaille, but by a sudden eruption; which chanced, in what great feare they stood of *Hannibal*, & how Crest-fallen they were, after having three years since demanded at *Carthage*, the body of *Hannibal*, to be delivered unto their pleasure, by his own Citizens; could now please themselves, as with good news, to hear, That in a skirmish not far from *Roma* he appeared to be a man, and not rashly. At *Capitulum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, & held it. Five hundred of the *Prætorians* there were, and about foure hundred of *Romans*, with some of the *Latin*. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the battaille at *Canna*, being sent by their severall States to the Campe; whither whilest they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountered them, & sent them back sorrowfull, for they loved well their Lords the *Romans*, vnder whose government they liued happily. So came they all one after another to *Capua*, where they met and stayed. Neither had they stayed there long, ere they heard newes from *Capua*, How that great Citie became the Ring-leader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Capua* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore sought how to rid their hands of those *Prætorians* and their fellows; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laide one for another, at last they slew all the Townsmen in a night, and fortified the Westerne part of the Town (for it was diuided by the Riuer *Vulturum*) against the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Capua* were as the rest of the *Campanes*; all Traitors, they themselves might haue bin reputed, as no better than the *Adumbrates*. But their constancy in defence of the place willeth, vpon what honest reasons they surprised it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to haue encountered with greater forces: but these few found him more worke than he expected. Divers assaults he gaue, but was still repelled with losse: and many sallies they made, with variable euent. The Enemy minded, and they countermined: opposing so much industry to his force, that he was driuen to close them vp, and seek to winne them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the horse, lay with the Roman Army higher vp the Riuer: who faine would haue relieved *Capua*, but that the Dictator, being gone to *Rome* about some matters of Religion, had giuen him expresse charge not to fight till his returne. *Marcellus* from *Suessula* could not come: his way being stopped by the ouerflowings of *Vulturum*; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leaue them, who were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water stayed his iourney, such entreaties were needlesse. Neither is it like that the Dictator tarried at *Rome* so long, as till extreme famine had consumed the Garrison in *Capua*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Towne was lost, because the *Romans* durst not adventure to raise the siege. Barrels of corne were sent by night, floting down the Riuer; & when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddie of the water, stucke among the Willows on the bank, wherby this manner of reliefe was discouered and prevented; *Gracchus* cast a great quantity of Nuts into the streame, which faintly sustained the poore besieged men. At length when all food was spent, and whatfoeuer grew Greene vnder the Wall was gathered for Sallets; the *Carthaginians* ploughed vp the ground: whereon the besieged presently sowed Rape-seede. *Hannibal* seeing this, admired their patience, and said, That he meant not to stay at *Capua*, vntill the Rape were grown. Wherefore, though hitherto he had refused to hearken vnto any Composition,

as intending to make them an example to all others; by punishing their obstinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their liues at an indifferent rate: in which when they had paid, he quietly dismissed them according to his promise. Seven hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Capua*, as a Garrison for defence of the *Campanes*, vnto whom he restored it. To the *Prætorians* Souldiers great thanks were giuen, and louing rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their present condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were, in *Prætorians*; which is no weak proofe, of the good estate wherein the Cities flourished, that were subiect to the Roman Government. This siege of *Capua* was not a little beneficiall to the *Romans*, as hauing long detained *Hannibal*, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise haue bin better spent. For Winter ouer-took him, long before he could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honour he knew when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreshed his Army; he rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, & made it effeminate; though, as it was, He therewithall did often beate the *Romans* in following times, as shall appeare hereafter.

6. X.

of the great supply that was decreed at *Carthage* to be sent to *Hannibal* into *Italie*. How by the malice of *Hanno*, and sloth or parsimony of the *Carthaginians*, the supply was so long deferred: That the riches of the *Carthaginians* grew faster, than of the *Romans*. Of *Fabius* and other old Roman Historians, how partiall they were in their writings.

When *Mago*, the son of *Amilcar*, had spent some time about the taking in of such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battaille at *Canna*, his brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, & thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*, with the ioyfull message of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate, with how many *Roman* Generals his brother had fought, what Consuls he had chased, wounded, or slain; how the stout *Romans*, that in the former war neuer shunned any occasion of fight, were now growne so calme, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Captain, because he neuer durst adventure to come to battaille; That, not without reason, their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slain of them about two hundred thousand, and taken about fifty thousand prisoners. He further told them of the *Sentians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italy*; that following the fortune of those great victories, had revolted vnto the *Carthaginians*. Among the rest he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of all the *Campanes*; but the chiefe seat of their Dominion in *Italie*: and there he informed them, how louingly his brother had bin entertained, where he meant to rest that winter, vntill their supply. As for the war, He said it was euen at an end, if they would now pursue it closely, and not giue the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to recollect themselves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to consider, that the war was far from home, in the Enemies Country; that so many battailles had much diminished his brothers Armie: that the Souldiers, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with obligations of money, corne, and other necessities; but that these things must be sent from *Carthage*: which the victory would requite with large amends. Finally, he caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were slain, to be powdered out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels; or (as others would rather haue it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appeare the greatnesse of the *Roman* calamity, for as much as none but the principall of that Order, were accustomed to weare that ornament.

Who so considers the former *Punicke Warre*, may easily find, that the State of *Carthage* neuer did receiue, in all the durance thereof, any such hopeful aduertisements from their Captaines abroad. Wherefore it is no marvaile, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this ioy, *Himilco*, a Senator aduersely to the faction of *Hannibal*, did to haue demanded of that great perswader vnto peace with *Rome*.

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Whether

* Thus *Livy* reports it: and credible it is that while home was poore, the bravery of private men was not altogether so great, as the Law would haue permitted; though otherwise *Livy* Amali. The wearing of the ring, was the generall privilege of the *Roman* Equites.

Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should be yielded vp vnto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to giue thanks vnto the gods, for this their good successe: Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the same formall answer, which *Liue* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres conscripti*; by a terme proper to the *Romans*, and putting them in minde of his owne shamefull overthrow receiued at the Islands *Agathis*: yet the summe of his speech appeares to haue been no lesse malicious, than it is set downe, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himselfe, at his departure out of *Italie*, exclaimed against the wickednesse of this *Hanno*, saying, that his hatred against the *Barbines*, had oppressed their Familie, when otherwise it could not; with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a iest of these victories, as is reported; saying, It ill becomed him, who had vanquished the *Romans*, to call for more helpe, as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their campe, filled forsooth with spoyle, to make request for meate and money. To these cauls, if answer were needfull, it might be said, That other booty than of horses and slaues, little was to be found in the *Roman* campe: the best of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few silver studs in the bridles and trappings of their horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any maine conuoy of money and prouisions, going to supply all wants of a great Army in some other Prouince, (as the two *Scipios* are afterwards said to haue done, when they wanne the campe of *Asdrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spaine*, in his journey towards *Italie*) then might such an obiection more iustly haue been made vnto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of *Hanno* his Oracion, and therein he best might hope to preuaile, contained a perswasion to vse their fortune with moderation; and now to seeke peace, whilest they had so much the better in warre.

What would haue been the issue of this counsaile, if it had been followed; it were not easie to say. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would haue brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italie* from the danger of warre, yet it is not likely that the *Romans* so often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would haue bin kept entire, when any opinion of good aduantage had called for reuenge of so many shameful overthrowes; since after this warre ended, and a new league concluded, no submissiue behaviour could preserue *Carthage* from ruine, longer than vntill such time, as *Rome* was at leisure from all other warres. This counsaile therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seeme temperate, was indeed very pestilent; and serued onely to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a maine consent of the Senate, that forty thousand *Nomidians*, forty Elephants, and great abundance of slaues, should be sent ouer to *Hannibal*; and that besides these, twenty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, should be leaied in *Spaine*; not onely to supply, as need should require, the Armies in that Prouince; but to be transported into *Italie*.

This great aide, had it bene as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Historians would not haue found cause, to taxe the retchlesse improuidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Canna* to *Rome*, or in refreshing his Army among the delights of *Capua*: the next yeeres worke would haue finished the businesse, with lesse dangerous aduenture; and the pleasures, which his men enioyed among the *Campanes*, would haue been commended, as rewards by him well thought vpon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be employed in the following Warre. But either the too much carelessnesse of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their money, before extreme necessity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellowes, working vpon the priuate humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commodity, than sense of the publike neede; vtterly perueried, and made vprofitable in the performance, the order that had bene so well set downe. The Elephants were sent; and some money peraduenture; vncertaine it is, how long after. But those great forces of three score thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, came not into *Italie*, till much was lost of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Army, was first consumed, by time, and sundry accidents of warre. Onely some small numbers, no way answering vnto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spaine*; and the journey of *Asdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italie* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many yeeres were past, and the *Romans* had recovered their strength.

Here we may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their Citie, both

by the Tributes receiued from their subjects; and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize: For it is not long, since the Warre of the Mercenaries; and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessity twelue hundred talents; had exceedingly impoverished *Carthage*; which was before brought into great want, euen by the expence of so much money, as was to be disbursed for redeming of peace, after the losse at *Agathis*. Yet wee see, what great Armies of *Nomidians*; and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foote, are appointed to the seruice in *Italie*; and how little the *Carthaginians* feare the want of money in these chargeable vndertakings; whereas the *Romans*, on the other side, hauing three or foure yeeres together bene forced to some extraordinary cost; are faine to goe vpon credit, euen for the price of those slaues, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such aduantage, in meane to enrich their Treasury; had the weakly Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, euen from *Tyru* their Mother-Citie in the bottome of the Streights vnto the great Ocean, about the *Romans*; who liued on the fruites of their ground and receiued their Tributes from people following the same course of life: When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it selfe, in the destruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* falsehood; in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discouered plainly whence the realousie was bred, that this mighty City would againe rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, hauing giuen vp hostages, euen before the *Roman* Army did set forth, to performe whatsoever should be enioyned them, with condition that their City might not be destroyed; and hauing accordingly, when they were so required, yielded vp all their weapons, and engines of Warre; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the Citie of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall; but the Town must needs be demolished, and remooued into some other place, that should be twelue miles distant from the Sea. For (said the *Romans*) this Trade of Merchandize; by which yee now liue, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as yee promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an wholesome kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies; and make them very apt for conuerfation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glossing words plainly shewes, what good obseruation the elder *Cato* had made of the hasty growth of *Carthage* in riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, he added still this conclusion, *Thui Tiburke*; and *thus Carthage should be destroyed*; He may seeme, not onely to haue had regard vnto that present wealth, which at his being there hee had found in the City; but much more vnto these times, and the great height wherunto it rose; euen suddenly as wee see, one of many calamities, whilest the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in case to dare so terrible a Warre.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skillfull than the *Romans*; so came they farre short of them, in the honourable care of the publike good: hauing euery one, or most of them, a more principall regard of his owne priuate benefite. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heate of their affection (wherein they concluded to pursue the warre strongly) was ouer-past, goe more leisurely to worke, than had been requisite in the execution. It was easie for *Hanno* to perswade couetous men, that they should first of all defend their owne in *Spaine*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Prouince was secured, they might send an Army into *Italie*, so going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdom, to commit all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, against the enemies; or (which perhaps were worse) to the Government of an ambitious man, and his brethren, who hauing once (if they could so do) finished the warre, might easily make *Hannibal* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that he had giuen them to the conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their owne slacknesse, incredulity, dulnes, or nigardize, the *Carthaginians* were perswaded rather to make small disbursements in *Spaine*, than to set vp altho their rest at once in *Italie*. Yet was it indeed impossible, to hold a Countrey of so large extent, and so open a coast as that of *Spaine*, free from all incursions of the Enemy: especially the affection of the Naturals being (as in a new Conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had bene to make a running Warre, by which

Of such ambition *Hanno* directly accused *Hannibal*, saying that he made warre that hee might liue compassed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himselfe a King. *Liue* l. 22.

which the *Romans* might have bin found occupied, even vwith the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garrisons, or some little addition therunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the prosecution of their maijue intendment against *Rome* it self, vntill such time as ouerly little thorne were pulled out of the sides of so great a Province, then must *Emporia* haue bin besieged and forced: vvhich by reason of alliance with the *Masilians*, gaue vnto the *Romans* at all times when they pleased, a ready and secure Harbour. But the towne of *Emporia* was too strong to be wonne in haste: it had long defended it selfe against the *Barbarians*; hauing not above foure hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified, a great *Spanish* Towne of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compasse, very strong likewise, and friend vnto the *Gracians*, though not ouer-much trusted. Wherefore to force this towne of *Emporia*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Masilians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*, would haue bin a worke of little lesse difficulty, than vvas the *Roman* warre (in appearance) after the battaile at *Canna*: yea it had bin in effect none other, than to alter the seare of the vvarre, which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better iudgement, neere vnto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being such as caused it altogether to be forborne, great folly it was, to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* vnto the out of *Spaine*: vvhom they might more easily haue diuerted thence, and drawn home to their own doores, by making strong vvar vpon their City. For euen so the *Romans* afterwards remooued *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by sending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like course, they now endeouored to change the seate of the vvar, transferring it out of *Italie* into *Spaine*. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is necessary to their owne purposes, did make them easily winke at opportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it selfe, though they set not to their helping hands. *Hanno* vvas a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him so, were wall enough contented to hearken vnto his discourtes, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keepe the purse full. In the meane vvvhile they suffered *Hannibal*, & all the noble house of *Amilcar*, to weary themselves in trauaile for the Common wealth: vvhich all *Carthage* in generall highly commended, but weakly assisted; as if the industry of these *Carthaginians* had bin somewhat more than needfull. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in generall, were far lesse honourable than the people of *Rome*: not only in government of their subiect Provinces, but in administration of their owne Estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weale publike about their private interest. But as they thiried little in the end, by their parsimony vsed toward their own Mercenaries, vvhen the former *Roman* war was finished: so the conclusion of this vvar present, will make them complaine, with feeling sighes, of their negligence in supplying *Hannibal*, after the victory at *Canna*; vvhen gladly they vould giue all their Treasures, to redeeme the opportunity, that now they let passe, as if it were cost enough to send a few handfulls into *Spaine*.

That both the *Spanish* businesse, and the state of *Africk* it self, depended wholly, or for the most part, vpon success of things in *Italie*; the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly how matters were ordered in *Spaine* by the *Carthaginian* Gouvernours, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set downe. For though we must not reprehend, in that worthy Historian *Linie*, the tender loue of his own Country, vvhich made him giue credit vnto *Fabius* & others: yet must we not, for his sake, beleue those lies, which the vnpartial iudgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers, that gaue them originall. It were needlesse to rehearse all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the vntuth of that *Roman* Historian *Fabius*. One example may suffice. He saith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former vvar, That hauing cleane spent their strength, and being euen broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves vnto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we find in the life of *Amilcar*, set downe by *Emilius Probus*. That *Eryx* vvas in such sort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not bin any vvar. These words, being referred to the braue resolution of the *Carthaginian* Souldiers, and the singular vertue of their Generall infusing such spirit into them; may be taken as not ouer liberall. For in the treaty of peace between *Amilcar* and *Catalus* when the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay downe their Arms and forsake *Sicily*, threatening, that otherwise he vould not talke of any composition:

Amilcar

Amilcar boldly had him chuse, whether he would talke of it, or no; for that the *Armenians*, which his Country had put into his hands to vse against her Enemies, it was not his purpose to giue vnto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrary to their custome vpon like changes, were content to let *Amilcar* haue his wil, & not to stand with him vpon point of honour, vvhal so otherwise they might quickly rid their hands of him, plaine enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would haue him seeme. *Hannibal* agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatterly, & by name, charged *Fabius* vwith vntuth, saying, that howsoeuer *Amilcar*, & his Souldiers, had ended his extremitie, yet they behaued themselves as men that had no sense therof; and were farre from being either vanquished, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference between *Fabius* (as also perhaps between other old Writers of the *Roman* Age) & those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty City of *Rome*: vvhat take it in good part, that howsoeuer *Linie* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, ioyning his foolishly his own shamefull overthrow at the Hands, *Agateus*, vwith the great *Agateus* of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like euent; yet elsewhere he for-
* Agateus in-
sulat, vnto com-
que ante ocu-
los proponit,
de c. Lin. lib. 21.
2. Lin. lib. 23.

geth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own unhappy conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, That the affaires of *Carthage* went neuer better, than a little before the losse of their Fleet in that battaile at *Senna*, wherein himselfe was Generall. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio*'s in *Spaine*, there is cause to wish, that this *Fabius*, vwith *Val. Antias*, & others of the like stamp, had then written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Linie* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to thinke too well of their relations which are such as follow.

6. XI.

Reports of the *Roman* victories in *Spaine*, before *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar* had thence his brother *Hannibal* into *Italie*.

It hath bin shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul, returning from *Gallicia* into *Italie*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his descent from the *Alpes*, sent before him his brother *Cnaeus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spaine*. Two *Roman* Legions, vwith foureteene thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelue hundred horse, had bin allotted vnto the Consul, therewith to make war in *Spaine* against *Hannibal*: who since he vvas marching into *Italie* with the strength of his Army, *P. Scipio* beleueed, that a good part of these his own forces might well be spared from the *Spanish* Expedition; & therefore made bold to carry some of the number backe with him, sending on his brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himselfe remained in *Italie* all the time of his Consulship: which being expired, He was sent Proconsul into *Spaine* by the Senate, with an Armie of eight thousand men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Prouince, were very great; and as they are reported, somewhat maruellous. For they continually preuailed in *Spaine*, against the *Carthaginians*: whom they vanquished in so many battailes, and with-drew from their Alliance so many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates; that we haue cause to wonder, how the enemy could so often find means to repaire his forces, and returne strong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliuer the Country from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might easily win vnto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the *Carthaginian* yoke, and durst aduenture to breake it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerors might serue to arme the Naturals against these Inuaders; and to reclaime those, that had revolted vnto the *Romans*; were it only by the memory of such ill success, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* Treasure: which easily raised Souldiers, among those valiant, but (in that Age) poor and gold-thirsty Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinsmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Wars; or seruing the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peraduenture, if we durst be bold to say it, the victories of the *Scipio*'s were neither so many, nor so great as they are set out by *Linie*. This we may be bold to say, That the great Captaine *Fabius*, or *Linie* in his person, maketh an obiection, vnto *Scipio*, vvvhich neither *Scipio*, nor *Linie* for him, doth

Lin. lib. 28.

doth answer, That if Asdrubal were vanquished, as Scipio would say, by him in Spain: strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extremely dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should invade Italia. And it is indeede an incredible curation, That Asdrubal being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how so to escape out of his taile, saue onely by the steepe descent of Roques, ouer a great River that lay at his back, ran away with all his mony, Elephants, & broken troups, ouer Tagus, directly towards the Pyrennees, and so toward Italy, vpon which he felt with more than threescore thousand armed souldiers. Neither doe I see, how it hangs well together, That he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his money and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the Enemy: Or how it could be true, that this his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the Romans, for so much they said to have done in the last battaile between him & Scipio from breaking into his Camp. Therefore we can no more than be sorry, that all Carthaginian records of this Warre, and Spanish, (if there were any) being vtterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the Romans to tell vs: vnto whom it were no wisdom to giue much credit. In this regard, I will summarily run ouer the doings of the Scipios in Spain; not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Gras. pro Con. Ballo.

Lin. lib. 22.

Pol. lib. 3.

Cn. Cornelius landed at Emporia, an Hauentowne, not farre within the Pyrennees, retaining still the same name with little infection. That by the fame of his clemency, he allured many Nations to become subiect vnto Rome, as the storie begins of him, I could easily beleue, if I vnderstood by what occasion they had need to vse his clemency, or he to giue such famous example thereof, being a meere stranger, and hauing no mediation in the Country. Yet it is certaine, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himselfe into the loue of the Barbarians; among whom, his demerity in practice had the better successe, for that he seemed to haue none other end, than setting them at liberty. This pretext auailed with some: Others were to be lured with mony: and some he compelled to yeeld by force or feare, especially, when he had won a battaile against Hanno. Into all Treaties of accord, made with these people, likely it is that he remembered to insert this Article, which the Romans in their Alliance neuer forgate, vnlesse in long times past, and when they dealt with the Carthaginians, or their Superiours; *Maiestatem Pop. Rom. comiter conseruent*, which is, as Tullio interprets it, *That they should gently (or kindly) uphold the Maiestie of the People of Rome*. This was in appearance nothing troublesome: yet implied it indeede an obscure couenant of subiection. And in this respect it may be true, That the Spaniards became *ditumis Romanis*; of the Roman iurisdiction; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Country wherein Scipio landed, was newly subdued by Hannibal in his passage toward Italy; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the Bargutians; Hannibal had found, at his comming among them, such an apprehension of the Roman greatnesse, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would makethem start from the Carthaginians. Wherefore he not only appointed Hanno Gouvernour ouer them, as ouer the rest of the Prouince between Iberus and the Pyrennees, but made him also their Lord; that is, (as I conceiue it; for I doe not thinke he gaue the Principality of their Country vnto Hanno and his Heires,) He made him not only Lieutenant generall ouer them, in matters of Warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to Carthage; but tooke from them all Inferiour Officers of their own, leauing them to be gouerned by Hanno at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to reioyce at the comming of Scipio: with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to ioyne; it being the custome of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times proue worse than the former. So were the Neapolitans, and Milanus, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turnes of the Spaniards, and French; as more trouble still of the present euill which they felt, than regardfull of the greater mischiefe, wherinto they ran by seeking to auoide it. This bad affection of his Prouince, would not suffer Hanno to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, Hannibal had left vnto him: besides which it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his Prouince. Therefore he aduentured a battaile with Scipio; wherein he was ouerthrowne and taken. Following this victory, Scipio besieged Sstifum, a Towne hard by, and wonne it.

It. But Asdrubal hauing passed Iberus, and comming too late, to the reliefe of Hanno, with eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell vpon the Roman Sea-forces, that lay not farre about Tarrason, whom he found carelesse, as after a victory, routing abroad in the country; and with great slaughter draue them aboard their ships. This done, hee ranne up into the Country, where he withdrew the Illegetes from the Roman partie, though they had giuen Hostages to Scipio. Scipio in the meane season was gone to visit and aide his Fleete: where hauing set things in order, he returned backe, and made toward Asdrubal; who durst not abide his comming, but withdrew himselfe againe ouer Ibernus. So the Illegetes were compelled by force; hauing lost Abanagia their chiefe Cite, to pay a fine to the Romans, and increase the number of their Hostages. The Antiochians likewise, Confederates of the Carthaginians, were besieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirty dayes; hoping, in vaine, that the sharpe Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would haue made the Romans to dislodge. But they were haire as length to yeeld: and for this their obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of silver. During the siege, the Lacernians came to helpe their distressed Neighbours, and were beaten home by Scipio, leauing twelue thousand of their Company dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how these Lacernians, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of Scipio, should without any cause remembered, become Carthaginians on the sudden, in the next newes that we heare of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of Iberus, hauing lately become voluntarily *ditumis Romanis*, should in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold Warre against Scipio, without any resistance of the Carthaginians. Neither can I beleue, that Asdrubal, as it were by a charme, stirred vp the Illegetes, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take Armes in his quarrell; whilst himselfe had not the daring to stand against Scipio, but ranne away, and saued himselfe beyond Iberus. Philinus saith, or some Carthaginian Writer, would haue told it thus: That Scipio aduenturing too farre into the Country, was beaten by Asdrubal backe to his ships, whence he did not stirre, vntill Winter came on: at what time the Carthaginian returned into the land of his Prouince, leauing some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after Scipio's coming, by returning vpon them, vnlooked for through a deepe snow. As for the Lacernians, Illegetes, and the rest, wee may reasonably thinke, that they fought their owne benefit: helping themselves one while by the Romans against the Carthaginians; and contrariwise, vpon sense of iniuries receiued, or apprehension of more grieuous tyranny, vnder which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, harkening againe vnto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to liue vnder their owne Countrey Lawes, and not vnder Gouvernours sent from Rome or Carthage, their demeanour in all Ages following may testifie: euen from hencefoorth vnto the dayes of Augustus Caesar; till when they were neuer thoroughly conquered.

Lin. lib. 21.

They were following this, Cn. Scipio had a victorie against the Carthaginians in fight at Sea, or rather came vpon them vnlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships, that ranne not too farre on ground, he tooke: and thereby grew Master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended. After this victory, about one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty Estates, in Spaine, are said to haue submitted themselves vnto the Romans, or giuen Hostages: whereby Asdrubal was compelled to flie into the vtmost corners of the land, and hide himselfe in Lucitania. Yet it followes; that the Illegetes did againe rebell; that Asdrubal hereupon came ouer Iberus, and that Scipio (though hauing lately vanquished the Illegetes) went not forth to meete him, but stirred vp against him the Celtiberians, that lately were become his subiects, and had giuen him Hostages. These were from the Carthaginian three Townes, and vanquished him in two battailes, where they slew fiftene thousand of his men, and tooke foure thousand Prisoners. Then arrived Scipio, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two brethren jointly administered the businesse in Spaine.

The Carthaginians being occupied in the Celtiberian Warre; the two Scipios did but quietly, without both feare or doubt, passe ouer Iberus, and besieged Saguntum. Little cause of doubt had they, if Cn. had already subdued many Nations beyond it, and among many others, the same Celtiberians, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish Asdrubal.

Asdrubal, being the Governor of *Spain*, a simple man, suffered himself to be persuaded by one *Acadice* Spaniard, that the only way to get the favour of his country was by freely restoring unto them their *Hollage* secured in by oath any pledge, assured of their faith: But the crafty Spaniard, being argu'd with this message & restitution of the *Hollage*, carried them all to the *Carthaginians*, persuading them, as he had done *Publius* to make the *Liberty* their own: *Hollage* was a *Spaniard* purchased much longer, if the tale were true; & if it were not rather true, as afterward, and he this we find, that all the *Spaniards* *Hollage* were left in the hands of the *Carthaginians*. I am weary of rehearsing to many particulars, whereof I can believe so few. But since we had no better certainties, we must content our selves with these few.

The yeare following was like unto this: *Asdrubal* must be beaten again. The two *Scipio's* divide their forces: *Cn. Scipio* by Land; & *P. Scipio* by Sea: *Asdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten some thousand foot, & five hundred horse, over a strait he repairs his Fleet; and provides every way to make resistance: But his chiefe Sea-men, and Masters of his ships, revolt unto the *Romans*; because they had been chidden the last yeare for their negligence, which had betrayed the Navy. The revolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Carpetani*, an *Island* people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spain*: These do much mischief; so that *Asdrubal* is faine to make a journey to them. His sudden coming cuts off some of them, that were found scattered abroad in the fields: But they, making head, so valiantly assaile him, that they drive him, for very feare, to encamp himself strongly on an high piece of ground, whence he dares not come forth to give them battaile. Some take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his provisions; and shortly make themselves Masters of the Country round about. This good successe breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Asdrubal* comes upon them, takes them vnprepared, beastes them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*; that *Asdrubal* should lead his Army forth into *Italy*: which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had bin informed by his letters in what hard case he was; and had so weakly supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus we find it reported: and that upon the very rumour of his his journey, almost all *Spain* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore sends word presently to *Carthage*, That this must not be so; for, if they will needs haue it so, that then they must send him a Successor, and well attended with a strong Army, which to employ they should find worke more than enough; such notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much-mooued with this excuse: *Asdrubal* must needs be gone; *Himilcar*, with such forces as are thought expedient for that service both by Land & Sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Asdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furnish himselfe with store of money, that he might haue wherewithall to win the friendship of the *Gauls*, through whose Countries he must passe, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to blame, for not remembring to ease him of this care. But since it can be no better, he layes great Impositions upon all the *Spaniards* his subjects: and hauing gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward the marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio's* hearing these news, are carefull how to arrest him on the way. They bessege *Iliturgi* (so called of the Rivers name running by it) the richest towne in all those quarters, that was confederate with *Asdrubal*: who the upon steps aside to relieue it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battaile with him: which they winne the more easily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather be vanquished at home, than get the victory, and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are slaine: and few should haue escaped, but that the *Spaniards* ranne away, ere the battailes were fully ioyned. Their Camp the *Romans* take, and spoile: whereby questionlesse they are maruellously enriched, in the money that could be raked together in *Spain*, being carried along in this Italian expedition. This dayes euent ioynes all *Spain* to the *Romans*: If any part of the Country stood in doubt before, and puts *Asdrubal* so far from all thought of traueilling into *Italy*, that he leaves him small hope of keeping himselfe safe in *Spain*. Of these exploits advertisement is sent to *Rome*, and Letters to the Senate, from *P. Scipio*, and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are, That they haue neither money, apparrell, nor bread, wherewith to sustaine their Army and Fleet; That alls wanting, so as vnlesse they may be supplied from

Asdrubal can neither hold their forces together, nor stay any longer in the Province: they therefore come to *Rome* in an euill season: the State being scarcely able, after the loss of *Cannae*, to helpe it selfe at home. Yet reliefe is sent: how hardly, and how much to the commendations of *Optatus* and *care*, which the private Citizens of *Rome* bare vnto the Common wealth, shall be inserted else where, into the relation of things whereof the truth is less questionable. At the coming of this supply, the two *Scipio's* pursue *Asdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we thinke, that remember the last newes of him, and how fearefully he mistruft his own safetie? They find him, and *Mago de Amilcar* the sonne of *Bomilcar*, with an Army of three score thousand men, besseging *Iliturgi*: (which the learned *Strabo*, and others, probably conceive to haue stood, where *Carimena* is now, in the Kingdome of *Aragon*, for there was likewise afterward called *Forum Iulij*, quite another way) a Towne of the *Ilitergetes* their nearest Neighbours, for hauing revolted vnto the *Romans*. The towne is greatly distressed, but most of all, for want of victuals. The *Romans* therefore brake through betweene the Enemies Campes, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them: and hauing beset the place, encourage the townes-men to defend their walls as stoutly, as they about *Iliturgi* beheld them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalfe. So they were forth, about sixteen thousand against three score thousand; and killing more of the enemies, than themselves were in number, draue all the three *Carthaginian* Com-manders, every one out of his quarter; and tooke that day, besides prisoners and other spoils, fiftie and eight Ensignes.

The *Carthaginian* Armie, being thus beaten from *Iliturgi*, fall vpon *Incibili*, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning money by warre, for thus re-inforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondered, whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them: since *Asdrubal* was lately driven to poll the Country, wanting money of his owne; and being beaten in his iourney, had lost his wealthy carriages, when his Campe was taken after the battaile. Howsoeuer it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custome) are beaten againe at *Incibili*: where there were of them about thirteen thousand slaine, and about three thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them vnto the *Romans*. Thus could *Publius*, *Valerius Antius*, or some other Historian, to whom *Linie* gaue credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one yeere, by winning famous victories; whereof these good Captaines, *P. Scipio* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their owne side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next yeere, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*; and are buerthrowne by him: *P. Scipio*, to helpe these his friends, is forced to make great hast ouer the River. At *Gastum altum*, a place in the mid-way between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *Publius Scipio* incampeth: and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defensible, intending to make it his seat for a while. But the Country round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horse haue charged the *Romans* in their march, & are gotten off close; falling also vpon some stragglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows: so much they haue cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behouefull, to retire vnto some place more assured. So *Publ.* withdrawes himselfe vnto *Mons victorie*: that rising somewhat Eastward from *Incibili*, ouerlooketh the Southerne Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repaires vnto him; & *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, with a full Army, arrives to help his Companions: As they lie there incamped together, *P. Scipio*, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdrawes himselfe to an high piece of ground, where they bessege him, vntill his brother *Cn.* fetcht him off. After this (but I know not why) *Cassito*, a great City of *Spain*, where *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, ioyneth with the *Romans*, though being farre distant from them, and seated on the head of the River *Doeris*. Neuertheless the *Carthaginians* could ouer *Iberus*, to bessege *Iliturgi* again, wherein together a *Roman* partison hoping to win it by famine. We may iustly wonder, what should moue them to neglect the rebellion of *Cassito*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying so close by them, and to seek for adventures further off, in that very place, where they had been so grievously beaten.

the yeer before. But thither they goe, and thither follows them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breakes out vpon them the next day, and in two battels kils about twelue thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with sixe and thirty Ensignes. This victorie (doubtlesse) is remarkable: considering that the greatest Roman Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished Carthaginians besiege Bigarra: but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the Carthaginians remoue to Manda; where the Romans are soone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that lasteth foure houres, wherein the Romans get a notable victory; and a more notable would haue gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* bene wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed, & twelue thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and feuen and fifty Ensignes. The Carthaginians flie to Auriges; and the Romans pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquisheth the Carthaginians againe: but kils not halfe so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthrowes, the Spaniards, a people framed euen by nature to set warre on foot, quickly fill vp the broken troups of *Asdrubal*, who hauing also hired some of the Gaules, adventures once more to trie his fortune with the Romans. But he is beaten againe: and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the Romans are euen ashamed, to leaue Saguntum enthralled vnto the Carthaginians; since, in behalfe of that Citie, they had at first entred into this warre. And well may we thinke it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Country once and againe. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged Saguntum; and were faine (as appeares) to goe their way without it: so as they need not to blush, for hauing so long forborne to doe that, which ere now they had attempted, but were vnable to performe. At the present they wonne Saguntum: and restored the possession thereof vnto such of the poore disperfed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy the country of the Turdetani, that had ministred vnto *Hannibal* matter of quarrell against the Saguntines. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be assured, that the Carthaginians would haue disturbed them, if they had been able.

But ouer-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the Romans haue gotten in Spaine, other print or token of all their braue exploits, we can perceiue none, than this recouery of Saguntum: excepting the stopping of *Asdrubal*'s iourney; which was indeed of greatest importance, but appertaining to their owne defence. For they haue landed at Emporiae, an Haven towne, built and peopled by a Colonie of the Phocæans, kinne to the Massilians, friends to the Romans; They haue easily wonne to their party, lost, recouered, and lost againe, some petty bordering Nations of the Spaniards, that are carried one while by perswasion; other-whiles by force, and sometimes by their owne vnsettled passions; and now finally they haue won a town, whereof the Carthaginians held intire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily beleue, that when they took Saguntum (if they tooke it not by surprise; which is to be suspected, since in this Action we finde no particulars remembered, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we thinke, that all those battailes lately remembered, after euery one of which *Asdrubal* fate down before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebell, were prosperous vnto the Carthaginians. For it is not the custome of Armies vanquished, to carry the warre from Town to Towne, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselves within their owne places of strength, and therein to attend the leue and arriual of new supplies. And surely, if the Romans had been absolute Masters of the field, when they won Saguntum, they would not haue consumed a whole yeere following, in practising onely with the Celtiberians the next adioyning people: Yet made they this, little lesse than two yeers businesse. Of these Celtiberians we heare before, That they haue yielded vp themselves vnto the Romans; for securitie of their faith, giuen Hostages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made warre against the Carthaginians, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought, and not without expresse condition of a great summe, hired to serue in the Roman camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceiue,

perceiue; while perhaps in those daies it were the Roman custome, whether the custome of some bad Author whom I followe, or call euery messenger, or stranger, that entred their campe, an Hostage of that people from whom he came, and would not be sure. The Celtiberians at length, hired with great rewards, send an Army of thirty thousand to helpe the Romans: out of which, three hundred the fittest men are chosen, and entred into Italy, there to deale with their Country-men that follow *Hannibal* in his warres. But if any of these three hundred returne backe into Spaine, lets to be feared, that he bringe with him such news of the riches and wealth of *Hannibal*'s men, that all his followes at home are the lesse vnwilling to follow *Asdrubal*, when he shall hear haue a desire to leade them into Italy. Hereof we finde more than probability; when these Mercenary Celtiberians meet the Carthaginian Army in the field. The two *Scipio*'s, pretending on this acesse of strength, diuide their forces, and seek out the Enemies, who haue sent out with three Armies. *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, is nearest at hand; euen among the Celtiberians, at Anitorgis. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good fight: but the feare is, that this one part of the Carthaginian forces being destroyed; the sonne of *Gisco*, hearing the newes, will make vse of their distance, which is but dayes march; and, by running into the furthest parts of the Country, saue themselves from being ouer-taken. *Rubius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better souldiers; that is, two parts of the old Roman Armie; leaving the third part, and all the Celtiberians, to his brother. He that hath the longer iourney to make, would somewhat the sooner to his liues end: *Asdrubal* and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco* are not studying how to runne away: they finde no such necessity. They ioine their forces together, meet with *Publius Scipio*; and lay at him so hardly, that hee is faine to keepe himselfe close within his Trenches: wherein he thinks himselfe not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Ascanassa*, Prince of the Massilyli, Numidians bordering vpon Mauritania; in the Region called now Tremizen; to whom the chiefe honor of this seruice is ascribed; for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the Romans. In this dangerous case, *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis* a Spanish Prince, accoming with seven thousand & six hundred of the Suesetani, to loyne with his Enemies: Fearing therefore to be streight shut vp, and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* vpon the way; leauing *T. Pontius* his Licutenant, with a small company to defend the camp. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues so long, that the Numidian horse appeare (whom he thought to haue been ignorant of his departure) and fall vpon the Romans on all sides: neither are the Carthaginians farre behinde; but come so fast vpon him in Reare, that *P. Scipio*, vncertaine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men; where need most requiteth, is stricke through with a lance, and slaine very few of his Army escaping the same destinie, through benefit of the darke night. The second hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty dayes after. At his meeting with *Asdrubal*, the Celtiberian Mercenaries all forsake him, pretending that they had warre in their owne Country. If Anitorgis, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Orselius* following *Asdrubal* takes it, a Celtiberian towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparant truth. We may iustly beleue, that they were wonne by *Asdrubal*, and easily perswaded to take as much money for not fighting, as they should haue had for hazarding their liues. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being vnable to stay them, and no lesse vnable, without their helpe, either to resist the enemy, or to loyne with his brother, maketh a very violent retreat; which onely differing from plaine flight, that he keeps his men together. *Asdrubal* presseth hard vpon him: and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, hauing made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. *Scipio* scales from them all, by night; and ouertaken the next day by their horse, and arrested in an open place of hard stony ground; where growes not so much as a shrubbe; vnfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill he findes of easie ascent on euery side, which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with packe-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Pallisado. These weak defenses the Carthaginians see done reare in sunder: and, breaking in on all hands, slay very few of the malices, that sauing themselves, I know not how, within some woods adioyning, escape vnto *Publius*, whom *Publius* had left in his campe, as is before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which no man escaped. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on euery

every side, in so bare ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could breake out, and throwd themselves within woods adioyning, I should much wonder, did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Pontellus* is in *P. Scipio's* campe, on the North side of *Iberus*, fearefull (as may be supposed) of his owne life, since his Generall, with two parts of the Roman Armie, had little hope to remaine long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a yong Roman Gentleman of a notable spirit: who having gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawne some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a prettie Armie. The Souldiers, bring to choise a Generall by most voices, preferre this *L. Martius* before *Pontellus* the Lieutenant, as well they may. For *Afrubal*, the sonne of *Gesco* comming vpon them; this *L. Martius* so incourageth his men, (fondly weeping when he led them forth, vpon remembrance of their intire honourable Generalls lately slaine) and admonisheth them of their present necessity, that he beates the Carthaginians into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might haue gotten but that he wisely sounds the retrain; reseruing the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The Carthaginians are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldnesse growes, in enemies lately vanquished, and now againe little better than taken: but when they see, that the Roman dares not follow his aduantage, they return to their former security; and vterly despising him, set neither Corps de guard, nor Sentinell, but rest secure, as if no enemy were neere. *Martius* therefore animates his souldiers with lively words; and tels them, That there is no aduenture more safe, than that which is sure. They are soone perswaded to follow him, in any desperate piece of seruice. So he leades them forth by night, and steals vpon the Campe of *Afrubal*: vvhether finding no guard, but the enemies fast asleepe, or very drowzie. He enters without resistance, fires their Cabbines, and giues a terrible alarme; so that all affrighted, the Carthaginians run head-long one vpon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their Campe, *Martius* hath prepossessed, so that there is no way to escape, saue by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke vpon it, and run away toward the Campe of *Afrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, that lay sixe miles off. But *Martius* hath way-led them. In a Valley betwene their two campes he hath bestowed a Roman cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall euery one, and are cut in pieces. But lest perchance any should haue escaped, and giue the alarme before his comming; *Martius* hastens to be there as soone as they. By which diligent speed, He comes early in the morning vpon this further campe: which with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceiued, when they beheld the Roman shields, foule, and bloudied vvith their former execution, Hee driues head-long into flight, all that can saue themselves from the fury of the sword. Thirty seuen thousand of the enemies perish in this nights worke; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty, taken prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* addes, that the campe of *Mago* was also taken, and seuen thousand slaine: and that in another battaile vvith *Afrubal*, there were slaine ten thousand more; besides foure thousand three hundred and thirtie taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. *Linie* therefore hath elsewhere vvell obserued, That there is none so intemperate, as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that haue fallen in battailes. That, whilest *Martius* was making an Oration to his souldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, *Linie* reporteth as a common tale, not giuing thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth. That this Captaine *Martius* got a great name; which he might well doe, if vvith so small forces, and in such distresse, He could cleerely get off from the Enemies, & giue them any parting blow, though it were farre lesse than that which is here set downe.

Of these occurrents *L. Martius* sent word to Rome, not forgetting his owne good seruice, vvhatsoeuer it was, but setting it out in such vvise, as the Senate might iudge him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in Spaine: which the better to intimate vnto them, He stiled himselfe Propretor. The Fathers were no lesse moued vvith the tidings than the case required: and therefore took such carefull order, for supplying their forces in Spaine, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of Rome, ere the companies leuied to serue in that Prouince, could be sent away; yet vvould they not stay: a tide for defence of the Citie it selfe, but shipped them in all haste for Spaine. As for that title of Propretor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and vvere

offended at his presumption in vsurping it: foreseeing well, that it vvould amatter of ill consequence, to haue the souldiers abroad make choise among themselves, for holding that should command Armes and Prouinces. Therefore *C. Claudius*, vvho vvith dispatche vvith all contentment haste, vvith Spaine carrying vvith him about fower thousand of the Roman foot, and as many of the Latines; vvith three hundred Roman horse, & of the Latines eight hundred, came to the Campe of *Afrubal*, the sonne of *Amilcar*. It happened well, that about these times, the affaires of Rome began to prosper in Italy, & afforded meane of offeinding abroad such strong supply: othervvise, the victories of *Martius* vvould ill haue serued, either to keep footing in Spaine, or to stop the Carthaginian Armes from marching towards the Alpes. For when *Claudius*, landing vvith his new forces, tooke charge of that remanent of the Army, which was vvnder *Martius* and *Pontellus*, he found surer tokens of the ouerthrowes receiued, than of those miraculose vvictories, vvhereof *Martius* had made his vaunts vvnto the Senate. The Roman party was forsaken by most of the Spanish friends: vvhom how to reclaime, it vvould not easily be deuised. Yet *Claudius* aduanced boldly towards *Afrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*: vvhom he found among the Ausetani, neer enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides vris*, out of vvhih there was no issue, but onely through a streight, vvhereon the Roman seized at his first comming. Vvhat should haue tempted any man of vnderstanding, to incampe in such a place, I doe not finde: and as little reason can I find in that vvhih followed. For it is said, That *Afrubal*, seeing himselfe thus lockt vvith, made offer to depart forth vvith out of all Spaine, and quit the Prouince to the Romans, vpon condition, that he and his Arme might be thence dismissed; That he spent many dayes, in enterdayning parlee vvith *Claudius* about this businesse; That night by night he conueighed his footmen (a few at a time) through vvery difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking aduantage of a misty day, He stole away vvith all his Horse and Elephanes, leauing his Camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Afrubal*, two other Carthaginian Generalls in Spaine; we shall finde no lesse cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, vvho hoped to conclide a bargain for so great a Country, vvith one of these three Chieftaines, than at the strange nature of those passages: through vvhih the footmen could hardly creepe out by night, the Horse and Elephanes easily following them in a darke misty day. Wherefore in giuing beliefe to such a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, vvith the danger vvherein the Carthaginians vvere, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to haue been of far lesse value. Howsoeuer it was; neither this, nor ought else that the Romans could doe, serued to purchase any new friends in Spaine, or to recover the old vvhih they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, vvhih had chosen *Martius* their Propretor, tooke it not vvell, that the Senate, regardlesse of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a Propretor vvhom they fancied not so vvell. Some such occasion may haue moued them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) yong *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity; vvhere needfull to worke regard in the Barbarians; and the beloued memory of *C.* and *Publius*, likely to doe good, vvere it reuiued in one of the same family. Whether vpon these, or vpon other reasons, *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Prouince; and *Publius* the sonne of *P. Scipio* sent Proconsul into Spaine.

This is that *Scipio*, vvho after vvard transferred the warre into Africk: vvhere he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, & singularly vvell conditioned: especially he excelled in Temperance, Contrinency, Bounty, and other vvirtues that purchase loue, of vvhih qualities vvhat great vse he made, shall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that he reported of him, sauouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanity; How he vvished to walke alone in the Capitoll, as one that had some secret conference vvith *Iupiter*; How a Dragon (vvhih must haue been one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Iupiter* himselfe) was thought to haue conuersed vvith his Mother, entering her Chamber often, & vanishing away at the comming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtfull answers; I hold them no better than fables, deuised by Historians, vvho thought thereby to adde vvnto the glory of Rome: that this noble Circle might seeme, not onely to haue surpassed other Nations in vvirtue of the generality, but also in great vvorth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serue to adorne this Roman Champion. For it is evidently vvritten, as matter

of unquestionable truth, That when a Proconfull was to be chosen for Spaine, there durst not any Captaine of the principall Citizens offer himselfe as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of Rome were much astonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citie stood looking one another in the face, no one of them having the heart to adventure himselfe in such a desperate service; and finally, That this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about foure and twentie yeeres of age, getting vp on an high place where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred vpon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreames: and either very vnreasonable was the feare of all the Roman Captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into Spain Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Prouince, which *Asdrubal* the Carthaginian, as we heard euen now, was ready to abandon. But vpon these incoherences, which I finde in the two partiall Roman Historians, I doe not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was sent Proconfull into Spaine; and with him was ioyned *M. Iunius Silanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadiutor. They carried with them tenne thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty *Quinguereme* Gallies. With these they landed at Emporiz, and marched from thence to Tarracon alongst the Sea-coast. At the same of *Scipio's* arrivall, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Prouince: which he entertained with such a maiestic, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly affraid of him: and so much the greater was their feare, by how much the lesse they could giue any reason of it. If we must beleue this, then must we needs beleue, that their feare was euen as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as some thinke, all the next yeare) hee did nothing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the Spaniards. His first enterprize was against new Carthage: vpon which he came vnexpected, with five and twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; his Sea forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived together with him. He assailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and wonne it by assault the first day. The Carthaginians lost it, by their too much confidence vpon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might haue bene well enough defended, if some Fisher-men of Tarracon had not discovered vnto *Scipio*, a secret passage vnto the walles, whereof the Townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could haue no notice. This Citie of new Carthage, resembled the old and great Carthage in situation; standing vpon a demi-Iland, betwene an Hauen and a great Lake. All the Westerne side of the walles, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fisher-men of Tarracon had sounded; and finding some part thereof a shelfe, whereon at low water men might passe knee-deep, or (at most) wading vp to the Nauill, *Scipio* thrust therinto some Companies of his men, who recovered the top of the walles without resistance: the place being left without guard, as able to defend it selfe by the naturall strength. These falling suddenly vpon the backs of the Carthaginians within the Citie; easily forced a gate, and gaue free entrance to the Roman Army. What booty was found within the Towne, *Liue* himselfe cannot certainly affirme; but is faine to say, That some Roman Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the Roman Treasury, we may easily perceiue, how great a vanity it was to say, That all the wealth of Africk & Spaine, was heaped vp in that one Towne. But therein were bestowed all the Spanish Hostages: (or at least of the adioyning Prouinces) whom *Scipio* intreated with singular courtesie, restoring them vnto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the Celtiberians, and two petty Kings of the Illegetes & Lacetani, neerest Neighbours to Tarracon, and dwelling on the North-side of Iberus, forsook the Carthaginian party, & ioyned with the Romans. The speech of *Indibilis*, King of the Illegetes, is much commended: for that he did not vaunt himselfe, as commonly fugitiues vse, of the pleasure which he did vnto the Romans, in reuolting from their enemies, but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by iniuries of the Carthaginians, & inuited by the honourable dealing of

Scipio.

Scipio. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeed no vnsecure token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the Illegetes had long ere this (as we haue heard before) forsaken the Carthaginian party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Scipio*; then could nothing haue bin deuised more vaine, than this Oration of *Indibilis* to their King; excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when hee should haue rather craued pardon for his breach of Alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Vncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoeuer the two elder *Scipio's* had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, & held them by strength; yet were the Romans neuer masters of the Countrie, till this worthy Commander, by recovering their Hostages from the Carthaginians, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won vnto himselfe the assured loue and assistance of these Princes. The Carthaginian Generals, when they heard of this losse, were very sorry: yet neuertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, That a young man, hauing stolne a Towne by surprise, was too farre transported, and ouer-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Vncle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a more conuenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine owne coniecture; I should be bold to say, That the Carthaginians were at this time busie, in setting forth toward Italy; and that *Scipio*, to diuert them, vnder-tooke new Carthage, as his Father and Vncle, vpon the like occasion, were done before Ibero. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amiss, if the passage over the Lake had bene vndiscovered, and the Towne held out some longer while. For howsoeuer that particular Action was the more fortunate, in coming to such good issue vpon the first day: yet in the generality of the business, between Rome and Carthage, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be stayed from going into Italy, than that halfe of Spaine should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to doe, that should hinder his iourney, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gesco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* worke, in that lingring warre of taking and retaking Townes, whilst the maine of the Carthaginian forces, vnder *Asdrubal*, the son of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprise: euen to fight in tryall of the Empire. But the Roman Historians tell this after another fauion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into Italy: whither he ran for feare, as thinking himselfe ill assured of the Spaniards, as long as they might but heare the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, comming vpon *Asdrubal*; his Vantcurrers charged so lustily the Carthaginian horse, that they drew them into their Trenches: and made it apparant, euen by that small peece of service, how full of spirit the Roman Armie was, and how dejected the Enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that euen ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with the Riuer, very steepe of ascent, and not easie of access on the foreside; by which himselfe got vp, and was to be followed by the Romans. On the top of it there was a Plaine, whereon he strongly encamped himselfe: and in the mid-way, betwene the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plaine; into which he descended, more vpon brauery, that he might not seeme to hide himselfe within the Trenches, than for that he durst adventure his Army to the hazzard of a battaile, for which this was no equall ground. But such aduantage of place could not saue him from the Romans. They climbed vp the Hill to him; they recovered euen footing with him; droue him out of this lower Plaine, vp into his Campe on the Hill top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the Carthaginians had got vp before them, they draue both Men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to flie. Out of such a battaile, wherein hee had lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to haue escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troupes, to haue marched toward the Pyrenes, hauing sent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Neuertheless, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesco*, are reported after this, to haue consalted with him about this Warre; and finally to haue concluded, that goe hee needs must, were it but to carry all the Spaniards as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to haue bin true, it shall appeare at his comming into Italy; whence these incoherent relations of the Spanish affaires, haue too long detained vs.

S. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal raised in all quarters, to the Citie of Rome. Posthumius the Roman General, with his whole Army, is slain by the Gauls; Philip King of Macedon, entering a League with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Romans joining with the Aetolians, make warre upon Philip in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him; the better to intend their businesse against the Carthaginians.

WHe left Hannibal wintering at Capua: where he and his new Confederates reioyced (as may be thought) not a little, to heare the good newes from Carthage of such mighty aide, as was decreed to be sent thence vnto him. In former times he had found worke enough, to carry the Romans come into his owne barnes, and to driue away their Cattell to Geryon: his victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Armie; by making him Master of the open field. He might perhaps haue forced some walled townes; in like sort as he did Geryon, and the Castle of Cannæ: but he spent much time; about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Armie must haue endured the Winter and Spring following, vntill come were ripe, would haue grievously punished him for such employment of the Summer. This may haue been the reason, why he forbore to aduenture vpon Rome, after his victorie at Cannæ. For had hee failed: (as it was a matter of no certaintie) to carry the Citie at his first comming; waite of victuals would haue compelled him to quit the enterprife. Yea, many of the people that opened so hastily their gates vnto him, vpon the fresh bruit of his glorious successe, would haue taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the cunct of another battaile: if being, either for want of meanes to force the Citie, or of necessities to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seeme) from the walles of Rome, he had presented himselfe vnto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the yeere; when time to force their obedience was wanting, vnlesse they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and trauell was past, when so many States of Italy were become his: the yeere following, the Samnites, and other old enemies of Rome, were like to receiue a notable pleasure of their new alliance with Carthage, by helping to lay siege vnto that proud Citie, which so long had held them in subiection. Thus the Winter was passed ouer ioyfully, sauing that there came not any tydings of the preparations, to second the welcome report of those mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promised supply there arriued no more, than onely the Elephants. How late it was ere these came, I finde not: onely we finde, that after this he had about thiny of them; whereas all, saue one, that he brought ouer the Alpes, had bin lost in his journey through the Marshes of Hetruria. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence; they that brought the Elephants could make vnto Hannibal. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischiefs the perswasion of Hanno wrought among the too niggardly Carthaginians. Otherwise, they might perhaps informe him, that it was thought a safer, though a farther way about, to passe along through Spaine and Gaule, as he himselfe had done; and increase the Army, by hyring the Barbarians in the journey; than to commit the maine strength of their Citie, to the hazzard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious Hauen, to receiue the Fleet that should carry such a number of Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all needfull prouisions. With these allegations Hannibal must rest content; and seeke, as well as he can, to satisfie his Italian Confederates. Therefore when time of the yeere serued, He tooke the field: and hauing finished what rested to be done at Cassilum, fought to make himselfe Master of some good Huentowne therabout; that might serue to entertaine the Carthaginian Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same purpose, and to doe what else was needfull, He sent Himilco vnto the Locrians, and Hanno to the Lucans: not forgetting at once to assay all quarters of Italy, yea, the Isles of Sicily & Sardinia; since the siege of Rome, must needs be deferred vnto another yeer. Hanno made an ill journey of it, being met, or ouer-taken, by T. Sempronius Longus: who slew aboue two thousand of his men; with the losse of fewer, than three hundred Romans. But Himilco sped farre better. By helpe of the Brutians, his good friends, he won Petellia or Petolia by force; after it had held out some moneths. He won likewise Consentia; and Croton, that was forsaken by the Inhabitants. Also the City of Locri, which

was

was of great importance, yeelded vnto him; as did all other places thereabout, except onely the Towne of Rhegium, born against Sicily. The great faith of the Petilians is worthy to be recorded; as a notable testimony of the good gouernment, vnder which the Roman subiects liued. As for the Samnites, Campanians, and others, whose caracters in rebellion may seduce to proue the contrary; we are to consider, That they had lately contended with Rome for Souerainty, and were now transported with ambition; which reason can hardly moderate, or benefite allay. The Petilians, in the very beginning of their danger, did send to Rome for helpe; where their Messengers receiued answer from the Senate, That the publike misfortunes had not so many instances, to relieue their Associates, that were so farre distant. The Petilian Messengers (Embassadours they are termed; as were all others, publicly sent from Cities of the Roman subiection, that had a priuate iurisdiction within themselves) sel down to the ground, and humbly besought the Fathers, not to giue them away: promising to do and suffer whatsoeuer was possible, in defence of their Towne, against the Carthaginians. Hereupon the Senate fell to consultation againe: and hauing thoroughly considered all their forces remaining, plainly confessed, that it was not in their power to giue any reliefe. Wherefore these Embassadours were willed to turne home, and to bid their Citizens prouide hereafter for their owne safetie, as hauing already discharged their faith to the utmost. All this notwithstanding, the Petilians (as was said) held out some moneths; and hauing striuen in vaine to defend themselves, when there was no apparent possibility, gaue to the Carthaginians a bloody victorie ouer them; being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Assailants. The Romans at this time were indeed in such ill case, that Hannibal, with a little helpe from Carthage, might haue reduced them into termes of great extremitie. For where, in a great brauerie, before their losse at Cannæ, they had shewed their high mindes, by entertaining the care of things farre off, notwithstanding the great warre that lay vpon them so neere at hand: it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad, was no whit better than at home. L. Posthumius, Albinius their Prator they had sent, with an Armie of fife and twenty thousand, into Gaule; to the Illyrian king Pinues they had sent for their tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past, willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliuer hostages for his performance of what was due; and to Philip king of Macedon they had sent, to require, that he should deliuer vp vnto them Demetrius Phariar, their Subiect and Rebel, whom he had receiued. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little suitable to their former glorious conceits. Posthumius with all his Armie was cut in pieces by the Gauls; in such sort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his overthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the Gauls, *Lisana*, through which he was to passe. Against his coming, the Enemies had sawed the Trees so far, that a little force would serue to cast them downe. When therefore Posthumius, with his whole Armie, was entred into this dangerous passage, the Gauls, that lay about the wood, began to cast downe the Trees: which falling one against another, bore all downe so fast, that the Romans were ouerwhelmed. Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before. How this tedious worke of sawing so many Trees, could take desired effect, and neither be perceiued, nor made frustrate, either by some winde, that might haue blowne all downe before the Romans entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the deuce was subiect, I do not well conceiue. Yet some such thing may haue bene done: and what failed in the stragem, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the sauage condition, wherewith Lombardie, a Countie now so ciuill, was infected in elder times, That of Posthumius his skull, being cleaned, and trimmed vp with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principall Temple, as an holy vessel, for the vse of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great overthrow, when word was brought to Rome; the amazement was no lesse than the calamity. But sorrow could giue no remedie to the mischiefe: and anger was vaine, where there wanted forces to reuenge. Tribute from the Illyrians there came none: neither do I finde, that any was a second time demanded; this we finde, That with Pleuratus, and Suerdileus Illyrian kings, as also with Gemius, who reigned within a few yeers following, the Romans dealt vpon euen termes, entreating their assistance against Philip and Persus, not committing their dutie, as Vassals. The Macedonian troubled them yet a little further. For

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Having assured his affaires in Greece, & enjoying leisure to looke into the doings abroad, He sent Embassadors to *Hannibal*: with whom he made a league; vpon these conditions: That the King in person should come into Italy; and with all his forces, by Land and Sea; that the Carthaginians in the Roman war, vntill it were finished; That Rome, and all Italy, together with all the spoile therein to be gotten, should be left entire vnto the State of Carthage; And that afterwards *Hannibal* with his Armie should passe into Greece, and there assist *Philip*, vntill hee had subdued all his Enemies: (which were the *Ætoli*ans, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus*, and others) leaving semblably vnto him the full possession of that country, and the Isles adjoyning. But such predisposition of Kingdoms and Princes, is lightly controlled by the diuine Providence, which therein seemed to himselfe, as *Herodotus* fully termes it; and like an *Antichrist*: enuious, or malicious, but very iust and maiestically, in vp-holding that vnspokeable greatesse of Soueraignty, by which it rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadour that *Philip* sent, fell into the Romans hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: & being examined what they were, aduencured vpon a bold saying, That they were sent from the King of Macedon to Rome, there to make a league with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great necessitie. These newes were so welcome, that the ioy thereofooke away all care of making better inquiry. So they were longly feasted and freely dismissed with guides that should leade them the way, and shew them how to auoid the Carthaginians. But they being thus instructed concerning their journey, fell wilfully into the campe of *Hannibal*: who entertained them after a better fashion; and concluded the businesse, about which they came, vpon the points before remembered. In their returne homeward, they happened againe vnlooktly to be destroyed by the Roman fleet; which, mistrusting them to be of the Carthaginian party, gaue them chase. They did their best to haue escaped; but being ouer-taken, they suffered the Romans to come aboard; and trusting to the lie that once had serued them, said it againe, That hauing bene sent from King *Philip*, to make a league with the People of Rome, they were notable, by reason of the Carthaginians lying between, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius* the Pretor, vnto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now lesse credible than before: and (which marred all) *Gesco*, *Nosar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, Carthaginians that were sent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparant. Wherefore a little inquisition serued to finde all out: so that at length *Hannibal*'s owne letters to King *Philip* were deliuered vp, and the whole businesse confessed. The Embassadours and their followers were sent close prisoners to Rome: where the chiefe of them were cast into prison; and the rest sold for bond-slaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into Macedon of all that had happened. Whereupon new Emassage was sent, that went and returned with better speed; concluding, as was agreed before, onely with some losse of time.

The Romans were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heauy weight this Macedonian warre, in an euill houre, was likly to fall vpon them, when their shoulders were over-burdened with the load of the Carthaginian. Yet they tooke a noble resolution; and sutable vnto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would haue beate vpon them from Spaine. They iudged it more easie, with small forces to detaine *Philip* in Greece, than with all their strength to resist him in Italy. And herein they were in the right. For, that the very reputation of a King of Macedon, ioyning with *Hannibal* in such a time, would haue sufficed to shake the allegiance, not onely of the Latines, and other their most faithfull Subjects, but euen of the Roman Colonies that held all priuiledges of the City; it will appeare by the following successe of things. *M. Valerius* the Pretor, with twenty *Quingentis* Gallies, was appointed to attend vpon the Macedonian, and to set on foot some commotion in Greece; or to nourish the troubles already therein begunne. *Philip* was busie about the Sea-townes, that looked towards Italy, setting vpon Apollonia; and thence falling vpon Oricum, which he won, and so returned to Apollonia againe. The Epirots craued helpe of *M. Valerius* (or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other businesse to doe. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in Oricum, was strong enough to hold the Townsmen in good order, but not to keep out the Romans: of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* was then had no suspicion. *Valerius* therefore easily regained the Towne; and sent thence a thousand

thousand men, vnder *Numius Crispus*, an vnder-taking and expert Captaine; which got by night into Apollonia. Thence made a notable sallie; and brake into *Philip*'s Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his campe, and raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to haue departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, coming with his fleet from Oricum, stopped vp the mouth of the Riuer, so that he was faine to burn his ships, (which belike were no better than long boates) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætoli*ans, a Nation alwayes enemy to the Crowne of Macedon; and easily perswaded them (being so affected, as hath else where bene shewed) to make strong warre on *Philip*; wherein he promised them great assistance from the Romans. That which most moued the troublesome spirits of the *Ætoli*ans, was the hope of getting Acarnania: after which they had gaped long; and whereof the Roman was as liberall in making promise, as if already it had bin his owne. So a league was made betwene them: and afterward solemnly published at Olympia, by the *Ætoli*ans; and by the Romans, in their Capitall. The conditions were, That from *Ætolia* to *Corcyra*, in which space Acarnania was contained, all the Countrey should be subdued, and left vnto the *Ætoli*ans, the pillage onely to be giuen to the Romans. And that if the *Ætoli*ans made peace with *Philip*, it should bee with Prouision, to hold no longer than whilest hee abstained from doing iniurie to the Romans, or their Associates. This was indeed the onely point, whereto *Valerius* aimed, who promised as much on the Romans behalfe. That they should not make peace with the Macedonian, vnlesse it were with like condition of including the *Ætoli*ans. Into this league was place reserved for the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, as to those that had made or fauoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the Macedonian, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleauratus*, and *Scerdileus*: the first of which reigned at Pergamus, in Asia the lesse, a Prince hereafter much to be spoken of; the other two held some part of Illyria, about which the Romans were so farre from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates, are thrust into the Treatie; rather to giue it countenance, than for any readinesse which they disclose to enter thereinto. The *Ætoli*ans alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Pretor, with *Darmachus* and others, are yet a while the onely men, of whom the Roman Generals must make much; as the late French King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had onely the title of Navarre, was said to court the Maiors of Rochel. *Philip* was not idle, when hee heard wherunto the *Ætoli*ans tended. He repaired his Armie; made a countenance of warre vpon the Illyrians, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infect the kingdome of Macedon, wasted the Countrey about Oricum & Apollonia; and ouer-running the Pelagonians, Dardanians, and others, whom he held suspected, came downe into Thessaly, whence he made shew as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, He thought to stir vp all the Greeks adioyning, against the *Ætoli*ans; whom they generally detested as a nest of Robbers, troublesome to all the Countrey. To which purpose, and to hinder the *Ætoli*ans from breaking into Greece, He left *Perseus*, his son and heire, with foure thousand men, vpon their borders: with the rest of his Armie, before greater businesse should ouer-take and entangle him. Hee made a long journey into Thrace, against a people called the Medes; that were wont to fall vpon Macedon, whensoever the King was absent. The *Ætoli*ans, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the Acarnanians; in hope to subdue those their daily enemies, and winne their little Countrey, ere he should be able to returne. Hereto it much auailed, that the Romans had already taken Oeniadæ and Naxos, Acarnanian Townes conveniently situated to let in an Armie; and consigned them vnto the *Ætoli*ans, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the stout resolution of the Acarnanians, not to die (as we say) euery Mothers sonne of them, in defence of their Countrey; together with the great haste of the Macedonian (who layed aside all other businesse) to succour these his friends; caused the *Ætoli*ans to forsake their enterprife. When this Expedition was giuen ouer, the Romans and *Ætoli*ans fell vpon Ancyra, which they took: the Romans assailing it by Sea, the *Ætoli*ans by Land. The *Ætoli*ans had the Towne, and the Romans the spoile.

For these good seruices *M. Valerius* was chosen Consul at Rome; and *P. Sulpicius* sent in his stead, to keepe the warre on foot in Greece. But besides the Roman helpe, *Attalus* of Asia came ouer to assist the *Ætoli*ans. Hee was chiefly moued by his owne ialousie

loue of *Philips* greatness: though somewhat also tickled with the vanity of being chosen by the *Ætolians* their principall Magistrare; which honour, though as better than titularie, he tooke in very louing part. Against the force which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had sent, being ioyned with the maine power of *Ætolia*; *Philips* tried the fortune of two battailes: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, these his troublesome neighbours desired peace of him; and vsed their best meanes to get it. But when the day appointed for the conclusion thereof, was come: their Embassadors, instead of making submission, proposed vnto him such intolerable conditions; as ill befecimed vanquished men to offer: and might therefore well testifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any loue of peace, but feare of being besieged in their owne Towns, that had made them desirous of composition. This feare being taken away, by the encouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as euer: and thrust a garrison of their owne, and some Roman friends, into *Elis*, which threatened *Achaia*; wherein *Philips* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut ouer the streight from *Nassipaci*, wasted the country in a terrible brauery: wherein *Philips* requited them; conning vpon them in great haste from the *Nemæan Games* (which he was then celebrating) and sending them faster away, but nothing richer, than they came.

In the heate of this contention, *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no lesse than *Attalus* held suspected the power of *Philips*, sent a Nauie into Greece, to assist the *Macedonian* party. The like did the *Carthaginians*; and vpon greater reason, as being more interested in the successe of his affaires. *Philips* was too weake by Sea: and though he could man some two hundred ships, yet the vessels were such, as could not hold out against the Roman *Quinquemes*. Wherefore it behoued him, to vse the helpe of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aide came somewhat too late: which might better at first haue kept those Enemies from fastening vpon any part of Greece, than afterward it could serue to driue them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that country. Ere *Philips* could attempt any thing by Sea; it was needfull that he should correct the *Eleans*, bad neighbours to the *Achaians* his principall Confederates. But in assailing their Town, he was incountried by the *Ætolian* and Roman garrison, which drate him backe with some losse. In such cases, especially where God intendeth a great conuersion of Empire, Fame is very powerfull in working. The King had receiued no great detriment, in his retrait from *Elis*: rather he had giuen testimonie of his personall valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horse was slaine vnder him. He had also done after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of foure thousand; with some twenty thousand head of Cattle, which they had brought together into a place of safetie, as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had happened, that in this pursuit of the Roman foragers about *Sicyon*, his horse running hastily vnder a low tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which (after the fashion of those times) the King wore in his Crest. This was gathered vp by an *Ætolian*, who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of *Philips* death. The horne was well knowne, and the tale believed. At *Macedon*, therefore was in an uproare: and not only the Borderers, ready to fall vpon the Country; but some Captains of *Philips*, easily corrupted; who thinking to make themselves a fortune in this change of things, ranne into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the King returned home, leaving not three thousand men, to assist his friends the *Achaians*. He also tooke order, to haue Beacons erected, that might giue him notice of the Enemies doings, vpon whom he might shortly retorne. The affaires of *Macedon*, his presence quickly established. But in Greece all went ill fauouredly: especially in the Ile of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus* and the *Romans*, the Town of *Oreum*, ere *Philips* could arrive to helpe it: where also the strong Citie of *Chalcis* was likely to haue been lost, if he had not come the sooner. He made such hastie marches, that he had almost taken *Attalus* in the Citie of *Opus*: This Citie, lying ouer against *Eubœa*, *Attalus* had wonne more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had vsed: now because the Roman soldiers had defrauded him in the sacke of *Oreum*, and taken all to themselves: it was agreed, that *Attalus* should make his best profit of the Opuntians, without admitting the *Romans* to be his sharers. But whilst he was busie, in drawing as much money as he could out of the Citizens, the sudden tidings of *Philips* arrivall, made him leaue all behinde him, and ranne away to the Sea-side, where he got aboard his ships, finding the *Romans*

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gone before, vpon the like feare. Either the indignity of this misadventure; or tydings of *Prusias* the *Bithynian* his invasion vpon the kingdome of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* retorne home, without staying to take leaue of his friends. So *Philips* recovered *Opus*, wane *Torone*, *Erebonos*, *Drymon*, and many small townes in those parts; performing likewise some actions, of more brauerie than importance, against the *Ætolians*. In the meane season, *Machanidas*, the tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had bene busie in *Poloponnesus*; but hearing of *Philips* arrivall, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, went about to chooe two new Kings, and to conforme themselves to their old manner of government. But their Estate was so farre out of tune, that their hope of redressing things within the Citie, proued no lesse vnfurnate, than had bene their attempts of recouering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a tyrant rose vp among them: vpon whom succeeded this *Machanidas*; & shortly after came *Nabis*, that was worse than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* & Roman side, for feare of the *Achaians*, that were the chief Confederates of *Philips*; and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant, and *Lacedæmonian*. But of these we shall speake more hereafter.

Philips entering into *Achaia*, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment of assurance to that Countrey; spake braue words to the Assembly of their States, saying, That he had to doe with an Enemy, that was very nimble, and made warre by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Orcom*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*: but could no where find them, such haste they made, for feare of being ouertaken. But flight, hee saide, was not alwayes prosperous: hee should one day light vpon them, as ere this he sundry times had done, and kill to their losse. The *Achaians* were glad to heare these words, and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For hee restored vnto their Nation some Townes that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the *Megalopolitans* their Confederates, he rendered *Aliphera*. The *Dynæans*, that had bene taken by the *Romans*, and sold for slaves, he sought out, ransomed, and put in quiet possession of their owne Citie. Further, passing ouer the *Corinthian* Gulfe, he fell vpon the *Ætolians*: whom hee draue into the mountaines and woods, or other their strongest holds; and wasted their Country. This done, he tooke leaue of the *Achaians*: and returned home by Sea, visited the people that were his subiects, or dependants: and animated them so well, that they rested carelesse of any threatening danger. Then had he leasure to make warre vpon the *Dardanians*, his neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom neuer thelesse he was not so far occupied, but that he could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred gallies, whereby to make himselfe Master of the Sea; the *Romans* (since the departure of *Attalus*) hauing not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ranne along the coast of Greece, fast by them where they lay.

This good successe added much reputation to the *Macedonian*, and emboldned him to make strong warre vpon the *Ætolians*, at their owne doores. As for the *Romans*, either some displeasure, conceiued against their Confederates, or some feare of danger at home, when *Asdrubal* was ready to fall vpon Italy; caused them to giue ouer the care of things in Greece, and leaue their friends there to their owne fortunes. The *Ætolians* therefore, being driuen to great extremitie, were faine to sue for peace vnto *Philips*; and accept it; vpon what euer conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirtie fye gallies, came ouer in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, he turned aside to *Dyrrachium*, & *Apollonia*, making a great noise as if with these his owne forces he would worke wonders. But it was not long ere *Philips* came to visit him; and found him tame enough. The King presented him battell; but he refused it: and suffering the *Macedonians* to waste the Country round about, before his eyes, kept himselfe close within the wals of *Apollonia*, making some Ouertures of peace: which caused *Philips* to return home quietly. The *Romans* had not so great cause to be displeased with the *Ætolians*, as had *Philips* to take in euil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithstanding the royall offer that he made them, to serue their turne in Italy, and assist them, in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requital; they had not sent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient abilitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transportation

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of his Armie, or to free his dole from the Roman and Aetolian Pyracies. One by one they came to his helpe, which was, in his last journey, into Achaia. But they were gone againe before his arrival: having done nothing, and depending feare of being taken by the Romans, even at such time as *Philip*, with his own Armie, durst boldly passe by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him: of his wretched dealing, to the Carthaginians, may therefore seeme to have bin one of *Hannibal*'s tricks, whereof *Hannibal* so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly, to see that so great a King made dole to serve in prison under *Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the world at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as he could suggest, to perswade the Carthaginians, vnto a safe and easy course: which was, not to admit into the follow-
 ship of their Italian wares, to mighty a Prince, whose change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; on his much affection with *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberty. Rather they should doe well to saue changes, and face the Macedonian with hopes; by making many promises of sendinge sweet and speedie succours. This would cost nothing, yet would it serue to terrifie the Romans; & compell them to send part of their forces from home, that might finde this Enemye works abroad. So should the Roman Armies be lessened in Italy; and *Philip*, when once hee was engaged in the warre, be urged vnto the prosecution, by his owne necessitie: putting the Carthaginians to little or no charges; yea, leaving to the labour of giuing him thanks. Now, if it might come to passe, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that Rome, and all Italy should within a while be at the deuotion of Carthage: better it were, that the Cities should be free, so as the troublesome Greeks might addresse their complaints vnto the Carthaginians, as competent Iudges betwene them and the Macedonians; rather than that *Hannibal*, with the power of Africke, should waite vpon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a Carthaginian hateful in Greece, and oblige *Philip* to be no lesse rapacious in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsaile of *Quintus* and his fellows, were such as this; or whether the Carthaginians, of their owne disposition, without his aduice, were too sparing, and carelesse, the matter (as farre as concerned *Philip*) came to this reckoning. For they did him no manner of good: but rather dodged with him; euen in their little civillie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why hee began the building of an hundred Gallies; as if hee would let them and others know, where to his proper strength would have reached, had hee not vainely giuen credit to faithlesse promises. When therefore the Aetolians had submitted themselves already; and when the Romans desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very feare of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the Carthaginians; but a Potentale to haue succoured them in their necessitie, he might giue over the warre; and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For he had wilfully entered into trouble for their sakes; but they despised him, as if the quarrell were merely his owne, and he unable to manage it.

The vanity of which their conceits would appeare vnto them: when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yere following it was agreed, by mediation of the Epirots, Acarnanians, and others, that the Romans should retaine three or foure Townes of Illyria, which they had recovered in this war, being part of their old Illyrian conquest: Places no way belonging to the Macedonian; and therefore perhaps inserted into the covenants; but for what might serue to haue beene gotten. On the other side, the Aetolians were appointed to returne vnder the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Orontius* probably conceiues) the people of the Countrey about Apollonia, then did the Romans abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appeares, that they did not giue peace, as they would seeme to haue dole, but accepted it, vpon conditions somewhat to the selfe.

The Confederates and Dependants of the Macedonian, comprehended in this Peace, were the King of Bithynia, the Achaians, Boeotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, & Epirots. On the Roman side were named first, the people of Ilium, as an honourable remembrance of the Romans descent from Troy; then, *Attalus* king of Pergamum; *Antiochus*, an Illyrian Prince; & *Nabis*, the tyrant of Macedonia, together with the Eleans, Messenians, and

and Athenians. The Aetolians were omitted, belike, as hauing agreed for themselves before. But the Eleans and Messenians, followers of the Aetolians, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their League with *Philip*) were also inserted by the Romans; that were neuer slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the Athenians: they stood much vpon their old honour; and loued to beare a part, though they did nothing in all great actions. Yet the setting downe of their names in this Treaty, serued the Romans to good purpose: forasmuch as they were a busie people, and ministred occasion to renew the warre, when meanes did better serue to follow it.

S. XIII.

How the Romans began to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relieuing the publike necessities of their Common-weale.

IT was a great fault in the Carthaginians, that embracing so many Enterprises at once, they followed all by the halues: and wasted more men and money to no purpose, than would haue serued (if good order had bene taken) to finish the whole warre, in farre shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the Romans held. This error had become the lesse harmfull, if their care of Italy had bin such as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal*, to wearie himselfe with expectation of their promised supplies: which being still deferred from yere to yere, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conquerour could haue desired. The death of *Posthumus*, and destruction of his whole Armie in Gaule; the begun rebellion of the Sardinians; the death of *Hiero* their friend in Syracuse; with great alterations, much to their preiudice, in the whole Isle of Sicily, as also that warre, of which we last spake, threatned from Macedon; happening all at one time; and that so neere after their terrible ouerthrow at Cannæ, among so many reuolts of their Italian Confederates, would vtterly haue sunke the Roman State, had the Carthaginians, if not the first yere, yet at least the second, sent over to *Hannibal* the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that euen this diuersitie of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administred matter vnto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, whereupon to worke. For though it were in the power of Carthage, to performe all that was decreed for Italy: yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care, and required their severall Armies. This had not bene a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had bene thoroughly prosecuted: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperitie of *Hannibal* in his Italian warre, should haue bene strengthened; whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender troups, wherewith the Carthaginians fed the warre in Spaine; the lingring aide which they sent, to vp-hold the Sardinian rebellion, when it was already well-neere beaten downe; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hastie catching at Sicily: little deserued to be thought good reasons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather euery one of these Actions, considered a part by it selfe, was no otherwise to be allowed as discreetly vnder-taken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition, That the care of Italy, made the Carthaginians more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serue to content *Hannibal*, then must hee patiently endure to know, that his owne Citizens were iealous of his Greatnesse, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatsoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himselfe to Necessity; to feed his Italian friends with hopes; & to trifle away the time about Nola, Naples, Cumæ, and other places: being loth to spend his Armie in an hard siege, that was to be reserved for a worke of more importance. Many offers he made vpon Nola, but alwayes with bad successe. Once *Marcellus* fought a battell with him there: yet vnder the very walls of the Towne; hauing the assistance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the Roman side, since the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* in that fight lost: which was no great maruaile; his forces being then diuided, and employed in sundry parts of Italy. At once, Naples was, euen in those dayes, a strong City; and required a yere worke to haue taken it by force.

Wherefore the earnest desire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwaies frustrate. Vpon the town of *Canine* they of *Capua* had their plot, & were in hope to take it by cunning. They sent to the chief Magistrates of the *Cumans*, desiring them (as being also *Campans*) to be present at a solemne sacrifice of the Nation, wherethey would consult about their generall good: promising to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole Assembly from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made shew to entertaine; but priuily sent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the Roman Consul.

Gracchus was a very good man of warre, and happily chosen Consul in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should haue beene *Posthumius Albinus*, that was lately slaine by the *Gaules*: after whose death *Marcellus* was chosen, as being iudged the fittest man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the Roman Augures either found some religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at least they faigned so to haue done, because this was the first time, that euer two *Plebeian* Consuls were chosen together. *Marcellus* therefore gaue ouer the place: and *Q. Fabius Maximus* the late famous Dictator, was substituted in his roome. But *Fabius* was detained in the City, about matters of Religion, or Superstition: wherewith Rome was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Consular Armie, waited vpon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*: not able to meet the Enemy in field; yet intentiue to all occasions, that should be presented. The *Volones*, or *Slaves*, that lately had beene armed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his men, he continually trained: and had not a greater care, to make his Army skilfull in the exercises of warre, than to keepe it from quarrels, that might arise by vpbraiding one another with their base conditions.

Whilest the Consul was thus busied at *Linternum*; the Senators of *Cumæ* sent him word of all that had passed betwene them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occasion to flesh his men, and make them confident against the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himselfe into *Cumæ*: whence hee issued at such time, as the Magistrates of that Citie were expected by the *Campans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hamæ*, three miles from *Cumæ*. There lay *Marius Alfius* the chiefe Magistrate of *Capua*, with foureteene thousand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather deuising how to surpris others, than fearing himselfe to be assailed. The Consul therefore suffering none to goe forth of *Cumæ*, that might beare word of him to the Enemies, issued out of the towne when it grew darke: his men being well refreshed with meate and sleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights scruice. So he came vpon the *Capuans* vnawares: and slew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander; losing not aboue a hundred of his owne men. Their campe he tooke: but tarried not long to rife it, for feare of *Hannibal*, who lay not farre off. By this his providence, he escaped a greater losse, than he had brought vpon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hamæ*; forthwith he marched thither: hoping to finde those young souldiers, and slaves, busied in making spoile, and loading themselves with the bootie. But they were all gotten safe within *Cumæ*; which partly for anger, partly for desire of gaining it, and partly at the vrgent entreatie of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* assailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill successe, the *Carthaginians* and their fellows spent, about this towne. They raised a wooden Tower against it; which they brought close vnto the walls, thinking thereby to force an Entrie. But the Defendants, on the inside of the wall, raised against this an high Tower: whence they made resistance; and found meanes at length, to consume with fire the worke of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were busie in quenching the fire; the *Romans*, sallying out of the towne at two gates, charged them valiantly, and draue them to their trenches; with the slaughter of about foureteene hundred. The Consul wisely sounded the Retreat; ere his men were too farre engaged, and *Hannibal* in readinesse to requite their seruice. Neither would he, in the pride of his good successe, adventure forth against the Enemy; who presented him battell the day following, decere vnto the walls. *Hannibal* therefore, seeing no likelihood to preuaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake vp the siege; and returned to his old campe at *Tifata*. About these times, and shortly after, when *Fabius* the other Consul had raked the field; some small towns were recovered by the *Romans*, and the people severely punished for their revolt.

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The *Carthaginian* Armie was too small, to fill with garrisons all places that had yeelded; and withall to abide (as it must doe) strong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supply from home, that should enable him to strike at Rome it selfe, was driuen in the meane time to alter his course of war: and, in stead of making (as formerly he had done) a generall intiation vpon the whole Countrey, to passe from place to place; and wait vpon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Countrey of the *Hirpines* and *Sannites*, was grieuously wasted by *Marcellus*, in the absence of *Hannibal*; as also was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Consul, when *Hannibal* hauing followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and receiued there the losse before mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. These people shewed not the like spirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the *Romans*, in their owne behalfe, to get the Soueraigntie. They held it reason, that they should be protected, by such as thought to haue dominion ouer them: whereby at once they ouerburdened their new Lords; and gaue vnto their old, the more easie meanes, to take reuenge of their defection.

The people of Rome were very intrentiue, as necessitie constrained them, to the worke that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Consulship: and ioyned with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed vnto that honour the yeere before. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the Shield: and *Marcellus* the Roman Sword. In *Fabius* it was highly, and vpon iust reason, commended, That being himselfe Consul, and holding the Election, he did not stand vpon nice points of formality, or regard what men might thinke of his ambition, but caused himselfe to be chosen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the City stood of able Commanders. The great name of these Consuls, & the great preparations which the *Romans* made, serued to put the *Campans* in feare, that *Capua* it selfe should be besieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal*, at their earnest entreaty, came from *Arpi*: (where he lay, hearkening after newes from *Tarentum*) and, hauing with his presence comforted these his friends, fell on the sudden vpon *Puteoli*, a Sea-towne of *Campania*; about which he spent three dayes in vaine, hoping to haue wonne it. The garrison in *Puteoli* was sixe thousand strong: and did their dutie so well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good successe, could onely shew his anger vpon the fields there, and about *Naples*; which hauing done, and once more (with as ill successe as before) assayed *Nola*; he bent his course to *Tarentum*: wherein hee had very great intelligence. Whilest hee was in his progresse thither, *Hanno* made a iourney against *Beneuentum*: and *T. Gracchus* the last yeeres Consul, hasting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a battell. *Hanno* had with him about foueteene thousand foot, *Brutius* & *Lucius* for the most part; besides twelue hundred horse; very few of which were *Italians*, all the rest, *Numidians* and *Moors*. Hee held the Roman worke foure houres, ere it could be perceiued to which side the victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his souldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed *slaves*, had receiued from their Generall a peremptory denunciation, That this day, or neuer, they must purchase their liberty, bringing euery man, for price thereof, an Enemies head. The sweet reward of liberty was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vaine labour, imposed by their Generall, of cutting off the slaine enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindered the seruice, by imployment of so many hands, in a worke so little concerning the victorie. *Gracchus* therefore finding his owne error, wisely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should haue libertie immediately after the battell, if they wonne the day. This encouragement made them runne headlong vpon the Enemy; whom their desperate furie had soone ouerthrowne; if the Roman Horse could haue made their part good against the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and pressed so hard vpon the *Romans* battell, that foure thousand of the *slaves*, (for feare either of him, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatened before the battell, vnto those that should not valiantly beaue themselves) retired vnto a ground of strength; yet was he glad at length to saue himselfe by flight, when the Grasse of his Armie was broken; being vnable to remedy the losse. Leaving the field, hee was accompanied by no more than two thousand: most of which were horse; all the rest were either slaine or taken. The Roman Generall gaue vnto all his souldiers that reward of liberty which he had promised: but vnto those foure thousand, which had recoiled

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vnto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they serued in the wars, they should neither eat nor drink otherwise than standing, vnlesse sicknesse forced them to breake his order. So the victorious Armie returned to Beneuentum: where the newly enfranchised souldiers were feasted in publike by the townsmen; some sitting, some standing, and all of them hauing their heads couered (as was the custome of slaues manumifed) with Caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterward hung vp in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of Libertie, which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the first Battell, worthy of great note, which the Carthaginians had lost since the comming of *Hannibal* into Italy: the victories of *Marcellus* at Nola, and of this *Gracchus* before at Hamæ, being things of small importance.

Thus the Romans through industry, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at Cannæ. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasurie was so poore, that no industrie nor art could serue to helpe it. The fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) serue, to feed their Townes and Armies, without any surpluse, that might be exchanged for other needfull commodities. Few they were in Italy, that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worse doe than before; as liuing vpon the same trade, and subiect to the same inconueniences, which enfeebled Rome it selfe. Sicil & Sardinia, that were wont to yeeld great profit, hardly now maintained the Roman Armies, that lay in those Prouinces, to hold them safe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of Rome, euery one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now doe least for his Countrey, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised vpon them by the *Poll*, yet must it be farre lesse, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently considering the greatnesse of the warre within the bowels of Italy, that could not be thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein Sicil and Sardinia stood, both of the Carthaginians, and of many among the Naturalls declining from the friendship or subiection of Rome; the threats of the Macedonian, ready to land in the Easterne parts of Italy, if they were not at the cost to finde him worke at home; the greater threats of *Asdrubal*, to follow his brother ouer the Alpes, as soone as he could rid himselfe of the *Scipio's* in Spaine; and the povertie of the Common-wealth, which had not money for any one of these mortall dangers; were driuen almost euen to extreme want of counsell. But being vrged by the violence of swift necessitie, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio's* from Spaine; they resolu'd vpon the onely course, without the which the Citie could not haue subsisted.

They called the people to assembly: wherein *Quintus Fuluius* the Pretor laid open the publique wants; and plainly said, That in this exigent, there must be no taking of money for victuall, weapons, apparell, or the like things needfull to the Souldiers; but that such as had stuffe, or were Artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loane of their commodities, and labours vntill the warre were ended. Hereunto he so effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or Customers, and those which in former times had liued vpon their dealing in the common Reuenues, that the charge was vnderaken by priuate men; and the Armie in Spaine as well supplied, as if the Treasurie had bene full. Shortly after this, *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, and *Publius Furius Philus* the Roman Censors, taking in hand the redresse of disorders within the Citie, were chiefly intentiue to the correction of those, that had mis-behaued themselves in this present warre. They began with *L. Cecilius Metellus*: who, after the battell at Cannæ, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if Rome, and all Italy, had bene no better than lost. After him they tooke in hand those, that hauing brought to Rome the message of their fellowes made prisoners at Cannæ, returned not backe to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once backe into his Campe, with pretence of taking better notice of the Captiues names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; euen whosoeuer had not serued in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes appointed: Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had vsed to be) hurtfull onely in reputation: but greater weight was added thereunto, by this Decree of the Senate,

Senate, following; That all such as were noted with infamie by these Censors, should be transported into Sicil, there to serue vntill the end of the warre, under the same hard conditions, that were imposed vpon the Remainder of the Armie beaten at Cannæ. The office of the Censors was, to take the List and accompt of the Citizens; to choose or displace the Senatours; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) vpon those, whose vn honest or vnseemely behauiour fell not within the compasse of the Law. They tooke also an accompt of the Roman Gentlemen: amongst whom they distributed the publique Horles of seruice, vnto such as they thought meet; or took them away for their misbehaviour. Generally, they had the ouer-sight of mens liues and manners: and their censure was much reuerenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rancke; or making them change their Tribe; or (vvhich was the most that they could doe) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasurie, from which others were exempted. But besides the care of this generall Taxe, and matters of Moraltie, they had the charge of all publique Workes; as mending of High-ways, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man inroached vpon the streets, High-ways, or other places that ought to be common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customes, and other publique Reuenues, to farme: so that most of the Citizens of Rome were beholding vnto this Office, as maintaining themselves by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small helpe to conserue the dignitie of the Senate: the commonalty being obnoxious vnto the Censors, which were alwaies of that Order, and carefull to vp-hold the reputation thereof. But the Common-wealth being now impouerished by warre, and hauing small store of lands to let, or of customes that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with putting the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or if they took a view of what was requisite to be done in this kinde; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generositie of the Romans. They that had been accustomed, in more happy times, to vndertake such pieces of worke, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if there had been no such want: promising liberally their cost and trauell; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the warre. In like sort, the Masters of those slaues, that lately had been infranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbear the price of them, vntill the Citie were in better case to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieue, as farre forth as euery one was able, the common necessity; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widowes liuing vnder Patronage, were brought into the Treasurie; and there the Quæstor kept a Booke of all that was layed out for the sustenance of these Widowes and Orphans: whilest the whole stocke was vsed by the Citie. This good example of those which remained in the Towne, preuailed with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their country was in so great want.

The twelue hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the Carthaginians; nor any iniuries following, done by the Romans in the height of their pride; yeelded halfe so much commoditie, as might be laid in ballance against these miseries, whereinto their Estate was now reduced. Neuerthelesse, if we consider things aright, the calamities of this Warre did rather inable Rome to deale with those Enemies, whom she forthwith vnder-tooke, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto she attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names we haue already mentioned. For by this hammering, the Roman mettall grew more hard and solide: and by paring the branches of priuate fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the Citie of Athens; when *Xerxes* had burnt the Towne to ashes, and taken from euery particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which rested in the common happinesse of the vniuersality. Certaine it is, (as *Sir Francis Bacon* hath iudiciously obserued) That a State, whose dimation or stemme is small, may aptly serue to be foundation of a great Monarchie: which chiefly comes to passe, where all regard of domestickall prosperity is laid aside, and euery mans care addressed to the benefit of his Country. Hereof I might say, that our Age hath seen a great example, in the vnited Prouinces in the Netherlands; whose present riches

and strength grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Towns, or almost of their Families, perceived it selfe to hold, whilst the generality was oppressed by the Duke of Alua; were it so, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme industrie, and straining themselves to fill their publike Treasurie, they are all growne wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their seruices by Land. Wherefore if we value at such a rate as we ought, the patient resolution, conformity to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and about all other, the great loue of the Common-weale, which was found in Rome in these dangerous times: we may truly say, That the Citie was neuer in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being grown more large and beautifull, should in all reason haue been more deare vnto them, if the riches and delicacies of Asia had not infected them with sensuality, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens, and Subiects of Rome could haue beleued their owne interest to be as great, in those vvarres which these latter Emperours made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded vpon so great vertue, could not haue been throwne downe by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they neuer so many. But vnto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though he hath giuen vnto Man the knowledge of those waies, by which kingdoms rise and fall; yet hath left him subiect vnto the affections, which draw on these fatall changes, in their times appointed.

§. XIII.

The Romans winne some Townes backe from Hannibal. Hannibal winnes Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two victories of Hannibal. The journey of Hannibal to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.

AS the People of Rome strained themselves to the utmost, for maintaining the warre: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industrie, in seeking to recover what had beene lost. The towne of Cassilina, *Fabius* besieged. It was well defended by the Carthaginian garrison, and likely to haue been relieved by those of Capua, if *Marcellus* from Nola had not come to the assistance of his Colleague. Neuerthelessse the place held out so obstinately, that *Fabius* was purposed to giue it over: saying, that the enterprise was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. He said, That many such things, as were not at first to haue been vnder-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be prosecuted vnto the best effect. So the siege held on: and the towne was pressed so hard, that the Campanians dwelling therein grew fearefull, and craued parlee; offering to giue it vp, so as all might haue leaue to depart in safetie, whither they pleased. Whilst they were thus treating of conditions: or whilst they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diuersly reported) *Marcellus* seizing vpon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to sword that came in their way. Fiftie of those that were first gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Consul: who saved them, and sent them to Capua in safetie; all the rest were either slaine, or made prisoners. If *Fabius* deferred commendations, by holding his sword good vnto these fifty; I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such, as escaped the heat of execution, could be excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himselfe, after the Roman fashion, with some equiuocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was Mount Marfani in Gascoigne taken by the Marshall *Montluc*, when I was a young man in France. For whilst he entertained parlee about composition; the besieged ranne all from their severall guards, vpon hasty desire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The Marshall therefore discovering a part of the walls vnguarded, entred by *Scalado*, and put all save the Gouverneur vnto the sword. Herein that Gouverneur of Mount Marfani committed two grosse errors, the one, in that he gaue no order for the Capitaines and Companies, to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee, without pledges for assurance giuen and receiued. Some such oversight, the Gouverneur of Cassilina seemeth to haue committed; yet neither the aduantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Montluc*, was very honourable.

table. When this Worke was ended, many small townes of the Samnites, and some of the Lucians and Apulians, were recovered: where in were taken, or slaine, about five and twenty thousand of the Enemies; and the country grievously wasted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying sicke at Nola.

Hannibal in the meane while was about Tarentum, waiting to heare from those, that had promised to giue vp the towne. But *M. Valerius* the Roman Propetor had thrust so many men into it, that the traitours durst not stirre. Wherefore the Carthaginian was faine to depart, hauing vncared himselfe in vaine with expectation. Yet he wasted not the country, but contented himselfe with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward Salapia: vvhich he chose for his wintering place; and began to victuall it, when Summer was but halfe past. It is said, that he was in loue with a yong Wench in that towne, in vvhich regard if he began his winter more timely, than otherwise he required, He did not like the Romans; whom necessity inforced, to make their Summer last as long as they were able to trauell vp & down the country.

About this time began great troubles in Sicily, vvhither *Marcellus* the Consul was sent, to take such order for the Province, as need should require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Consulship, we will speake hereafter.

The new Consuls, chosen at Rome, were *Q. Fabius* the sonne of the present Consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The Romans found it needfull for the publique seruice, to imploy oftentimes their best able men: and therefore made it lawfull, during the warre, to recontinue their Officers, and choose such, as had lately held their places before; without regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant vnto his sonne: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his sonne vnto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the campe, and his sonne rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelue Lictors, which carried an axe with a bundle of rods before the Consul, suffered him, in regard of due reuerence, to passe by them on horse-backe, which was against the custome. But the sonne perceiuing this, commanded the last of his Lictors to note it: who therupon bore to the old *Fabius* alight, and came to the Consul on his feete. The father cheerfully did so, saying, *It was my mind, sonne, to make triall, whether thou diddest understand thy selfe to be Consul.* *Cassius Albinus* a wealthy Citizen of Arpi, who, after the battell at Cannae, had holpen the Carthaginian into that towne, seeing now the fortune of the Romans to amend; came priuily to this Consul *Fabius*, and offered to render it backe vnto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Consul purposed to follow old examples: and to make this *Albinus* a patterne to all traitors; vsing him, as *Candillus* and *Fabius* had done those, that offered their faithfull seruice against the Falisci, and King *Pyrrius*. But *Q. Fabius* the father, was of another opinion: and said, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, That it should be thought more safe to requite from the Romans than to turne vnto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that he should be sent to the towne of Cales; and there kept as prisoner; vntill they could better resolve what to doe with him, or what use to make of him. *Hannibal*, vnderstanding that *Albinus* was gone, and among the Romans, took it not sorrowfully; but thought this a good occasion, to seize vpon all the mans riches, vvhich were great. Yet that he might seeme rather seuerer, than equetous, he sent for the wife and children of *Albinus* into his campe: where hauing examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitiue, partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, he condemned them, as partakers of the treason, to be burnt alive; and tooke all their goods vnto himselfe. *Fabius* the Consul shortly after came to Arpi: which he wonne by *Scalado*, in a stormy and rainy night. Five thousand of *Hannibals* Soldiers lay in the towne; and of the Arpines themselves, there were about three thousand. These were trust formost by the Carthaginian Garrison, when it was vnderstood, that the Romans had gotten ouer the wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Soldiers held the townsmen suspected; and therefore thought it no wisdome, to trust them at their backs. But after some little resistance, the Arpines gaue ouer fight, and entertained parlee with the Romans, protesting, that they had been betrayed by their Princes; and were become subiect to the Carthaginians, against their wills. In proceffe of this discourse, the Arpine Pretor was vnto the Roman Consul; and receiuing his faith for security of the Town, presently

presently made head against the garrison. This notwithstanding, like it is, that *Hannibal* men continued to make good resistance. For when almost a thousand of them, that were Spaniards, offered to leaue their companions, and serue on the Roman side, it was yet couenanted, That the Carthaginians should be suffered to passe forth quietly, & returne to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and so Arpi became Roman againe, with little other losse, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time, Cliternum was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Pretors: and vnto *Cneus Fulvius*, another of the Pretors, an hundred & twelue Gentlemen of Capua offered their seruice, vpon no other condition, than to haue their goods restored vnto them, when their citie should be recovered by the Romans. This was a thing of small importance: but considering the generall hatred of the Campanians toward Rome, it serued to discouer the inclination of the Italians in those times; and how their affections recoiled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had been promised from Carthage. The Contestines also, and the Thurines, people of the Brutians, which had yeelded themselves to *Hannibal*, returned againe to their old allegiance. Others would haue followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a Publican had made himselfe a Capitaine, and gotten reputation by some petty exploits in foraging the Countrey, was slain by *Hanno*; with a great multitude of those that followed him. *Hannibal* in the meane while had all his care bent vpon Tarentum; which if he could take, it seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing ouer that helpe out of Macedon, to which his Carthaginians failed to send. Long he waited, ere he could bring his desire to passe: & being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to preuaile by intelligence, He contented himselfe, with taking in some poore townes of the Salentines. At length, his Agents within Tarentum, found meanes to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One *Phileas*, that was of their conspiracie, vwho lay at Rome as Embassadour, practising with the Hostages of the Tarentines, and such as had the keeping of them, conueighed them by night out of the Citie. But he and his company were the next day so closely pursued, that all of them were taken, and brought backe to Rome, vwhere they suffered death as traitors. By reason of this cruelty, or severity, the people of Tarentum grew to hate the Romans, more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their businesse the more diligently, as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discovered. Wherefore they sent againe to *Hannibal*: and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him for the Tarentines, which they of Capua had made before. *Nico* and *Philomenes*, two the chiefe among them, vsed much to goe forth of the towne on hunting by night; as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for fear of the Carthaginians. Seldome or neuer they missed of their game: for the Carthaginians prepared it readie for their hands, that they might not seeme to haue bene abroad vpon other occasion. From the campe of *Hannibal*, it was about three dayes iourney to Tarentum, if he should haue marched thither with his whole Armie. This caused his long abode in one place the lesse to be suspected: as also to make his Enemies the more secure. He caused it to be giuen out, that he was sicke. But when the Romans within Tarentum, were growne carelesse of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their businesse in order, He tooke with him ten thousand the most expedite of his horse and foot, and long before breake of day, made all speed thitherward. Fourescore light horse of the Numidians ran a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for feare lest he, and his troupe following him, should be discovered. It had bene often the manner of some few Numidian horse, to doe the like in former times: Wherefore the Roman Gouvernour, when he heard tell in the euening, that some Numidians were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a signe, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dislodged; and gaue order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their bootie, and send them gone. But when it grew darke night, *Hannibal* guided by *Philomenes*, came close to the towne: where, according to the tokens agreed vpon, making a light to shew his arriuall, *Nico*, that was within the towne, answered him with another light, in signe that he was ready: Presently *Nico* beganne to set vpon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philomenes* went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his manner) called vnto the Porter, bidding him make haste, for that he had killed a great Bore, so heauy, that scarce two men could stand vnder it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith

forthwith burst two young men, laden with the Boares, which *Hannibal* had prepared before, to be worthy to look on. Which did the Porters good wondring at the largesse of the beast, & *Philomenes* ran a hunt through with his Boar, spurring him, and letting in some thirty armed men, fell vpon the watch, whom when he had slaine, he burst the great gate: so the Armie of *Hannibal*, entering the towne at two gates, went directly toward the Market place, vwhere both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and schoone into quarters within the Citie, with Tarentines to be their guides. They were commaunded to kill all the Romans, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better perswasion in this case, *Hannibal* would the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in sight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheare: All the towne was in uproare, how they would doe, what the matter meant. A Roman trumpet was vnskillfully sounded by a Greek the Theater: which helped the suspicion, both of the Tarentines, and the Romans, who were about to spoyle the Towne, and of the Romans, that the Citizens were in a commotion. The Gouvernour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Cittadell, that stood in the mouth of the Hauens; vwhence, he might easily be perceived on the morning, how the battle passed. *Hannibal*, assembling the Tarentines, gaue them no word of stand, what good affection he bore them; inuenged bitterly against the Romans, as tyrannous oppressors, and spake vnto them, he thought fit for the present. This done, and having gotten what spoyle was to be had of the Souldiers goods, in the Towne, he aduanced himselfe against the Cittadell, hoping that if the Garrison would fall out, he might give them such a blow, as should make them unable to defend the Place. According to his expectation it partly followed: for when he beganne to make his approaches, the Romans ana-bravely jalyng, & charging vpon him: who fell backe of purpose according to direction, richly had drawt on as many as they could, and so farre from their strength, as they durst aduantage. Then *Hannibal* a signe to his Carthaginians, who lay prepared ready for the purpose: and fiercely fasting vpon the backe, slaine him backe with great slaughter, as fast as he could turne; so that afterwards he durst not asse the forth. The Cittadell stood vpon a steepe hill, that was plaine ground, and fortified onely with a ditch and wall around the Towne, whereunto it was ioynd by a causeway. This causeway *Hannibal* intended to forsake in like sort against the Cittadell, to the end that the Tarentines might be able without his helpe, to keepe themselves from all danger thence. His worke in few dayes went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that he conueied hopes of winning the Place it selfe, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all sorts of engines, to force the place: But whilst he was busied in his workes, there came by sea a strong supply from Metaportum: which took away all hope of preuailling, & made him returne to his former counsaile. Now forasmuch as the Tarentine fleet lay within the Hauens, and could not passe forth, whilst the Romans held the Cittadell: it seemed likely, that the towne would suffer want, being debarted of accustomed trade and provisions by Sea: whilst the Roman garrison, by help of their shipping, might easily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Against this inconuenience, it was rather wished by the Tarentines, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the Hauens, to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Towne standing in plaine ground, and their streets being faire and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies ouer land, and to bring them into the Sea without. This he vnderooke, and effected: whereby the Roman garrison was reduced into great necessity; though, with much patience it held out, and *Hannibal* often-times otherwise busied, than his affaires required. Thus with mutual losse on both sides, the time passed: and the Roman forces, growed daily stronger, & *Ennius Fulvius*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great Citie of Capua. Three and twenty Legions the Romans had now armed. This was a great and hastie growth from that want of men and of all necessities, wherinto the losse at Cannae had reduced them. But as fast as the Legions were raised, so fast they were sent to the field, that were vnder severall yeeres of age, and for the seeking out of such Lads as might be serviceable, and pressing them to the wars, making yet a Law, That their yeeres of seruice, wherinto they were bound, by order of the Citie, should be reckoned, for their benefite, from this their beginning to young, as if they had been of lawful age before.

Before the Roman Armie drew neere, the Campani felt great want of victualls, as if they had already been besieged. This happened partly by sloth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoyle, which the Romans had in fore-going ycers made vpon their grounds. They sent therefore Embassadours to *Hannibal*, desiring him to succour them ere they were closed vp, as they feared to be shortly. He gaue them comfortable words: and sent *Hanno* with an Armie to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day, against which they should be ready with all manner of carriages, to store themselves with victualls, that he would prouide. Neither did he promise more than he performed. For he caused great quantity of graine, that had been laid vp in Cities round about, to be brought into his campe, three miles from Beneuentum. Thither at the time appointed came no more than fortie Carts or Wagons, with a few packe-horses, as if this had been enough to victuall Capua. Such was the retchlesnesse of the Campani. *Hanno* was exceeding angry herat: and told them they were worse than very beasts, since hunger could not teach them to haue greater care. Wherefore he gaue them a longer day, against which he made prouision to store them throughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the Roman Consuls, from the Citizens of Beneuentum. Therefore *Fulvius* the Consul, taking with him such strength as he thought needfull for the seruice, came into Beneuentum by night, where with diligence he made inquirie into the behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Armie was gone abroad to make prouisions, that some two thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carts and other Varlers, lay among the Carthaginians in their campe; so that little good order was kept: all thought being set vpon a great haruest. Hereupon the Consul bade his men prepare themselves to assaile the Enemies campe: and leauing all his impediments within Beneuentum, he marched thitherward so early in the morning, that hee was there with the first breake of day. By comming so vnexpected, he had wel-neere forced the Campe on the sudden. But it was very strong and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued, the lesse desire had *Fulvius* to lose more of his men in the attempt, seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he said, that it were better to goe more leisurely and substantially to worke, to send for his fellow-Consul with the rest of their Armie, and to lye betwene *Hanno* and home; that neither the Campani should depart thence, nor the Carthaginians be able to relieue them. Being thus discouraging, and about to found the reitrait, hee saw, that some of his men had gotten ouer the Enemies Rampart. There was great bootie, or (which was all one to the souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Campe. Wherefore some Ensigne-bearers threw their Ensignes ouer the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, vnlesse they would indure the shame and dishonour following such a losse. Feare of such ignominy, than which nothing could be greater, made the Souldiers aduenture so desperately; that *Fulvius*, perceiuing the heat of his men, changed his purpose, and encouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the example of them, that had already gotten ouer the Trenches. Thus the Campe was wonne: in which were slaine aboue fixe thousand; and taken, aboue seuen thousand, besides all the store of victualls, and carriages, with abundance of bootie, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the Roman Confederates. This misadventure, and the neerer approach of both the Consuls, made them of Capua send a pittifull Embassage to *Hannibal*: putting him in minde of all the loue, that he was wont to protest vnto their Citie; and how he had made shew, to affect it no lesse than Carthage. But now, they said, it would be lost, as Arpi was lately, if he gaue nor strong and speedy succour. *Hannibal* answered with comfortable words: and sent away two thousand horse, to keep their grounds from spoile, whilest he himselfe was detained about Tarentum, partly by hope of winning the Citadell, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many townes adioyning, to yeeld vnto him. Among the hostages of the Tarentines, that lately had fled out of Rome, and being ouer-taken, suffered death for their attempt, were some of the Metapontines, and other cities of the Greeks, inhabiting that Easterne part of Italy, which was called of old *Magna Gracia*. These people took to hart the death of their hostages, and thought the punishment greater than the offence. Wherefore the Metapontines, as soon as the Roman garrison was taken from them, to defend the citadell of Tarentum, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The Thurines would haue done the like, vpon the like reason, had not some companies lye in their Towne;

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Towne, which they feared that they should not be able to master. Neuertheless, they helped themselves by cunning: inuading to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were near at hand; against whom whilest they proffered their seruice to *Hannibal*, the Roman Capitaine, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling from him, closed vp their gates. A little formality they vsed in pretending feare, lest the Enemy should breake in together with the Romans, in saying, *Hannibal* himselfe, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while, because perhaps many of their chiefe men were vnacquainted with the practice whether they should yeeld to the Carthaginian, or no. But this disposition lasted not long: for they that had removed the chiefe impediment, easily prevailed in the rest, and deliuered vp the towne to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good successe, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in those quarters, whilest the Consuls fortifying Beneuentum to secure their backs, addressed themselves vnto the siege of Capua.

Many disasters befell the Romans, in the beginning of this great enterprise. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of warre, that had of late been twice Consul, was slaine, either by treachery of some Lucans, that drew him into ambush, or by some Carthaginian stragglers, among whom he fell vnawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himselfe, or (for the reports agree not) by the Romans, to whom *Hannibal* sent it. He was appointed to lie in Beneuentum, there to secure the backe of the Army that should besiege Capua. But his death happened in an ill time, to the great hinderance of that busines. The Volones or Slaues, lately manumised, forsook their Ensignes, and went euery one whither he thought good, as if they had been discharged by the decease of their Leader, so that it asked some labour to seeke them out, and bring them backe into their camp. Neuertheless, the Consuls went forward with their work, and drawing neer to Capua, did all acts of hostility which they could. *Mago* the Carthaginian, and the citizens of Capua, gaue them an hard welcome, wherein aboue fifteene hundred Romans were lost. Neither was it long ere, *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Consuls, and had the better, inso much that he caused them to dislodge. They removed by night, and went seuerall waies: *Fulvius* towards Cannæ, *Claudius* into Lucania. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who hauing led him a great walke, fetcht a compassse about, and returned to Capua. It so fell out, that one *Marcus Centenius Penula*, a stout man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* rested, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the Roman Senate, of wonders which he would worke, if he might be trusted with the leading of five thousand men. The Fathers were vnwilling in such a time, to reiect the vertue of any good Souldier, how meane soeuer his condition were. Wherefore they gaue him the charge of eight thousand: and he himselfe being a proper man, and talking brauely, gathered vp so many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gaue proofe of the difference, between a stout Centurion, and one able to command in chiefe. He and his fellowes were all (in a manner) slaine, scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soone after this, *Hannibal* had word, that *Cneus Fulvius*, a Roman Pretor with eighteen thousand men, was in Apulia, very careless, and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore he hastened to visit him: hoping to deale the better with the maine strength of Rome, which pointed at Capua, when he should haue cut off those forces, that lay in the Prouinces about, vnder men of small ability. Coming vpon *Fulvius*, he found him and his men so jolly, that needs they would haue fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he bestowed *Mago* with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offering battell to *Fulvius*, he soone had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to escape aliue, leauing all, saue two thousand of his followers, dead behind him.

These two great blowes, receiued the one presently after the other, much astonished the Romans. Neuertheless, all care was taken, to gather vp the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Consuls should goe substantially forwards with the siege of Capua; which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls sat down before the towne, and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Pretors, came with his Army from Suessula to their assistance. They made Proclamation, That whosoever would issue out of Capua before a certain day prefixed, should

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haue his pardon, and be suffered to inioy all that vnto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contemptuously rejected; the Capuans relying on their owne strength, and the succours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was closed vp, they sent Messengers to the Carthaginian, which found him at Brundisium. He had made a long iourney, in hope of gaining the Tarentine Citadell: of which expectation failing, he turned to Brundisium, vpon aduertisement that he should be let in. There the Capuans met him, told him of their danger with earnest words, and were with words bravely re-comforted. He bade them consider, how a few dayes since he had chased the Consuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would presently come thither again, and send the Romans going, as fast as before. With this good answer the Messengers returned, and hardly could get backe into the City, which the Romans had almost intrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himselfe, he was of opinion, that Capua, being very wel manned, and heartily deuoted vnto his friendship, would hold out a long time, and therby giue him leisure, to doe what he thought requisite among the Tarentines, and in those Easterne parts of Italy, whilst the Roman Army spent ittselfe in a tedious siege. Thus he lingred, and therby gaue the Consuls time, both to fortifie themselves at Capua, & to dispatch the election of new Magistrats in Rome; whilst he him selfe pursued hopes, that neuer found successe.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their terme of office was expired, were appointed to continue the siege at Capua, retaining the same Armies as Proconsuls. The townes-men often sallied out; rather in a brauery, than likelihood to vvorke any matter of effect; the Enemy lying close within his Trenches, as intending, without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the Campan hoste (for their foot was easily beaten) the Romans vsed to thrust out some troupes, that should hold them skirmiish. In these exercises the Campans vsually had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemy, who scorned to take foile at the hands of such Rebels. It was therefore deuised, that some active and courageous yong men, should learne to ride behind the Roman men at armes, leaping vp, and against dismounting lightly, as occasion serued. These were furnished like the Velites, hauing each of them three or foure small darts: which, alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thicke vpon the Enemies horse; whom vanquishing in this kinde of seruice, they much disheartened in the maine. The time thus passing, and famine daily increasing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the Romans: and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galaria*, fell vpon their Campe. At the same time the Capuans issued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deuise: setting all their multitude of vnseruiceable people on the wals, which with a loud noyse of Pans and Basons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* opposing himselfe to the Campans, easily defended his Trenches against them; & so well repressed them, that he draue them at length backe into their City. Neuertheless, in pursuing them to their gates, He receiued a wound, that accompanied him in short space after to his graue. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to his taske, by *Hannibal* and the Carthaginian army. The Roman camp was euen at point to haue bin lost; and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought three & thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or else (for the report varies) being some of them slaine vpon it, fell into the ditch, & filled it vp in such sort, that their bodies serued as a bridge vnto the Assailants. It is said, that *Hannibal* in this tumult caused some fugitiues, that could speake Latine wel, to proclaim aloud, as it were in the Consuls name, That euery one of the Souldiers should shift for himselfe, and flie betimes vnto the next hills, forasmuch as the Camp was already lost. But all would not serue. The fraud was detected: and the Army, hauing sitten there so long, had at good leisure strongly intrenched ittselfe, so as little hope there was to raise the siege by force.

This did extremely perplex the Carthaginian. The purchase of Capua had (as was thought) withheld him from taking Rome ittselfe: & now his desire of winning the Tarentine citadell, had wel-neer lost Capua; in respect of which, neither the Citadell, nor the City of Tarentum, were to haue bin much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himselfe and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater vse: on the sudden he entertained an haughty resolution, euen to set vpon Rome; and carry to the wals of that proud City, the danger of waire that threatened Capua. This he thought would be a meane, to draw the Roman Generals, or

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one of them at least, vnto the defence of their owne home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Army, then had he his desire: If they diuided their forces, then was it likely, that either he, or the Campans, should well enough deale with them apart. Neither did he despaire, that the terror of his coming might so astonish the multitude within Rome, as he might enter some part or other of the City. His onely feare was, lest the Campans, being ignorant of his purpose, should thinke he had forsaken them; and therupon forthwith yeeld themselves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he sent letters to Capua by a subtile Numidian: who running as a fugitiue into the Roman Camp, conueighed himselfe thence ouer the innermost Trenches into the Citie. The iourney to Rome, was to be performed with great celerity: no small hope of good successe, resting in the suddenesse of his arriuall there. Wherefore he caused his men, to haue in a readinesse ten dayes victuals; and prepared as many boates, as might in one night transport his Armie ouer the Riuer of Vulturius. This could not be done so closely, but that the Roman Generals by some fugitiues had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate, which was therewith affected, according to the diuersitie of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gaue counsell to let alone Capua, yea and all places else, rather than to put the towne of Rome into perill of being taken by the enemy. Others were so farre from allowing of this, as they wondred how any man could thinke, that *Hannibal*, being vnable to relieue Capua, should iudge himselfe strong enough to winne Rome; and therefore stoutly said, That those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would serue the turne well enough, to keepe him out, and send him thence, if he were so vnwise, as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters should be sent to *Fulvius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in Rome: who, since they knew best, what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to iudge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred vnto the discretion of these Generals at Capua, to do as they thought behouefull: & if it might conueniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the city of Rome into much aduventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the choise of his whole Army: with which he hastened toward Rome; leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not trauell by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at Capua.

Hannibal, hauing passed ouer Vulturius, burnt vp all his boates; and left nothing that might transport the Enemy, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hastened he away toward Rome, staying no longer in any one place, than he needs must. Yet found he the Bridges ouer Liris broken down, by the people of Fregellæ: which as it stopped him a little on his vvay; so it made him the more grievously to spoyle their lands, vvholes the Bridges were in mending. The neerer that he drew to Rome, the greater wast he made: his Numidians running before him; driuing the Countrey, and killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of these newes came apace, one after another into the Citie; some few bringing true aduertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their own feare. All the streets, and Temples in Rome, were pestered with vvomen, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, because they could doe none other good. The Senators were all in the great market, or place of Assembly; ready to giue their aduice, if it were asked, or to take directions giuen by the Magistrats. All places of most importance were stuffed vvith souldiers: it being vncertaine, vpon vvhich part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midst of this trepidation, there came news that *Quintus Fulvius*, with part of the Army from Capua, was hastening to the defence of the city. The Office of a Proconsul did expire, at his returne home, and entry into the Gates of Rome. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might lose nothing by comming into the city in time of such need, an Act was passed, That he should haue equall power with the Consuls during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arriued at Rome, one soone after another: *Fulvius* hauing been long held occupied in passing ouer Vulturius; and *Hannibal* receiuing impediment in his iourney, as much as the Countrey was able to giue. The Consuls, and *Fulvius*, incamped without the Gates of Rome, attending the Carthaginian. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew neerer and greater, so took they more carefull and especiall order against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the Riuer Anio, or Anien, three miles from the Towne; whence he aduanced with two thousand horse,

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and rode along a great way vnder the walls, viewing the site thereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But he either went, or (as the Roman Story saith) was driven away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by care and diligence of the Senators. Above the rest one accident was both troublesome, and not without perill. Of Numidians that had shifted side, and fallen (upon some displeasures) from Hannibal to the Romans, there were some twelve hundred then in Rome: which were appointed by the Consuls, to passe through the Towne, from the Mount Auentine to the Gate Collina, where it was thought that their service might be usefull, among broken wayes, and Garden walls lying in the suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of Hannibal, bred such mistaking, as caused a great uproare, among the people: all crying out, that Auentine was taken, and the enemy gotten within the walls. The noise was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the streets were so full of cartell, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoining, that the passage was stoppt vp: and the poore Numidians pittifully beaten from the house toppes, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would haue run out at the gates, had it not been certaine who lay vnder the walls. To remedy the like inconueniences, it was ordained, That all which had bene Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should haue authority as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed. The day following Hannibal passed ouer Anien, and presented battle to the Romans, who did not wisely if they vndertook it. It is said, that a terrible shewre of raine, caused both Romans and Carthaginians to returne into their severall Camps: and that this happened two dayes together, the weather breaking vp & clearing as soone as they were departed asunder: certain it is, that Hannibal, who had brought along with him no more than ten dayes provision, could not indure to stay there, vntill his victuals were all spent. In which regard the Romans, if they suffered him to waste his time and provisions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well aduised men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is said) by some accident of weather, the commendations must be giuen to their fortune. The terror of Hannibals coming to the City, how great soeuer it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared lesse than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and soone abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the same time, the supply appointed for Spain, after the death of the two Scipio's, was sent out of the town, & went forth at the gate, whilst one Carthaginian lay before another. In all *Punicke terrors*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause knowne, or no cause answerable to the greatnes of the sudden consternation; it is a good remedy to doe somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it such as men haue fashioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did Alexander cause his souldiers to disarme themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great feare of they wist not what. And thus did Clearchus pacifie a foolish uproare in his Army, by proclaiming a reward vnto him, that could tell who had sent the Asse into the camp. But in this present example of the Romans, appears withall a great magnanimity: wherby they sustained their reputation, & augmented it no lesse, than by this bold attempt of Hannibal it might seeme to haue bin diminished. Neither could they more finely haue checked the glorious conceits of their enemies, and taken away the disgrace of that feare, which clouded their valour at his first coming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recovered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that very piece of ground, on which the Carthaginian lay incamped, was solde in Rome: and sold it was nothing vnder the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had bin in time of peace. This indignity comming to his eare, incensed Hannibal so much, that he made port-sale of the Silver-smiths shoppes, which were neer about the Market or Common place in Rome, as if his owne title to the houses within the Town were no whit worse, than any Roman Citizens could be vnto that piece of ground, vvhether he raised his Tent. But this counter-practise was nothing vorth. The Romans did seek to manifest that assurance, which they iustly had conceiued; Hannibal, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was already past. His victuals were almost spent: and of those ends, that he had proposed vnto himself, this iourney had brought forth none other, than the same of his much daring. Wherefore he brake vp his Campe: and doing what

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spoil he could in the Roman Territorie, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he passed like a tempest ouer the Country, and ran toward the Easterne Sea so fast, that he had almost taken the Citie of Rhegium before his arrival was feared or suspected. As for Capua, he gaue it lost, and is likely to haue cursed the whole faction of Hanno, which thus disabled him to relieve that faire Citie, since he had no other way to vent his griefe.

Ennius returning backe to Capua, made Proclamation anew, that whoso would yeeld, before a certaine day, might safely doe it. This, and the very returne of Ennius, without any more appearance of Hannibal, gaue the Capuans to vnderstand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the Roman pardon proclaimed, euery mans conscience of his owne euill deserts, told him, that it was a vanity: and some faint hope was giuen, by Hanno and Belsar, Captaines of the Carthaginian Garrison within the Towne, that Hannibal should come againe; if meanes could onely be found, how to conuey such Letters vnto him, as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was vndertaken, by some Numidians: who running, as fugitiues, out of the Towne into the Roman camp, waited fit opportunity to make an escape thence with their packets. But it hapned ere they could conueigh themselves away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Towne; and the Letters of Belsar and Hanno were taken and opened, containing a vehement intreatie vnto Hannibal, that he would not thus forsake the Capuans and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make warre against Rhegium & Tarentum, but against the Romans: whose Legions wheresoeuer they lye, there also should the Carthaginian Armie be ready to attend them; and by taking of such course, haue we gotten those victories at Trebia, Thrasymene, and Cannæ. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himselfe, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his onely care, that the Citie should not be taken in his full view: promising to make a desperate fall, if he would once more aduenture to set vpon the Roman Campe. Such were the hopes of Belsar, and his fellow.

But Hannibal had already done his best: and now beganne to faint vnder the burden of that warre, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by Hannibal and his Partisans in the Carthaginian Senate, rather than by any force of Rome. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in Capua, had bin sent ouer by the Hannonians, to obserue the doings of Hannibal, and to checke his proceedings. If this were so, iustly might they curse their owne malice, which had cast them into this remedielesse necessitie. Howsoeuer it were, the Letters directed vnto Hannibal, fell (as is shewed) into the Roman Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfeit fugitiues, as carried such messages, whipt them backe into the Town. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the Campans, so that the multitude crying out vpon the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to assemble, and consult, about the yeelding vp of Capua vnto the Romans. The brauest of the Senators, and such as a few yeers since had been most forward in ioyning with Hannibal, vnderstood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good cheare, he would drinke to them such an health, as should set them free from that cruell reuenge, which the Enemies sought vpon their bodies. About seven and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their liues together, by drinking poison. All the rest hoping for more mercy than they had deserued, yeelded simply to discretion. So one of the Town-gates was set open, whereat a Roman Legion with some other companies, entring, disarmed the Citizens; apprehended the Carthaginian garrison; & commanded all the Senators of Capua to goe forth into the Roman campe: at their coming thither, the Proconsuls laid yrons vpon them all; and commanding them to tell what store of gold and siluer they had at home, sent them into safe custodie, some to Cales, others to Theanum. Touching the general multitude, they were referred vnto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly vsed by Ennius in the meane while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this aduersity. Ap. Glandius was brought euen to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately receiued; yet was he not inexorable to the Campans, as hauing loued them well in former times, & hauing giuen his daughter in marriage to that *Paculus*, of whom we spake before. But this facility

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of his Colleague, made *Fulvius* the more hastie in taking vengeance: for feare, lest vpon the like respects, the Roman Senate might prove more gentle, than he thought behoufull to the common safety, and honour of their State. Wherefore he tooke the paines, to ride by night vnto Theanum, & from thence to Cales: where he caused all the Campan prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods, after which he stricke off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the Carthaginians could not hinder, made all to wnes of Italy the lesse apt to follow the vaine hope of the Campan; & bred a general inclination, to return vpon good conditions to the Roman side. The Atellans, Calatines, & Sabatines, people of the Campan, that in the former change had followed the fortune of Capua, made also now the like submission, for very feare, & want of ability to resist. They were therefore vsed with the like rigour, by *Fulvius*: who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their yong gentlemen, burning with fire of reuenge, got into Rome: where they found means by night-time, to set on fire so many houses, that a great part of the city was like to haue bin consumed. The beginning of the fire in diuers places at once, argued that it was no casualtie. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed vnto any slaue, and other sufficient reward to any free man, that should discover who those incendiaries were. Thus all came out, and the Campan being detected by a slaue of their own (to whom, about his liberty promised, was giuen about the sum of an hundred markes) had the punishment answerable to their deserts. *Fulvius* hereby being more & more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a maner as prisoners within their wals: and this extreme severity caused them at length to become Suppliants vnto the Roman Senate; that some period might be set vnto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Onely two poor women in Capua (of which once had been an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wiues and children sold for slaues, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and reserued to further deliberation: but the generality of them, commanded to depart out of Campania by a certaine day, and confined vnto seuerall places, as best liked the angry victors. As for the town of Capua, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beauty and commodious site: but no corporation or forme of politie, was allowed to be therein; onely a Roman Prouost was euery yeer sent to gouerne over those that should inhabit it, and to doe iustice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of Rome, after many great losses in the present warre. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to shine with a more dimme light, than before: his oile being farre spent; and that which should haue reuiued his flame, being vnfortunately shed; as shall be told in place conuenient.

§. XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a partie in Sardinia and Sicill, held warre against the Romans in those Islands, and were overcome.

W Hilst things passed thus in Italy, the commotions raised in Sardinia & Sicill by the Carthaginians & their friends, were brought to a quiet & happy end by the industrious valour of the Romans. The Sardinian rebellion was great & sudden: about thirty thousand being vp in armes, ere the Roman forces could arriue there to suppress it. One *Harsicoras* with his son *Hyosus*, mighty men in that Island, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a Carthaginian, that promised the assistance of his country. Neither were the Carthaginians in this enterprise so carelesse, as in the rest of their maine vndertakings, about the same time. Yet it had been better, if their care had bin directed vnto the prosecution of that maine businesse in Italy; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would haue sufficed, if they could haue hindered the Romans from sending an Army into Sardinia. *Harsicoras* with his followers might well enough haue serued to driue out *Quintus Mutius* the Prætor: who lay sicke in the Province; and not more weake in his owne body, than in his traine. But whilst they sought reuenge of that particular iniurie, whereof the sense was most grievous; they neglected the opportunity of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all iniuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprise

enterprise was such; as may seeme to haue encouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For whereas they sent ouer *Asdrubal*, surnamed, *the Bold*, with a competent fleet and armie, assisted in this expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Marga* a Gentleman of the Barchine house, and neere kinsman to *Hannibal*: it so fell out, that the whole fleet by extremity of foule weather, was cast vpon the Baleares: so beaten and in such euill plight, that the Sardinians had euen spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere these their friends could arriue to succour them.

Titus Manlius was sent from Rome with two and twenty thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Island, which he had taken in, and annexed vnto the Roman dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custome of the Romans, to preferue and vp-hold in their seuerall Prouinces, the greatnesse and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Prouince had bene first subdued vnto their Empire. If any iniurie were done vnto the Prouincials; if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate; or whatsoeuer accident required the assistance of a Patron: the first Conquerour, and his race after him, were the most readie and best approved means, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the Romans held very carefull intelligence, in euery Prouince, and had alwayes in readinesse fit men to reclaime their Subiects, if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise haue required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius*, retayned in obedience all that were not already broken too farre out. Yet was *Harsicoras* so strong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arme his Mariners: without whom he could not haue made vp that number of two and twenty thousand, whereof we haue spoken before: he landed at Calaris or Carallis, where mooring his ships, he passed vp into the Countrey, and sought out the Enemy. *Hyosus*, the sonne of *Harsicoras*, had then the command of the Sardinian Army left vnto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrey, to draw in more friends to their side. This young Gentleman would needs aduenture to get honour, by giuing battell to the Romans at his owne discretion. So he rashly aduentured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom hee received a terrible ouerthrow; and lost in one day about thirtie thousand of his followers. *Hyosus* himselfe; with the rest of his broken troupes, got into Cornus, the chiefe Towne of the Island: whither *Manlius* pursued them. Very soone after this defeature came *Asdrubal* with his Carthaginians: too late to winne all Sardinia in such haste as he might haue done, if the tempest had not hindered his voyage; yet soone enough, and strong enough to saue the Towne of Cornus, and to put a new spirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himselfe backe to Calaris: where he had not stayed long, ere the Sardinians (such of them as adhered to the Roman party) craved his assistance; their Countrey being wasted by the Carthaginians, and the Rebels, with whom they had refused to ioyne. This drew *Manlius* forth of Calaris: where if hee had stayed a litle longer, *Asdrubal* would haue sought him out with some blemish to his reputation. But the fame of *Asdrubal* and his company, appeares to haue bin greater than was their strength. For after some trial made of them in a few skirmishes, *Manlius* aduentured all to the hazzard of a battaile; wherein he slew twelue thousand of the enemies; and tooke of the Sardinians and Carthaginians, three thousand. Foure houres the battell lasted; and victory at length fell to the Romans, by the flight of the Islanders, whose courages had bene broken in their vnprosperous fight, not many dayes before. The death of yong *Hyosus*, and of his father *Harsicoras*, that slew himselfe for griefe, together with the captiuitie of *Asdrubal* himselfe, with *Mago* and *Hanno* the Carthaginians, made the victory the more famous. The vanquished Armie fled into Cornus; whither *Manlius* followed them, and in short space wonne the Towne. All other Cities of the Isle that had rebelled, followed the example of *Cornus*, and yeelded vnto the Roman; who imposing vpon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best suited with the nature of their seuerall offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to Calaris with a great bootie, and from thence to Rome, leauing Sardinia in quiet.

The warre in Sicill was of greater length, and euery way more burdnesome to Rome: as also the victorie brought more honour and profit, for that the Romans became thereby, not onely sauers of their owne, as in Sardinia; but Lords of the whole Countrey, by annexing the City and dominion of Syracuse, to that which they enioyed before. Soone after

after the battell of Cannæ, the old king of Syracuse died; who had continued long a steadfast friend vnto the Romans, and greatly relieued them in this present warre. He left his kingdome to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteene yeeres of age; *Gelo* his sonne, that should haue bin his heire, being dead before. To this young King his successour, *Hiero* appointed fifteene tutors: of which the principall were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themistius*, who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The rest were such, as he iudged most likely to preserue the kingdome, by the same art, whereby himselfe had gotten and so long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus* waxing wearie of so many coadiutors, began to commend the sufficiencie of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his yeeres; and said, that he was able to rule the kingdome without help of any Protector. Thus by giuing ouer his owne charge, he caused others to do the like: hoping thereby to get the king wholly into his hands; which came to passe, in a sort, as he desired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aside all care of gouernment, gaue himselfe wholly ouer to his pleasures: or if he had any regard of his Royall dignitie, it was onely in matter of exterior shew, as wearing a Diadem with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby hee offended the eyes of his people, that had neuer scene the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his sonne. But much more hee offended them, when by his insolent behauiour, suitable to his outward pompe, he gaue prooffe, that in course of life, he would reuiue the memory of Tyrants dead long since, from whom he tooke the patterne of his habit. He grew proud, lustfull, cruell, and dangerous to all that were about him: so that such of his late tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to liue in banishment: the rest, being most of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to auoide the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death it selfe. Onely *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraso* continued in grace with him, and were his Counsaillers, but not of his Cabinet. These, howsoeuer they agreed in other points, were at some dissension about the maine point of adhering, either to the Romans, or to the Carthaginians. The two former of them, were wholly for the Kings pleasures, which was set on change: but *Thraso*, hauing more regard of his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amitie with Rome. Whilst as yet it remained somewhat doubtfull, which way the King would incline: a conspiracie against his person, was detected by a Groome of his; to whom one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would speake any thing: but yeelding (as it seemed) in the end, vnto the extremitie of the torture; he confessed, that he had bene set on by *Thraso*; whom he appeached of the treason, together with many more, that were neere in loue or place vnto *Hieronymus*. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conspirators, walked boldly in the streetes, and neuer shrunke for the matter: assuring themselves, that the resolution of *Theodorus* would yeeld to no extremitie. Thus they all escaped, and soone after found meanes to execute their purpose. The King himselfe, when *Thraso* was taken out of the way, quickly resolved vpon siding with the Carthaginians, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when first they grow Masters of themselves, loue to seeme wiser than their fathers, by taking different courses. And the liberality of *Hiero* to the Romans, in their great necessitie, had of late been such, as might haue bene termed excessiue, were it not in regard of his prouidence; wherein he tooke order for his owne Estate, that depended vpon theirs. But the young Nephew, taking little heed of dangers farre off, regarded onely the things present; the weaknesse of Rome, the preualent fortunes of Carthage, and the much money that his grand-father had layed out in vaine, to shoulder vp a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*: who readily entred into good correspondence with him; that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, Carthaginians borne, but grand-children of a banished Syracusan. These grew into such fauour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they listed. So that when *App. Claudius* the Roman Pretor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacie, betwene the people of Rome, and the King of Syracuse; his Messengers were dismissed with an open scoffe. For *Hieronymus* would needs haue them tell him the order of the fight at Cannæ, that he might thereby learne how to accomodate himselfe, saying, That he could hardly beleue the Carthaginians;

so wonderfull was the victory as they reported it. Hauing thus dismissed the Romans, he sent Embassadors to Carthage, where he concluded a league: with condition, at first, that a great part of the Island should be annexed to his Domination; but afterward, that he should reigne ouer all Sicily; and the Carthaginians rest satisfied, with what they could get in Italy. At these doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly stirre: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoued not the Romans, to entertaine more quarrells, than were enforced vpon them by necessitie; and partly (as may seeme) for that the reputation, both of himselfe, and of his Citie, had received such blemish; by that which hapned vnto him in his iourney, as much discountenanced him when hee came into Sicily, and forbade him to looke bigge. The money that *Hiero* had bestowed formerly vpon the Romans, wherewith to relieue them in their necessitie, this *Appius* was to carry backe vnto him: it being refused by the Roman Senate, with greater brauerie than their present fortune would allow. But in stead of returning the money with thanks, as he had bin directed, and as it had bin noised abroad that he should doe: the warre against *Philip* King of Macedon (wherof we haue spoken before) compelled the Romans to lay aside their vaine-glorie, and send word after him, that he should conigne that money ouer to *Marcus Valerius*, of whose voyage into Grece, the City had not otherwise wherewith to beare the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie, is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious ostentation of the Roman magnanimitie, into such a pittifull tune of thanksgiuing, as must needs haue bred sorrow and commiseration, in so true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were deliuered after his death, matter of pastime and scorn, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whilst *Hieronymus* was more desirous of warre, than well resolved how to begin it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred a great innoation in the state of Syracuse; which thereby might haue prospered more than euer, had it bene wisely gouerned. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom wee spake before, were sent about the Countrey with two thousand men, to sollicite the Townes, and perswade them to shake off their obedience to the Romans. The King himselfe with an Armie of fifteene thousand horse and foot, went to Leontium, a City of his owne Dominion: hoping that the same of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all haste, and accept him for Soueraigne. There the Conspirators took him on the sudden as he was passing through a narrow street: and rushing betwene him and his guard, strooke him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed: and the sound of that word so ioyfully answered by the Leontines, that the guard of *Hieronymus*, had little courage to reuenge their Masters death. Yet for feare of the worst, a great largesse was promised vnto the Souldiers, with rewards vnto their Captaines; which wrought so effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned vp, the Army, as in detestation of his bad life, suffered his carkasse to lie vnburied. These newes ranne quickly to Syracuse: whither some of the Conspirators, taking also of the Kings horses, posted away; to signifie all that had passed, to stirre vp the people to libertie, and to preuent *Andronodorus*, if he or his fellowes would make offer to vsurpe a tyranny. The Syracusians hereupon presently tooke Armes, and made themselves masters of their owne Citie. *Andronodorus* on the other side fortified the Palace, and the Island: being yet vncertaine what to doe; between desire of making himselfe a soueraigne Lord, and feare of suffering punishment, as a Tyrant, if his enterprise mis-carried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cherished him in his hopes: putting him in minde of that wel-knownne Prouerbe, which *Dionysius* had vsed; That a Tyrant should keepe his place, till hee were haled out of it by the heeles, and not ride away from it on horse-backe. But feare, and better counsaile prevailed so farre, that *Andronodorus*, hauing slept vpon the matter, dissembled his affections, and deferred his hope vnto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a speech vnto the people: telling them, that he was glad to see, how prudently they behaued themselves in so great a change; that he had stood in feare, lest they would not haue contained themselves within the bounds of discretion; but rather haue sought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that since he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to rauish their liberty perforce, but to wed it vnto them for euer, he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, and surrendered vp the charge committed vnto him, by one that had bin an euill

euill master both to him and them. Hereupon great ioy was made, and Pretors chosen (as in former times) to gouerne the Citie of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chiefe. But such was his desire of Soueraigntie, and so vehement were the instigations of his wife, that shortly he began to practise with *Hippocrates*, *Epicles*, and other Capitaines of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himselfe strong by their help, that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicles* had bene with the Syracusan Pretors, and told them, that being sent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they, according to instructions of their Capitaine, had done him, whilest he liued, what seruice they could; and that now they were desirous to returne home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed; and with a conuoy, that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the Romans, and set them safe at Locri. This was easily granted; both for that the Syracusan Magistrates were well contented to earne thanks of *Hannibal*, with such a little courtesie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Towne quickly of this troublesome couple, which were good souldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire of these two Scicilians, to be gone so hastily as they made shew; they were more mindefull of the businesse, for which *Hannibal* had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselves into the bosomes of such as were most likely to fill the Army with tumult, especially of the Roman fugitiues, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselves, when the Romans and Syracusians were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as also of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. Hee found *Themislius*, that had married *Harmania* the sister of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his owne, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents, he reuealed the matter to one, that reuealed all to the rest of the Pretors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themislius*, entring into the Senate, were slaine out of hand: and afterward accused to the People, of all the euill which they had done, whilest *Hieronymus* liued, as by his authoritie; and now since attempted, in seeking to vsurp the tyranny themselves. It was also declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were accessory to this dangerous treason: and that the vnquiet spirits of these women would neuer cease to worke, vntill they had recouered those royall ornaments and Soueraigne power, whereof their family was now dispossessed. These daughters therefore of *Hiero* & *Gelo* were also condemned to die; and executioners presently sent by the enraged people, to take away their liues. *Demarata* and *Harmania* had perhaps deserued this heauy sentence: but *Heracles*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Sesippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the hasty execution of this rash iudgement. Her husband *Sesippus* was a louer of the Common-wealth; and in that respect so hated by *Hieronymus*, that being sent Embassador to king *Ptolomie*, &c. he durst not returne home, but stayed in Egypt as a banished man. This consideration, when it was too late, together with some pitifull accidents accompanying the slaughter, so affected the multitude, that (pardoning themselves) all cried out vpon the authors of so foule a butcherie. Being thus incensed against the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how to satisfie their anger, they called for an election of new Pretors, in the roome of *Andronodorus* and *Themislius*, that were lately slaine: meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should haue little cause to like. At the election were present a great rowt, not onely of the poorer Citizens, but of souldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these, named *Epicles* Pretor, another named *Hippocrates*: and the lesse that the old Pretors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall cry forced them to be accepted. These being made Pretors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, betwene the Syracusians and the Romans. But hauing struen in vaine, and seeing that the People stood in feare of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus*, so that was lately come into Sicil, they gaue way vnto the time, and suffered the old league of *Hiero* to be reconfirmed, which afterward they purposed to dissolve by practise. The Leontines had some need of a garriſon; and to them was sent *Hippocrates* the Pretor, attended by such fugitiues, & mercenary souldiers, as were most burdensome to Syracuse. Thither when he came, he began to doe many acts of hostility against the Romans: first in secret, afterward more openly & boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly vnderstanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent word vnto the Syracusians, that they had already broken the

the league; & that the peace would neuer be kept sincerely, vntill this turbulent paire of brethren were expelled the Island. *Epicles* fearing to sustaine the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more desirous to set forward this warre, than to excuse any breach of peace, went himselfe vnto the Leontines, whom he perswaded to rebel against the Syracusians. For he said; that since they had all of late serued one Master, there was little reason why the Leontines should not be disfranchised by his death; as well as the Syracusians; yet of much rather, all things considered, siued in their Armes the Tyrant was slain; and liberty first prebelymed. Wherefore, since they of Syracuse were not contented to enioy the freedome purchased among the Leontines; but thought it good reason, that they should beare Dominion over those that had broken the Chaine, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his aduice was, that such their arrogancie should be checked betimes, ere it should get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was given by one Article of the League, made of late by the Romans & Syracusians. For it was agreed, That all which had bene subiect to *Hiero* and *Hieronymus*, should henceforth be vsall vnto the State of Syracuse. Against this Article, if the Leontines would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; *Epicles* told them; that in this notable change, they had fit oportunitie to recouer the freedome, which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it vnreasonable, whilst this crafty Catthaginian propounded; if the Leontines had bene subdued by the same hand, which tooke liberty from the Syracusians. But seeing they had long since yielded vnto Syracuse, and bene subiect vnto that Citie, by what forme soeuer it was gouerned; this claime of libertie was rather seasonable, than iust. Nevertheless, the motion of *Epicles* was highly approved: in so much that when messengers came soone after from Syracuse, to rebuke the Leontines; for that which they had done against the Romans, and to denounce vnto *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, that they should get them gone, either to Locri, or whither else they listed; so that they stayed not in Sicil: word was returned, That they of Leontium had not requested the Syracusians, to make any bargaines for them with the Romans; nor thought themselves bound to obserue the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory answer was forth-with reported vnto *Marcellus* by the Syracusians; who offered him their assistance in doing iustice vpon the Leontines their Rebels; with condition, That when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction: but forth-with tooke the businesse in hand, which he dispatched in one day. At the first assault, Leontium was taken: all saue the Castle, whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicles* fled; and stealing thence away by night, conueyed themselves into the towne of Herbesus. The first thing which *Marcellus* did, when hee had wonne the Towne, was the same; which other Roman Capitains vsed after victory, to seek out the fugitive Roman slaues and renegados, whom he caused all to die: therest both of the Townsmen and Souldiers, he tooke to mercy; forbearing also to strip or spoyle them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrary sort. It was said, that he had slaine, Man, Woman, and Childe, and plit the Towne to sacke. These newes met the Syracusan Army vpon the way; as it was going to ioyne with *Marcellus*, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercenaries there were; that had bene sent forth of Syracuse, vnder *Soss* and *Dionomus*; two of the Pretors, to serue against the Leontines and other rebels. These Capitaines were honest men, and well affected to their Countrey: but the Souldiers that followed them, had those discasles, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-souldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had bene so cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Pretors therefore thought it best, to turne their vnquiet thoughts another way, and let them worke in some place else: for as much as at Leontium there was no need of their fortities. So towards Herbesus they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, the architects of all this mischief; deuising what further harme they might doe; but how so weakly accompanied, that they seemed vnable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two brethren were no lesse well aware: and therefore returned vpon a remedy little lesse desperate than their present case. They issued forth of Herbesus vnarmed, with Olive branches in their hands; in manner of Suppliants; and so presented themselves to the Army. Six hundred men of Cret were in the Vanguard, that

that had bene well vsed by Hieronymus, and some of them greatly bound vnto Him-
 bal, who had taken them prisoners in the Italian warre, and loquingly dismissed them.
 These Cretians therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheere,
 saying, That no man should doe them harme, as longes they could vse their weapons.
 Herewithall the Army was at a stand; and the rumour of this accident, ranne swiftly
 from man to man, with generall approbation. The Pretors thought to helpe the matter
 by severity, which would not serue. For when they commanded these two traitors to
 be layd in Irons; the exclamation was so violent against them, that saine they were to
 let all alone, and returne, vncertaine what course to take, vnto Megara, where they were
 lodged the night before. Thither when they came, Hippocrates deuised a trick, where
 by to help himselfe, and better the vncertaine case wherein he stood. He caused Letters
 of his owne penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trustie Cretans, directed (as
 they made shew) from the Syracusan Pretors, to Marcellus. The contents hereof were,
 That Marcellus had well done, in committing all to the sword among the Leontines; but
 that it farther behoued him, to make the like dispatch of all the mercenaries belonging
 to Syracuse; which were offensive, all of them in general, to the liberty of the City, and
 the peace with Rome. When this counterfeited Epistle was openly rehearsed, they proore
 was such, that Sosis and his fellow Pretor, were glad to forsake the Campe, and sic for
 their liues. All the Syracusians remaining behinde, had bene cut in peeces by the en-
 ragged souldiers, if the two Artificers of the sedition had not saued their liues; rather to
 keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne, than
 for any good will. They perswaded also a mischieuous knaue that had serued amongst
 the Leontines, to iustifie the bruit of Marcellus cruelty, and to carry home the newes to
 Syracuse, as an eye-witnes. This incensed not onely the multitude; but some of the Se-
 nate; and filled the whole towne with causelesse indignation. In good time (saide some)
 was the auarice and cruelty of the Romans detected; who, had they in like sort gotten
 into Syracuse, would haue dealt much worse, where their greedy appetites might haue
 bene tempted with a farre greater bootie. Whilest they were thus discouraging, and
 deuising how to keepe out the wicked Romans, Hippocrates with his Army came to the
 gates, exhorting the Citizen to let him in, vnlesse for want of helpe, they would be-
 trayed to their enemies. The Pretors with the best and wisest of the Senate, would saue
 haue kept him out: but the violence of the souldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater,
 than the head-strong fury of those within the towne, that laboured to breake it open. So
 he entered, and immediately fell vpon the Pretors, whom (being forsaken by all men) he
 put to the sword, and made slaughter of them and their followers vntill night. The next
 day hee went openly to worke: and after the common example of Tyrants, gaue li-
 berty vnto all slaues and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and
 basest sort, made himselfe and his brother Pretors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of
 Syracuse.

When Marcellus was aduertised of this great alteration, hee thought it no time for
 him to sit still, and attend the further issue. He sent Embassadors to Syracuse, that were
 not admitted into the Hauen, but chased out as enemies. Then drew he neere with his
 Army: and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the towne, sent before him, some to re-
 quire a parlee. These were entertained without the walls by the two new Pretors: to
 whom they declared, That the Romans were come thither, not with purpose to do hurt,
 but in fauour of the Syracusians, which were oppressed by Tyrants; and to punish those,
 that had murdered and banished so many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they
 required, that those worthy men, Their Confederates, which were chased out of the
 Towne, might be suffered to returne and enioy their owne; as also that the Authors of
 the great slaughter lately committed, might bee deliuered vp. Hereto Epicles briefly
 answered, That if their errand had bene to him, hee could haue told what to say to
 them: but since it was directed vnto others, they should doe well to retorne, when
 those to whom they were sent, had the gouernment in their hands. As for the warre
 which they threatned, he told them, they should finde by experience, That to besiege
 Syracuse, was another manner of worke, than to take Leontium. Thus hee sent them
 gone, and returned backe into the City. Immediately began the siege, which endured
 longer than the Romans had expected. The quick and easie winning of Leontium did
 put Marcellus in hope, that so long a circuit of wals as compassed Syracuse, being manned with

with no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom he had lately dealt, would in
 some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or ter-
 rour in the very beginning; but did his best both by Land and Sea. Neuertheless all his
 labour was disappointed; and his hope of preuailling by open force, taken from him by
 the ill successe of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the De-
 fendants, or any strength of the Citie, that bred such despaire of hastie victorie. But there
 lined at that time in Syracuse, Archimedes the noble Mathematician: who at the request
 of Hiero the late King, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of Warre, as being
 in this extremitie put in vse, did more mischiefe to the Romans than could haue bene
 wrought by the Canon, or any instruments of Gunne powder; had they in that age
 bene knowne. This Archimedes discoursing once with Hiero, maintained that it were
 possible to remooue the whole earth out of the place wherein it is; if there were some
 other earth, or place of sure footing, whereon a man might stand. For prooue of this
 bold assertion; he performed some strange workes, which made the King entreat him
 to conuict his studie vnto things of vse: that might preferue the Citie from danger of
 enemies. To such Mechanicall workes, Archimedes, and the Philosophers of those
 times, had little affection. They held it an iniury done vnto the liberall sciences, to sub-
 mit learned Propositions, vnto the workmanship, and gaine, of base handi-crafts men.
 And of this opinion Plato was an author: who greatly blamed some Geometricians;
 that seemed vnto him to prophane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must we
 rashly taske a man so wise as Plato, with the imputation of supercilious austerity, or affe-
 cted singularity in his reprehension. For it hath bene the vnhappy fate of great inuen-
 tions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreames, before they were published: and being
 once made knowne, to be vnder-valued; as falling within compasse of the meanest wit,
 and things that euery one could well haue performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable
 example of Columbus his discouerie, with the much different sorts of neglect, which he
 vnder-went before and after it) in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most
 apparant prooue. He that looks vpon our English Brewers, and their Seruants, that are
 daily exercised in the Trade; will thinke it ridiculous to heare one say, that the making
 of Malt, was an inuention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in
 naturall Philosophie. Yet is not the skill of the inuentors any whit the lesse, for that the
 labour of workmanship growes to be the trade of ignorant men. The like may bee said
 of many handicrafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes; which being deuised,
 and bettered, by great Scholers and wisemen, grew afterward corrupted by those, to
 whom the practice fell; that is, by such, as could slubber things easily ouer, and feede
 their workemen at the cheape rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all
 others, that haue, or would seeme to haue any secret skill, whereof the publication
 might doe good vnto mankind; are not without excuse of their close concealing. For
 it is a kinde of iniustice, that the long trauels of an vnderstanding braine, beside the losse
 of time, and other expence, should be cast away vpon men of no worth; yeeld lesse be-
 nefit vnto the Author of a great worke, than to meere strangers; and perhaps his ene-
 mies. And surely, if the passion of Enuie, haue in ieany thing allowable and naturall,
 as hauing Anger, Feare, and other like Affections: it is in some such ease as this; and
 fighteth against those, which would vsurpe the knowledge, wherewith God hath ben-
 efited him. Neuertheless, if we haue regard vnto common charite, and the great
 affection that euery one ought to beare vnto the generality of mankind, after the exam-
 ple of him that suffereth his Sunne to shine vpon the iust, and vniust: it will appeare more
 commendable in wise men, to enlarge themselves, and to publish vnto the world, those
 good things that lye buried in their owne bosomes. This ought specially to be done,
 when a profitable knowledge hath not amixed to it some dangerous cunning, that may
 bee peruerted by euill ment to a mischieuous vse. For if the secret of any rare Art, or
 contained in it the skill of giuing some deadly and irrecoverable poyson: much better it
 were, that such a iewel remaine close in the hands of a wise and honest man, than being
 made common, binde all men to vse the remedie, by teaching the worst men how to
 doe mischiefe. But the workes which Archimedes published, were such as tended vnto
 very commendable ends. They were Engines, seruing vnto the defence of Syracuse: not
 for the Syracusians to carry abroad, to the hurt & oppression of others. Neither did he
 together publish the knowledge, how to vse them; but referred so much to his owne
 direction;

direction; that after his death more of the same kinde were not made, nor those of his owne making were employed by the *Romans*. It sufficed vnto this worthy man, that he had approued vnto the vulgar, the dignitie of his Science; and done especiall benefit to his Countrey. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose.

Marcellus had caused certaine of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be fastned together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wall. Against these *Archimedes* had sundrie deuices, of which any one sort might haue repelled the assaylants: but all of them together shewed the multiplictie of his great wit. He shot heavy stones & long pieces of timber, like vnto the yeards of ships, which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. These afflicted such as lay farre off. They that were come neerer the walls, lay open to a continuall volly of shot, which they could not endure. Some with an yron grapple were taken by the prow and hoysted vp, shaking out all the men, and afterward falling downe into the water. Some by strange Engines were lifted vp into the ayre, where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls or cast vpon the rockes: and all of them were so beaten that they durst neuer come to any second assault. In the like sort was the Land armie handled. Stones and timber, falling vpon it like hailes, did not onely ouerwhelme the men, but brake downe the *Roman* engines of batterry; and forced *Marcellus* to giue ouer the assault. For remedie hercof it was conceiued, that if the *Romans* could early before day get neere vnto the walls: they should be (as it were) vnder the *point blanche*, and receiue no hurt by these terrible Instruments; which were woound vp hard to shoot a great compasse. But this vaine hope cost many of the assaylants liues: For the shot came downe right vpon them: and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were vnable to tarry by it) euen till they were gotten very farre off. This did so terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any peece of timber, or a ropes end, vpon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his engines were readie to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare, against the cause whercof he knew no remedie. If the engines had stood vpon the walls, subiect to firing, or any such annoyance from without; hee might haue holpen it, by some deuice, to make them vsueruiceable. But all, or the most of them were out of sight, being erected in the streetes behinde the walls, where *Archimedes* gaue directions how to vse them. Wherefore the *Roman* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Towne all prouision of victualls, both by Land and by Sea.

This was a very desperate peece of worke. For the enemies hauing so goodly an Haven, the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likelie so soone to be consumed with famine, as the besiegers to be wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a City, hauing no probability to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counsell to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the meane while, *Himilco*, Admirall of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicily*, being by *Hippocrates* aduertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*, and there so deakt with the Senate, that sixe and twentie thousand Foote, three thousand Horse, and twelue Elephants, were committed vnto his charge, wherewith to make warre vpon the *Romans* in *Sicily* by Land. Hee tooke many Townes; and many that had anciently belonged vnto the *Carthaginians*, did yeeld vnto him. To remedie this mischiefe, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, beganne to turne vnto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Armie, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. He tooke *Pelorus* and *Herbesus*, which yeelded vnto him. He tooke also *Megara* by force and sacke it: either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*, or else because *Rome* was at this time poore, and his Armie must haue somewhat to keepe it in heart. His especiall desire was to haue saued *Agrirentum*: whither he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned backetoward *Syracuse*, carefully, and in as good order as he could, for feare of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumstance, that he vsed, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead, against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leauing the charge of *Syracuse* vnto his brother, had lately issued out of the Citie, with ten thousand foote, and sixe hundred horse,

horse, intending to ioyne his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell vpon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an easie victorie, against the disperfed and halfe vnarmed *Syracusians*. The reputation hercof helped a litle to keepe the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, ioyning with *Hippocrates*, ranne ouer all the Island at his pleasure, and presented battaile to *Marcellus*, euen at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthaginian*, charged with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuse*, and victualled the Citie. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so againe, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and safely arrived at *Marcellus* his Campe: yet many places reuolted vnto the *Carthaginians*, and flew or betrayed the *Romane* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus*, leauing some of his Armie before *Syracuse*, that hee might not seeme to haue giuen ouer the siege, went vnto *Leontium*, where he lay intenuie to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of besieging *Syracuse*, or to turne all his forces to *Agrirentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly haue impaired his reputation; if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as vnable to preuaile: & he himself was of an eager disposition, euer vnwilling to giue ground, or to quit, as not feasible, an enterprize that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no like lihood to take the Citie by force or famine; yet was hee not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his desire. Especially he assaied to preuaile by treason, against w^{ch} no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracusian* Gentlemen that were in his Campe, exhorting them to praefise with their friends that remained in the Citie. This was not easie for them to doe, because the Town would hearken to no parlee. At length a flauie vnto one of these banished men; making shew to runne away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*, where hee talked in priuate with some few, as hee had beene instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to haue intelligence within the Citie: whence the Conspirators vsed to send him aduertisements of their proceedings, by a filher-boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were growne to the number of fourescore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance, all was discovered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while, one *Damasippus* a *Laodemonian*, that had beene sent out of the Towne as an Embassador to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epistides* was very desirous to ransom him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose; not farre from the walls. There, one of the *Romans* looking vpon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Art of Geometrie, fell to numbering the stones: and, making an estimate of the height, iudged it lesse than it had beene formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who causing better notice to be taken of the place, and finding, that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it; made all things ready, and waited a conuenient time. It was the weakest part of the Town; and therefore the most strongly guarded: neither was there hope to preuaile by force against *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by surprize. But a fugitiue out of the Towne brought word, that a great feast was to be held vnto *Diana*, which was to last three daies: and that, because other good cheate was not so plentifull within the Citie, as in former times, *Epistides*, to gratifie the People, had made the more large distribution of Wine. A better opportunitie could not be wished. Wherefore *Marcellus*, in the dead of the Festiuall night, came vnto the walls, which he took by *Scaulo*. *Syracuse* was diuided into foure parts (or sixe, if *Epipola* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten some peeces, he had the commoditie of a better and safe lodging, with good store of bootie; and better opportunitie than before, to deale with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in *Acradina* & the Island, as of those in the Towne, as of those that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken vnto composition, as being much terrified by the losse of these parts, which the *Romans* had taken and sackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harme, or none they did, vnto those that were sheltered vnder strong Houses: although it may seeme, that the inner walls were not altogether vnfurnished of his helpes, since they held out a good while; and were not taken

by force. The *Roman* fugitives and Renegado's, were more careful than ever to defend the rest of the Citie: being sure to be rewarded with cruell death, if *Marcellus* could prevail. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was sent away to *Carthage*, to bring helpe from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell vpon the olde Camp of the *Romans*, whilst *Epicles* sallied out of *Acradinia* vpon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made such defence in each part, that the *Assailants* were repelled. Neuerthelesse, they continued to beset *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as straightly besieged, as hee himselfe did besiege the Towne. But the pestilence at length consumed, together with the two Captaines, a great part of the Armie, and caused the rest to dislodge. The *Romans* were (though somewhat lesse) afflicted with the same pestilence, in so much that *Bomilcar* did put the Citie of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were sent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no desire to doe his Countrie service; but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachynus* with a strong fleet: where he staid, being loth to double the Cape, for that the windes did better serue the enemy than him. Thither sailed *Epicles* out of *Syracuse*: to acquaint him with the necessities of the Citie, and to draw him on. With much intreatie, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was readie for him, hee stood off into the deepe, and sailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicill* farewell. Then durst not *Epicles* returne into *Syracuse*, but went to *Agrigentum*: where he expected the issue, with a very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The *Sicilian* souldiers that remained aloue of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as nere as they could safely, vnto *Marcellus*, and some of them, in a strong Towne three miles off. These had done what good they could to *Syracuse*, by doing what hurt they could vnto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the state of *Sicill* was giuen as desperate by the *Carthaginians*: they sent Embassadors to treat of peace, and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the Towne. Heereunto *Marcellus* willingly gaue ear: for hee had staid there long enough; and had cause to feare, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither strong againe. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their owne, enioying their libertie and proper lawes; yet suffering the *Romans* to possess whatsoeuer had belonged vnto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicles* had left his charge, were put to death; new Pretors chosen; and the gates euen ready to be opened vnto *Marcellus*: when suddenly the *Roman* fugitives disturbed all. These perceiving their owne condition to be desperate, perswaded the other Mercenarie souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained onely for themselves, and betrayed the Armie to the *Romans*. Wherefore they presently tooke Armes, and fell vpon the new chosen Pretors; whom they slue, and made election of sixe Captaines that should command ouer all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers, excepting onely the fugitives. The Treatie was therefore againe set on foot, and wanted little of conclusion: which yet was delaied; either by some feare of the Citizens, that had seene (as they thought) prooffe of the *Roman* avarice in the sack of *Epipola*, *Tybe*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by some desire of *Marcellus* to get the Towne by force, that he might vse the libertie of a Conqueror, and make it wholly subiect to Rome. *Mericus* a Spaniard was one of the sixe Captaines, that had been chosen in the last commotion: a man of such faith, as vsually is found in Mercenaries; holding his owne particular benefit aboue all other respects. With this Captaine, *Marcellus* dealt secretly: hauing a fit instrument, of the same Nation, one *Belligones*, that went in company with the *Romane* Embassadors, daily passing to and fro. This craftie Agent perswaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spaine*: and that if euer he purposed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in *Spaine*, or any where else; it was now the onely time to do it; by conforming himselfe to the will of the *Roman* Generall. By such hopes the Spanishe Captaine was easily wonne, and sent forth his owne brother among the *Syracusan* Embassadors to ratifie the covenant with *Marcellus*.

This vnder-hand dealing of *Marcellus* against the *Syracusians*, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards, thoroughly approved at his coming to Rome. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had bene such, as deserved not to be requited with the ruine of his Countrie: much lesse, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their owne follie) by an Army of Mercenaries, should minister

vnto

vnto the people of Rome, aduantage against them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired souldiers; and therefore were faine to yeld vnto the time; and obey those Ministers of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Armie. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicles*: it had bene their chiefe care to maintain amitie with the people of Rome. They had lately slaine many the principall of *Epicles* his followers; and many of themselves had also bene slaine, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire vnto the peace. What though it were true, that the Rascallie, and some ill aduised persons, ioyned with the souldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and after ward beheld in those parts of their owne Citie which was taken? Ought therefore the *Romane* Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the *Syracusians*, to make a bargaine vnder hand against them, with a Captaine of the Mercenaries? These things were objected against *Marcellus*, at his returne home. But the Senators thought it a great deale better, to comfort the *Syracusians* with gentle words, & promise of good vsage in time to come; than to restore the bootie, and giue over the Dominion of a Citie, so great, wealthy strong, and many wayes important. Neuerthelesse if we consider the many inconueniences and great mischiefs whereunto *Syracuse* was obnoxious; both by euill neighbours; and by that very forme of policie, after which it was gouerned: wee may truly affirme, That it receiued no small benefit, by becoming subiect vnto Rome. For thereby it was not onely assured against all forraigne enemies, domesticall conspiracies, and such Tyrants as of olde had reigned therein: but freed from the necessitie of banishing, or murdering, the most worthie Citizens, as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a thousand the like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the ialousie, wherein they held their libertie in vaine. Neither enioyed that City, from her first foundation, any such long time of happinesse, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested secure vnder the protection of Rome; and was no more molested, by the disease of ambition; whereof by *Marcellus* his victorie it was thoroughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serues not to make iniustice the more excusable: vnlesse we should approue the answer of that Thiefe; who being found to haue stolen a siluer cup from a sicke man, said, *Hee may leaue drinking*.

By the treason of *Mericus*, the *Roman* Armie was let into possession of all *Syracuse*; wherein the booty that it found, was said to haue bin no lesse, than could be hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it selfe; that maintained warre by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly workes and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuse* was maruellously adorned, were carried away to Rome; and nothing left vntouched; saue onely the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, into the *Roman* Campe. Among other pittifull accidents, the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, euen by *Marcellus* himselfe. He was so busie about his Geometrie, in drawing figures, that hee harkened not to the noyse, and vprore in the Citie; no; nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* tooke heauily the death of him; and caused his body to be honourably buried. Vpon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his lifetime) was placed a Cylinder & a Sphere, with an inscription of the proportion between them; which hee first found out. An Inuention of so little vse, as this may seeme, pleased that great Artist better, than the deuising of all those engins, that made him so famous. Such difference is in the iudgement of learned men, and of the vulgar sort. For many an one would thinke the monie lost, that had bin spent vpon a sonne, whose studies in the Vniuersitie had brought forth such fruit, as the proportion between a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of *Syracuse*, all the Townes in *Sicill* yelded vnto the *Romans*, except *Agrigentum* and a few places therabout. At *Agrigentum* lay *Epicles* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately sent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good peeces of seruice, had added some credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* side; and withall made his owne name great. By his perswasions, *Hanno* and *Epicles* aduentured to meet *Marcellus* without the Towne, and not behaue themselves as men expecting to be besieged. Neither was hee more valiant in counsell, than in execution. Once and againe he set vpon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped, and drove them fearfully into their Trenches. This bred enuie in *Epicles* and *Hanno*: especially in *Hanno*, that

that hauing beene lately sent from *Carthage*, with commission and authoritie from the State, thought himselfe wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that hee had sent vnto him this *Mutines*, to be his Companion, & to take vpon him, like as good a man as himselfe. The indignitie seemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to step aside vnto *Heraclea*, for the pacifying of some troubles there among the *Numidians*; aduised (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the enemy, vntill his returne. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight: and offered battell vnto *Marcellus*, before he sought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuse*, as need required: which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deale with those that came against them. But whatsoeuer disproportion was betweene the two Armies; farre greater were the odds betweene the Captaines. For howsoeuer the people of *Carthage* would giue authoritie by fauour; yet could they not giue worth and abilitie, in matter of warre. The *Numidians*, hauing before conceived some displeasure against their Captains: and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heraclea*; were much more offended, when they saw that the vaine-glorious enuy of *Hanno* carried him vnto the fight, vpon a foolish desire to get victorie, without the helpe of *Mutines* their Countreman. Wherefore they sent vnto the *Roman* Generall, and bade him be confident; for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day, but onely looke on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had beene misused. They made good their promise, and had their desire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did lustily set vpon the enemies, that hee brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands, droue them backe into *Agigentum*.

If *Hanno* could haue beene contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of Warre than himselfe, and not haue hazarded a battell without need, the *Romans* would shortly haue beene reduced into termes of great difficultie in their *Sicilian* warre. For *Marcellus* was shortly after to leaue the Prouince; and soone vpon his departure, there landed in the Iland a supply of eight thousand foote, and three thousand *Numidian* horse, that were sent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Armie drew manie of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Armie consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Cannae*, tooke it very hainously, that no good seruice done, could bring them into the fauour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent farre from home, & not suffered to return back to *Rome* with their general. *Mutines* had pacified his Countreman the *Numidians*; & like an honest man, did what hee could for those whom he serued, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might haue beene, if the Armie lately ouerthrowne had beene entire. *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Pretor, vsed all diligence, both to pacifie his owne men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. Hee recovered those In-land Townes that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from ouer-running all the Country, yet hee hindered the Country from reuolting vnto *Mutines*. About threescore Townes, great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*: of which *Agigentum* was the principall, and farre bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutines* as often as hee pleased, in despite of the *Romans*: not onely to the succour of his owne adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrarie part. But *Hanno*, in stead of being pleased with all these good seruices, was filled more and more with enuie, against the man that performed them. Hee had (belike) receiued instruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to haue share in the honour of these *Sicilian* Warres: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilest *Italie* was neglected, that should haue beene regarded more than all the rest. Wherefore to shew his authoritie, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint vnto him an Assistant, or Director: He tooke away from *Mutines* his charge, and gaue it to his owne sonne; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrarie: and this spightfull dealing, occasioned the losse of whatsoeuer the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignitie offered vnto their Countreman, being such a braue Commander, that they offered him their seruice to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his owne disposition. *M. Valerius* *Leuius*, the *Roman* Consull, was newly come into the Prouince, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke these

these indignities; but being, neither a *Carthaginian*, nor fauored by those that bore all the sway in *Carthage*: He thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his owne game, and forsake that Citie, which was likely to perish by the euill counsell that gouerned it. He did not therefore, as his Countreman had lately done, content himselfe to see his Adversaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious ouer-weening: and to suffer that harme, in doing whereof he would not beare a part, but conspired against them to deliuer vp *Agigentum*, and to helpe to expell them vterly out of *Sicil*. The Consull was glad of his friendship; and carefully followed his aduertisements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had undertaken: For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly seize vpon a gate; whereat they let in some *Roman* Companies, that lay neere in a readinesse for the purpose. *Hanno*, when first he heard the noyse, thought it had beene no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*; as he had beene well acquainted with of late. But when, making haste to pacifie the trouble, he saw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed among those discontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betooke himselfe to flight: and sauing himselfe, with *Epicides*, in a smal Barke, set saile for *Africke*; leaving all his Armie and Adherents in *Sicil*, to the mercie of the *Romans*; that henceforward continued masters of the whole Iland.

Leuius the Consull hauing taken *Agigentum*, did sharpe execution of iustice vpon all the Citizens. The principall of them he scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the rest of them he sold for slaues, and confiscated their goods; sending home to *Rome* the monie that was raised of the bootie. This was indeede a time; wherein *Rome* stood in no lesse necessity of gold, than of Steele: which may haue beene the reason, why *Leuius* dealt so cruelly with the *Agigentines*. Neuertheless the fame of such seueritie bred a terrour among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*; so that in great haste they sought to make their peace. About fortie Townes yielded themselves quickly vnto the *Romans*; twenty were deliuered vpon Treason, and sixe onely stayed to be wonne by force. These things done, *Leuius* returned home to *Rome*; carrying with him about foure thousand men from *Agirina*; that were a companie of out-lawes, bankrots, and banished men, accustomed to liue by spoyle of others, in these troublesome times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italie*, where they might exercise their owne occupation against the *Brutians*; a theuish kinde of people, that were enemies vnto those of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he liued in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipios* in their iourne against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is said) very especiall seruice. So by this enterprize of *Sicil*, the *Carthaginians* wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might haue beene employed in *Italie*: leaving yet vnto the *Romans*, in the end of this warre, the entire possession of this Iland; which they wanted when it began.

§. XVI.

How the warre passed betweene the *Romans* and *Hannibal* in *Italie*, from the taking of *Capua* to the great victorie at *Metaurus*.

Shortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good seruices done in the Iland of *Sicil*, he had granted vnto him the honour of the lesser Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denied him: because he had not finished the warre, but was faine to leaue his Armie behinde him in the Prouince. He staid not long in *Rome*, before he was againe chosen Consull together with *M. Valerius* *Leuius*, who succeeded him in the gouernment of *Sicil*, and was, at the time of his election, making warre against King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great complaint was made against the Consull *Marcellus*, by the *Syracusians*, for that which he had done vnto them: they alledging their great friendship to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their Citie did neuer willingly breake the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome* than to all good men that liued in *Syracuse*. The Consull, on the other side, reckoned the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to be moane themselves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their necessitie; and not vnto the

the Romans whom they had kept out. Thus each part having some good matter to alledge, the Senate made such an end of the controuersie, as best agreed with the benefit of their owne Common-wealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring the bootie that he had taken, nor making the *Syracusians* free from their subiection, but comforting them with gentle words, and hopefull promises, as hath beene shewed before. The two new Consuls *Marcellus* and *Lauius*, were appointed to make warre, as their lots should fall out; the one in *Italie*, the other in *Sicil*. The Isle of *Sicil* fell vnto *Marcellus*; which Prouince he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracusians* (whose cause had not as yet beene heard in the Senate) might not seeme hindered by feare, from vttering their grieuances freely. Afterwards, when his businesse with them was dispatcht, he gently vnderooke the patronage of them: which remained long in his Familie, to the great benefit of their Countie in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Consul, was sent into *Sicil*, whose doings there haue beene already rehearsed: but *Marcellus* was employed against *Hannibal*.

Before the Consuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with pressing of Souldiers to the warre, and most of all, with getting Marriners for their Nauie. They were all of the poorer sort, that vsed to be employed in Sea-seruices; especially in rowing. These could not live without present wages: neither was there monie enough in the Treasurie to giue them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they should be set out at the expence of priuate men, who in this necessitie of the State, were driuen to sustaine all publike charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into sedition; had not the Consuls deferred the matter vnto further consideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a case of such extremitie. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already endured so much, as well it could vndergoe; and somewhat more, than could with honesty haue beene imposed vpon it. Neuertheless it was impossible to maintaine the warre against the *Carthaginians*, or to keepe the *Macedonian* out of *Italie*, without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That, since the common Treasurie was so empty, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden vpon them. At last the Consuls began to say, That no perswasions would be so effectually with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Consuls, like it was, that the people also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That euery one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasurie, all the mony that he had; and that no Senator should keepe any vessell of gold, or plate whatsoeuer; excepting one Salt-seller, and a Bowle wherewith to make their offerings vnto the gods; as also a Ring for himselfe, with such other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as euery one did vse, and those of as small value as might be. This aduice of the Consuls was not more thankefully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonaltie refuse to doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For since the publike necessitie could no otherwise be holpen, euery one was contented, that his priuate estate should run the same fortune with the Common-wealth, which if it suffered wracke, in vaine could any particular man hope to enioy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimitie deferred well that greatnesse of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Conuenient order being thus taken for an Armie and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the Citie against *Hannibal*; and *Lauius* toward *Sicil*. The armie of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard seruice: neither did his *Carthaginians* seeme to remember him, and thinke vpon sending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his Italian friends, was much weakened, by the losse of *Capua*; which gaue them cause, to looke vnto themselves, as if in his helpe there were little trust to be reposed, when they should stand in neede. This he well perceiued, yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he must haue Garrisons into all Townes that he suspected, and thereby so diminish his armie, that he should not be able to keepe the field: or else he must leaue them to their owne fidelity, which now began to wauer. At length his ialousie grew so outrageous, that he sacked, and wasted, those places that he was vnable to defend, thinking that the best way to enrich himselfe, and make vnprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before hee had least cause

to doubt. The towne of *Salapia* yeelded vnto *Marcellus*; and betrayed vnto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horse, the best of all that serued vnder *Hannibal*; which was a greater losse, than the Towne it selfe. *Blasius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his desire to effect, without getting the consent of one *Dafius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Dafius* in priuate, and was by him accused vnto *Hannibal*. But when he was conuicted and charged of Treason, hee so stoutly denied it, and by way of rectification, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deuised out of meere malice, knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing, that neither of them could bring any prooffe of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, *Blasius* did not cease to presse his aduersarie anew, and vrge him from time to time, with such liuely reasons, that he who could not be beleued by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the fauour of *Marcellus*. Presently after this, the Consul tooke by force, *Maronea* and *Meles*, Townes of the *Samnites*, where he slew about three thousand of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not looke to all at once; but was faine to catch aduantages, where hee might get them; the Romans now being growne stronger in the field than he. The best was, that his *Carthaginians*, hauing wearied themselves with ill speede in many petty enterprises, and laid aside all this while the care of *Italie*, to follow businesse of far lesse importance, had now at length resolved, to send presently the great supply, that had beene so long promised & expected. This if they had done in better season, *Rome* it selfe might haue beene stricken downe, the next yeere after that great blow receiued at *Canna*. But since that which is past cannot be amended, *Hannibal* must force himselfe to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mightie succour would come time enough. For *Masanissa* was at *Carthage* with five thousand *Numidians*, ready to set saile for *Spaine*: whither when he came, it was appointed, that *Asdrubal* should forthwith take his iourne into *Italie*, of which there had beene so long talke. These newes did not more comfort *Hannibal*, and his followers, than terrifie the Romans. Wherefore each did their best; the Romans to preuent the threatening mischiefe, and winne as much as they could vpon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrarie, to hold his owne, and weaken the Romans as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a Roman Pretor, lay nere vnto *Herdonia* to get the Towne by practice. It was not long, since, nere vnto the same place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had lost his Armie. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; & came to *Herdonia* ere *Fulvius* heard newes of his approach. As soone as he came, he offered battaile to the Roman Pretor, who accepted it with more haste than good speede. The Roman Legions made good resistance a while, till they were compassed round with the *Carthaginian* horse. Then fell they to rout; and great slaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himselfe, with twelue Tribunes or *Cromels*, were lost: of the common Souldiers, that were slaine, the number is vncertaine; some reporting feuen, others thirteene thousand. The Towne of *Herdonia*, because it was at point to haue yeelded vnto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did set on fire; and putting those to death that had practised with the Enemy, carried away the multitude, whom he bestowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Consul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote vnto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of a good cheere; for that hee would shortly abate the enemies pride. Hee followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and ouertaking him at *Numistro* in the Countie of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battell: which beginning at nine of the clocke in the morning, lasted vntill night; and ended, by reason of the darkenesse, with vncertaine victorie. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venusia* they met, and had many skirmishes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* remoued often, and sought to bring the enemy within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and vpon faire ground.

Thus passed the time away, vntill *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, hee that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fabius*, considering how much the Romans affaires were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that yeere to besiege *Tarentum*: which if he could winne, like it was, that scarce one good Citie would afterwards remaine true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that serued vnder him the yeere before) to presse the *Carthaginian* so hard, as he might haue no leisure to helpe

Tarentum.

Tarentum. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himselfe, to deale with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannus*, and thence from place to place: desiring euer to come to battaile, but vpon equall termes. The *Carthaginian* had not minde to hazzard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertaine his enemy with skirmish; as being desirous to keepe his Armie strong vntill the coming of *Asdrubal*. Yet could he not auoide the importunity of *Marcellus*; nor brooke the indignity of being daily braued. He therefore bade his men to be lustie, and to beat soundly this hot-spirited *Roman* Captaine, that would neuer suffer them to be at quiet; vntill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hereupon followed a battaile, wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; tooke sixe Ensignes; and slew of the *Romans* almost three thousand, among which were some of marke. *Marcellus* was so impatient of this dishonour, that he rated his men, as Pefants, and base cowards: telling them, that they were the fitt of the *Roman* Legions, which had beene beaten by *Hannibal*, by plaine force and manhood; without being circumvented by any stratagemes. With these, and many other the like words, which they were ashamed to heare, he did so vex them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their Generall, they besought him to pardon them; and leade them forth once againe to fight. He did so: and placing those Companies foremost, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victory; whereof the newes might beat *Rome*, before the report of their shamefull ouerthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was ready to fight againe; since all other motiues continued the same, and his men had beene hartned by the late victory. But the *Romans* were stirred vp with desire of reuenge, and of repairing their honor lost, which affections gaue a sharpe edge vnto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were growne dull, and wearie by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victory, as ready to molest them as before. In this second battaile *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchased at so deare a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cause to vaunt, the second night. For if eight thousand of the *Carthaginians* were slaine, and three thousand of the *Roman* side, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, than euen to recompence the late *Carthaginian* ouerthrow: especially since the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing *Hannibal*, who dislodged by night. Neuertheless it sufficed, that *Fabius* the Consul hereby got leisure, to follow his businesse at *Tarentum* without any disturbance. *Fulvius* the other Consul, about the same time, tooke in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucanis*, and *Vulscantes*, that willingly yeilded themselves, and betrayed the Garrisons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Townes: whom *Fulvius* encertained in louing sort; gently rebuking them for their errors past, without punishing those that had beene authours, or busied in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* theues, which *Lucius* had lately brought from *Asuterna*, was then also set on worke to besiege *Caulonia*, a Towne of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might serue to diuert *Hannibal*, from the succour of *Tarentum*.

Fabius the Consul, hauing taken *Manduria* a Towne of the *Salentines*, fate downe before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that seemed needfull to carry it, either by assault or long siege. Of the Garrisons in the Towne, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, vnder a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Captaine fell in loue with a *Tarentine* which; whose brother serued vnder *Fabius*. Hereof, she gaue notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* side: by telling him how rich; and of what great accompt her lover was. But her brother made the Consul acquainted with these newes: and said, that if the *Brutian* were farre in loue, he might perhaps be wonne, by intreaty of his Mistis, to doe what she would haue him. The Consul hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his souldier to conuey himselfe into the Towne as a fugitive, and try what good might be done: It fell out according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captaine: and partly by his owne perswasions; partly by the flattering entreatie of his sister, willed him to betray the Towne to the *Romans*. When they had agreed vpon the businesse, and resolved how to order it, the same Souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him in which part that

that *Brutian* kept watch; and what might conueniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gaue an alarme to the Citie; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captaines in the Towne, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himselfe with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captaine, helped the *Romans* to get vp, and breake open the next gate, whereat the Armie was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as hapneth in like cases, where the maine confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Nico*, *Democrates*, and *Philomenes*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, vsed now the last of their courage in dying against the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garrison within the Towne, offered himselfe prisoner: hoping to be well used, because of hospitality that had passed betwene his Father and the Consul. But he was slaine by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword, in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutians*, was thought to haue beene made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that he might seeme to haue wonne the Towne by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treasurie, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities, that were in the Citie, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone; and being told of some Idols that seemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in such habit and positure as if they were fighting, he said, Let vs leaue vnto the *Tarentines* their angrie gods.

Hannibal being gotten cleare from *Marcellus*, fell vpon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming: but he was so neere, that they were faine to betake them to a Hill, which serued to no other purpose, than to beare off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yeilded. When this businesse was done, he hastened away to relieue *Tarentum*. But when he came within fiew miles of the Citie, he had newes that it was lost. This grieved him: yet he said no more than this, *The Romans haue also their Hannibal*; we haue lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seeme to turne backe amazed, or in any feare of the victorious Consul, he incamped a few dayes together, so neere as he was vnto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himselfe how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chiefe of the *Metapontines* to write vnto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgieue them all offences past. These letters were sent by two yong men of the same Citie; who did their errand so well, that the Consul wrote backe by them vnto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure made ready his ambushes for the warie *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were giuen; or whether indeede (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*; the iourney to *Metapontum* was deterred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed againe: but being apprehended, and threatened with torture, they discovered all.

This yeere was happy to the *Romans*, in all their warres: for they got euery where; saue onely at *Caulonia*; where they lost a company of such lewd fellows, that it may seeme good fortune, to haue so beene rid of them. But their common poverity, & disability to maintaine their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirry *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italie*; of which, twelue refused to contribute any longer to the warres. For it was considered, that the Legions of *Cannus*, and those vnhappy Companies that had beene beaten vnder the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were transported into *Sicily*; where they liued, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon vpon the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten yeeres together they had beene exhausted with leuiies of men, and impositions of money: in euery of which yeeres they had received some notable ouerthrow. In this case the least that they could feare; or rather the best that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes,

homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe within a while, that they should be all consumed: since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Townes; and the old ones neuer returned. Such talke was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicily*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrinum*, *Alba*, and other good Townes, to the number of twelue, That they should boldly deny vnto the *Romans* their farther helpe. This was thought the likeliest way to obtaine peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* liued. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these Townes make such declaration, and protest their disabilitie of giuing any farther helpe; they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadors to returne home, and bring a better answer, forasmuch as this was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that the people were not *Campans* or *Tarentines*, but the offspring of the *Romans*; and no lesse partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not serue: the Embassadors continuing to protest, that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eightene Colonies did not imitate these twelue; but shewed themselves willing to vndergoe whatsoeuer should be layed vpon them, without shrinking vnder the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls, that the Embassadors of those faithfull Colonies, were brought vnto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commendation of all their former good seruices, this their present loue vnto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly bestowed vpon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of those twelue Colonies, that refused to contribute, it was thought best, neither to retaine them in the Citie, nor yet to dismisse them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leaue them to their owne consideration of their ill deservings.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelue people would haue wrought in those that were so willing to helpe the State, if *Asdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*. For then must the *Romans* haue betaken themselves wholly to their owne defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subiects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italy*, with hopefull and fortunate successe. Neuertheless, they were faine to open their most priuie treasure; and thence take out the gold that had been layed vp to serue them in cases of greatest extremitie. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was deliuered to *Fabius* the Consul, to set him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest was sent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Armie; and to prouide, that *Asdrubal* might not passe from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not spend all his money, finding such easie successe at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the iourney of *Asdrubal*; neither the money sent into *Spain*, nor any victories won by *Scipio* could suffice. Neuertheless it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this yeere, & the next were spent, before his coming; and they better prepared, than at lesse warning they could haue beene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amisse to note, That since the *Romans*, being in so great necessitie of money, were driven to furnish the Armie in *Spain*, with the greatest part of all their stocke that was left: it must needs be, that either the bootie taken in new *Carthage*, was far lesse than fame had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had not as yet wonne it: howsoeuer *Liuie* rather inclines to those, who say, that he got it soone after his arrivall.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintus Crispinus*, were chosen Consuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In the first yeere it was, that *Asdrubal* took his iourney out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* vntill the yeere following. After the great battaile at *Canna*, *Hannibal* had lost much time about *Cume* and *Nepes*, in seeking to make himselfe Master of a good haue, for the landing of those succours that were promised from *Carthage*. The hope that he reposed in *Philip*, caused him to turne his principall care to the Easterne parts of *Italy*; where he made ready a faire entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had beene ready to come. But since his hope was vanished, and the long promised succour of *Asdrubal* was (though farre later than had beene expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deale with the people of *Hetruria*, through whose Countreies his brother was to passe; that therein he might make a partie against the *Romans*. The losse of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Townes, might haue terrified all other of the *Italian* Townes, from harkning to

to any solicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the pouerty of the *Romans*, & the wearines of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army coming, than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*, did embolden many of the *Hetrurians*, especially the *Aruntines*, to take such counsell as they thoughtmost expedient for themselves, without regard of their fidelitie to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of their conspiracy, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consul into *Hetruria*: whose coming did so terrifie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the yeere following they were deuising how to breake out: as contrariwise the *Roman* Propretors; partly by terrour of seuerer iudgements & inquisitions, and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wils; and took many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong warre vpon *Hannibal* without more temporising: perswading themselves, that in battaile they should be too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Towne: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the siege of *Locri*, one of the best cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*: and brought thither all sorts of engines, sending for a fleet out of *Sicily* to helpe him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieue the city: the fame of whose approach, made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprize, & retire vnto his Colleague, that lay at *Venusia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*; to whom the Consuls daily offered battaile. This great man of warre had no need to stand vpon his reputation: which was already so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed vnto feare; but rather dected as part of his wisdom. He entertained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, & fought to take them at some aduantage; reseruing his owne numbers as full as he could, vnto a time of greater employment. In this lingering manner of War, *Marcellus* took no pleasure: but sought to compell the Enemy to battaile, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to assaile the Towne of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began to trifle away the time at *Venusia*. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to go by Land to the assistance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behinde him. He laid an ambush in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*, wherinto the *Romans* fell: and hauing lost about three thousand of their company, were wellglad the rest of them, to quit their enterprize, and saue their owne liues within *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, it was the desire of *Hannibal*, to waste their Armie by little and little: which to doe, he neglected no aduantage. There lay betweene him and them an Hillocke, ouer-growne with wood, that seemed fit to couer a number of men: who lying there vndiscerned, might fall vpon such, as should straggle from the *Roman* campe; and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians*: whom hee willed to keepe themselves close, and attend their best aduantage. To this piece of ground, the Consuls thought it fit to remoue their campe: *Marcellus* thinking that he neuer lay neere enough vnto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the son of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principall men: and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinel gaue warning of their approach to his fellows; who discouered not themselves, vntill they had surrounded the Consuls & their train. The Consuls, as necessity compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to be quickly relieued from their campe that was neere at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weake assistance of no more than forty horse-men, that were of the Colonie of *Fregella*. These *Fregellans* abode by the Consuls; and did what they could to haue brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken thorow with a Lance, and fell downe dead; then began euery one to shift for himselfe, and escape as they might. *Crispinus* the other Consul, had his death wound, being stricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recovered their campe. The rest of the Colonels and Officers; together with the Liſtors that carried the bundles of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slaine or taken. To the dead body of the Consul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gaue honourable Funerall, according to the custome of those times: and bestowing his ashes in a silver pot, couered it with a crown of gold; and so sent them to yong *Marcellus* to be by him interred, where he thought good,

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Presently

Presently after this, *Crispinus* bethought himselfe, how that the signet Ring of *Marcellus* was false into the custody of *Hannibal*; who might vse it, to his owne purposes, ere that which had hapned were well knowne abroad. Wherefore he sent word vnto all the Towns about, that his Colleague was slaine, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wishing them in that regard, to giue no credit vnto any letters therewithall signed. This prouidence of *Crispinus* was not more than requisite. For his Messenger was but a little before come to Salapia, when another Messenger arrived there sent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and sealed with the captiue Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpose to come the same night vnto Salapia; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readinesse, for such employment as he should thinke needfull. The deuise was plaine: and no lesse plaine was the reuengefull minde, which he bare against that Citie; because of his braue Numidian companies, that had therein bene betrayed. The Salapians herupon bethought themselves, how to take their Enemy in his owne snare. They sent back the Messenger, which was a Roman fugitiue; without letting him perceiue any signe of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readinesse, for the entertainment of such a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of Roman fugitiues armed Roman-like, leading the way. These all talking Latine together, called vnto the Watch, and bade open the gate: for the Consul was there. The gate was opened faire and leisuredly, and the Port-cullis drawne vp no higher than needs it must be, to let them enter. But when sixe hundred of them were gotten in, downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to haue taken others, were taken themselves; being laide at on all hands by the Salapians, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus ouer-reached with this stratageme, hasted away to Locri; where vnto *Cincius* the Admirall of the Roman fleet about Sicil, did lay hard siege. The first appearance of the Numidians, *Hannibal* his Vantecurors, made the Romans in all confused haste, run to their ships: leauing all their engines, and what focuer was in their campe, to the enemies disposition.

The Roman Senate hearing of these accidents, sent vnto *Crispinus* the suruiuing Consul, & requested him to name a Dictator, that might take charge of the Common-wealth, and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other businesse; whereunto himselfe was disabled by his hurts. He did so: and soone after died. Then was it thought needfull, that new Consuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two Roman Armies lay so neere vnto the enemy, without any Generall. Especially it was desired, that Election should be made of such men, as were not onely valiant, but well aduised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by losing himselfe so strangely, had giuen them a faire warning, not to commit their Armie vnto rash heads. Among those that stood for the Consulship, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the most eminent. He was of great Nobilitie, a good Souldier, and one, whose many seruices in this present warre, did forcibly commend vnto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the allay of a more staied wit. The fathers therefore endeauoured to ioine vnto him in the Consulship *M. Livius*: one that had borne the same Office, long before. This *M. Livius* had bene Consul with *L. Emilius Paulus*, in the yeere foregoing the beginning of this warre. After their Consulship, wherein they did good seruice, they had both of them bene called into iudgement by the People: and this *Livius* condemned; *Emilius* hardly escaping. Though it hath bene once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it againe: how it pleased God, to vpbraid the vnthankfull Romans, with the malicious iudgement, giuen by their multitude vpon honorable men. For in the battaile of Cannæ, it was apparant, what lamentable effects, the memorie of their iniustice wrought: when *L. Emilius* rather chose to yeeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatest ouerthrow that euer fell vpon the State of Rome, than by resisting the pernicious courses of *Terentius Varro*, to cast himselfe anew vpon the danger of the popular furie. As for *M. Livius*, hee is euen now ready, and will so continue, to tell the People of their faults in a diuers manner. Eight yeeres together after his condemnation had he bene absent out of the Citie, and liued in his Countie Grange; still vexing himselfe with the indignitie of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Lauinius*, being Consuls two or three yeeres agoe, had brought him into Rome: where he liued priuate in discontented sort, as might appeare, both

both by his carelesse in apparell, and by the wearing of his long haire & beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Censors, to poll his haire, and come into the Senate: where he vsed to sit silent, and signifie his assent or dislike to what was proposed, either in short formall words; or in passing from side to side, when the house was diuided. At length it hapned, that in some businesse weightily concerning one that was his kinsman; he stood vp, & made a set speech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was; and what he had bene. The Senate was much altered since he had left it; many braue men were lost; new ones were chosen; such as rather serued to fill vp the number, than to answer to the dignitie of the place: and they that were left of ancient standing, had euen spent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore, all began to say; that it was great pittie, so worthy and able a man, as this *Livius*, had bene all this while forgotten; one, of whom the Common-wealth stood in great need, yet had not vsed in this dangerous warre. Now seeing that the Consuls ought, one of them, to be chosen a Patrician, the other, of necessitie a Plebeian: and since, neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Laminius*, being both of them Patricians, could be ioined with *Claudius Nero*: euerie one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two sifter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Livius*. But *Livius* would not endure to heare of this. He said it was vnreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen Ruler of the Citie. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these, and the like phrascs he resisted their desires: till by perswasions, and examples rehearsed, of such as had patiently digested iniuries done by the People, and repaid good for euill; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which *Themistocles* checked the ingratitude of the Athenians: resembling himselfe to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men breake in faire weater; but run vnder it for shelter in a storme. Such vnthankfulness, to well-deseruing men, is not rarely found in the outrageous multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much vnlike, of *Philip* the second King of Spaine his dealing with the Duke of Alua. For although he had committed the Duke to prison, vpon some small offence conceiued, without all regard of his former deserts: yet when his intended conquest of Portugal, required the seruice of a man, more than ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer vpon the scanning of late displeasures; but employed the same Duke, whom he had newly disgraced. Thus is wisdom often taught by necessitie.

It was a dangerous yeere toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* were chosen Consuls. *Asdrubal* was already come into France, and waited onely, to haue the wayes of the Alpes thawed by warme weather, for his passage into Italy. The Romans vsed at this time the seruice of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not employment, for many more, if they had knowne how to leaue and maintaine them. Of these which they had, foure serued in Spaine, two in Sicil, and two in Sardinia: the rest were so disposed, in severall parts of Italy, where need seemed to require; that onely two Legions were left to each of the Consuls. But the Consuls were men of execution: and would not be tied to the partiall obseruance of what the Senatethought fit. *M. Livius* would not stire out of Rome; against so mighty a power as followed *Asdrubal*, vntill he had first obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could wel be spared from other employments; and those, or the most of them, chosen Companies. It was true; that two Legions, appointed to serue vnder *Lucius Porcius* a Pretor of that yeer, among the Cisalpine Gaules, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Livius*; to whom the warre against *Asdrubal* was allotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the Salentines; neere vnto Tarentum, vnder another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Armie, that was sent against *Hannibal*. Neither the Consuls, by the especiall instance of *Livius*, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne discretion. For newes came, that *Asdrubal* was already passing the Alpes; the Ligurians, who dwelt in the Countrey about Genua, with their Neighbour people, were in readinesse to ioine with him; and *L. Porcius* sent word, that he would aduenture no further, than hee safely might. When all was ordered, as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the Citie; each his severall way. The People of Rome were now quite otherwife affected,

affected, than they had beene, when *L. Emilius Paulus* and *C. Terentius Varro*, were sent against *Hannibal*. They did no longer take vpon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them dispatch, and winne the victorie betimes: but rather they stood in feare, lest all diligence, wisdom and valour should proue too little. For since few yeeres had passed, wherein some one of their Generals had not beene slaine; and since it was manifest, that if either of these present Consuls were defeated, or put to the worst; the two Carthaginians would forthwith ioyne, and make short worke with the other: it seemed a greater happinesse than could be expected, that each of them should returne home Victors; and come off with honour, from such mightie opposition, as he was like to finde. With extreame difficultie had Rome held vp her head, euer since the battaile of Cannæ: though it were so, that *Hannibal* alone, with little helpe from Carthage, had continued the war in Italy. But there was now arriued another sonne of *Amilcar*; and one, that in his present Expedition, had seemed, a man of more sufficiencie than *Hannibal* himselfe. For, whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, ouer great Riuers and Mountaines, that were thought vnpassable, *Hannibal* had lost a great part of his Armie: this *Asdrubal*, in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and, gathering the people that he found in the way, descended from the Alpes like a rowling Snow-ball, farre greater than he came ouer the Pyrenees at his first setting out of Spaine. These considerations and the like, of which feare presented many vnto them; caused the people of Rome, to wait vpon their Consuls out of the Towne, like a pensive traine of Mourners: so thinking vpon *Marcellus* and *Crispinus*, vpon whom in the like sort they had giuen attendance the last yeere; but saw neither of them returne aliue, from a lesse dangerous warre. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gaue his accustomed aduice to *M. Livius*, that hee should abstaine from giuing, or taking battaile, vntill he well vnderstood the Enemies condition. But the Consul made him a froward answer, and said, That he would fight the very first day: for that he thought it long, till he should either recouer his honour by victory; or by seeing the ouerthrow of his owne vniust Citizens, satisfie himselfe with the ioy of a gear, though not an honest, reuenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the ouerthrow that *Asdrubal* receiued in Spaine by *Scipio*, a little before he tooke his iourney into Italy, such mention hath already beene made, as agreed with the report of that noble Historian *Livie*. Yet I thinke it not amisse to adde in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his historie concerning that accident. *Asdrubal* had wrestled with many difficulties in Spaine; by reason of those Capitaines that were sent from the city of Carthage, to ioyne with him in the administration of that Province: they being, as it may seeme, of the Hannonian faction; which is to say, thus farre forth Traitors, that they preferred the aduantage of their own side, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy sonne of *Amilcar*, and how they hindered his courtes vndertaken, it cannot be knowne: since of those bookes, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled these matters, there are to vs remaining onely a few broken pieces. But by the spightfull dealing of *Hanno* in Sicily with *Mutines*, a better man of warre than himselfe, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the Iland: we may conceiue, that against the brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needefull, by these mischieuous Partizans of *Hanno*, to vse the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Neuerthelesse *Asdrubal* was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently such indignities, as *Mutines* could nor long digest. His iourney into Italy being required vpon: hee lay with part of the Armie at Betula, not farre from the Mines of silver; whence he was to furnish his expedition. Thither came *Scipio*: and draue him out of his Campe, though hee were strongly lodged, before the other Carthaginian Capitaines could, or would, come to his assistance. The ouerthrow seemes not to haue beene so great, as it must haue beene supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appeares, that *Asdrubal* dealt like a prouident man, and seeing that his Campe was likely to be forced, sent away all his mony, with his Elephants before him: but staid behinde himselfe to sustaine the Romans awhile, vntill his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his desire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troups together: and retyred in such sort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him, and so passed ouer *Tagus*. Then taking vnto him the forces assigned for his expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenees: leauing the care of Spaine vnto his brother *Mago*, and to *Asdrubal* the

Excerpt. E.
Polyb. hist. l. 10.
c. 11.

the sonne of *Gescio*; that thought himselfe the fittest man for the administration thereof. Faine would *Scipio* haue stopped him on his iourney, by sending to defend against him the ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether *Asdrubal* tooke another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had set to keep the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard passages commonly sorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any such impediment. Comming into Gaule, and following the steps of his brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his mony, that no passages were defended against him, nor any sort of resistance made; but he, and his Armie, well entertained, and their number much increased, by access of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choyce: for that hee was driuen to Winter in their Countrey, whilst that the passages of the Alpes were closed vp with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his iourney ouer the Alpes, were easily won to take part with *Asdrubal*, when he trauielled through their Countrey. For these poore men, at the first comming of *Hannibal*, were verily persuaded, that it was his purpose to rob them of their cattail; and to make spoyle of that little wealth, which they had painfully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in proceesse of time, they were better informed. Therefore vnderstanding, that there were two mighty Cities, farre disioyned asunder, which made warre vpon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the Alpes did onely lye in the way: they gladly descended, to take their part in the fortune of the Inuaders. The like affection, vpon greater cause, was afterward found in the Cisalpine Gaules. The Ligurians also ioyned with *Asdrubal*: and so would the Etrurians haue done; if he had arriued in their Countrey. There was no other Roman Armie neere, than *L. Porcius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did *Asdrubal* set vpon Placentia a Roman Colonie: in hope to make his comming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Towne. But there he lost a great deale of time, and finally was driuen to quit the enterprife: by vndertaking which, he gaue the Roman Consuls leisure to make ready for him, and caused his brother *Hannibal* (who vpon the first bruit of *Asdrubal* his so umely, and easily passing the Alpes, was about to leaue his wintering campes, and goe forth to meet with him) to sit still awhile, as well aware, that Placentia would not be taken in haste.

C. Claudius Nero the Roman Consul, made what speed he could, to meet with *Hannibal*, and stop him from ioyning with his brother. He had about forty thousand foot, and five hundred horse: with which he daily offered battaile to the Carthaginians; & had of him the better in many skirmishes. *Hannibal* was once driuen to make a tedious march from the borders of the Salentines and Abulians, into the countrey of the Brutians, there to encrease his forces; which were otherwise too weak for the iourney intended. Afterward comming to Grumentum, a Towne of the Lucans; he there fought vnprosperously with *Nero* the Consul. Neuerthelesse he got off, and marched away to Venusia. But *Nero* followed him; and had there againe the better of him. Wherefore he was driuen to returne to Metapontum: where ioyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Army, he assailed againe to make way by force to his brother. So he passed onward, and came againe to Venusia, hauing *Nero* still at his heeles. Thence went he ouer the Riuer Aufidus to Canusium, where he fate downe, not farre from the place, in which he had obtained his most memorable victory. There also did *Nero* sit downe by him: and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps vnto *Hannibal*, who knew the Countrey very well; that his brother might, with little impediment, ouercome the way to Canusium: where if he could once againe deale with both the Consuls, and all the Roman forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victory, as once he had gotten in the same open Countrey. If this had so falne out; Rome would haue beene vndone for euer. But the Carthaginians should not haue needed to wish any second victory, in the naked Campes about Cannæ; if such an Armie, as this which *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to second *Hannibal*, when he was in his full strength; and the Romans not able to keepe the field. Wherefore this worthy Generall had good reason afterward to say, that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beate him out of Italy; which else no power of the Romans could haue done.

Whilst *Nero* waited vpon the Carthaginians, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Armie that was comming to their succour: he was aduertised of

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Asdrubal

Asdrubal his approach; by Letters and Messengers intercepted; as they were going to *Hannibal*. These gaue notice, that *Asdrubal* had left the siege of *Placentia*, and drew on-wards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could be made by *Linie* the Consul. Of these newes *Claudius Nero* was nothing ioyfull. For if *Hannibal* could once be ioyned as head, vnto that great body of an Armie, which *Asdrubal* brought with him: it was most apparant, that howe soeuer the fortune of Rome should auoid, for the present, any great calamitie; yet the very continuance of so strong a warre at home, would enforce the Latines, and other faithfull Associates, to faint vnder the burden; as twelue of the thirtie Roman Colonels had already done. Wherefore he resolved, that it were better to make any desperate adu-¹⁰enture, than to suffer the coniunction of two such malenolent Planets: whose pestilent in-¹⁰fluence, if not on the sudden, yet within few yeeres, was like to worke most lamentable effects. It seemed apparant, that his Colleague was vnable to stay the progresse of *Asdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readinesse, that could doe seruice in such a needfull case; excepting those, that were already employed vnder the two Consuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tye himselfe to his owne charge, which was the warre against *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoued him, to helpe where more necessity required; and to carry part of his forces vnto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger: Yet since the meeting of the two Carthaginian bre-¹⁰thren, was farre more dangerous to the Roman Common-wealth; it seemed the best way to put Fortune in trust, with that which was of the lesse importance. Sixe thou-¹⁰sand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore tooke, that were the very choyce of his Armie: and making shew, as if he would onely step aside, to doe some small piece of seruice neere at hand; away he posted as fast as he could, to assist his fellow Consul. His Messengers ranne before him, to giue warning to all Townes by which hee was to passe, that they should bee ready to meet him, with victuals, and all other necessities for his Armie. *Linus* the other Consul, at that time, lay incamped, neere vnto *Sena Gallica*; and *Asdrubal* within halfe a mile of him. In sixe dayes *Nero* had finished his journey thither; and when he drew neere, sent Messengers before him, to giue notice of his comming. *Linie* thought it fittest that he should stay in some place of couert vntill darke night, and then enter secretly into the campe: lest the Enemie, perceiuing this acceffe of strength, should accordingly frame his counsailes. This was done: and a token ³⁰ giuen, that the Colonels, Captaines, and all Souldiers, as well horse as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him; should be lodged and entertained by men of their owne sort. Their Companie was somewhat increased by Voluntaries that ioyned with them on the way. Neuertheless, it was not needfull, that the Quarter which received them, should bee enlarged; since they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counsaile of warre: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new-arrived Companies, to refresh themselves a few dayes after their weary iour-⁴⁰nic, before they should be drawne forth to battaile. But against this, *Nero* was very earnest: and besought his Colleague, to make vse of him out of hand; that he might betimes returne to his owne Campe, ere *Hannibal* should haue notice of his absence. The Soul-⁴⁰diers also of *Nero*, were full of spirit; perceiuing that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs: forasmuch as the battaile would not haue beene vndertaken, without this their comming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counsaile brake vp, that the signe of battaile should be hung out; which was commonly a purple coate ouer the Ge-⁵⁰nerals pavilion.

Asdrubal was no lesse willing than the Romans to come to battaile, hauing long de-⁵⁰sired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Armie, to behold the Enemies countenance: it seemed to him, that they were more than they had beene; and some of their armes and horses looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long iourney. Hereupon he began to with-draw his Armie backe into the Campe: and gaue order, that if no pri-⁵⁰soners could be taken, by whom hee might be certified of the truth; yet should there good obseruation be made, whether the enemies campe were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might shew their forces to be increased. The camp, as hath beene said, was not extended: but the trumpet, that sounded onely once in the quarter of *L. Porcius* the Pretor, did now, contrary to former custome, sound twice in the

the quarter of *Linus* the Consul. Hee at *Asdrubal* greatly mused: and being well ac-¹⁰quainted with the Roman orders, held this for a sure token, that the other Consul was there arrived. How this might be, *Asdrubal* was alie, and in good case, he was not able to coniecture: but thought it the best way, to goe leisurely to worke, till he might be better informed. Vpon confidence in his owne forces, he had not cared hitherto, how neere he lay to the Romans; nor troubled himselfe perhaps with ouer-strongly for-¹⁰tifying his owne Campe. Yet when he now perceiued, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation, he changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remoue a little further off. So hee dislodged secretly by night, intending to get ouer the Riuer *Metaurus*; whereby to keepe himselfe as long as he could, from necessity of battaile. But whether it were so, that his guides did steale away from him in the dark, so that he could not finde the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heavy, and hindred his speed: farre he had not gone, ere the Consul *Nero* was at his heeles with all the Ro-¹⁰man horse, and staied him from passing any further. Soone after came *L. Porcius* with the light armature: whom the other Consul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battaile. *Asdrubal*, seeing himselfe overtaken with necessity to fight; omitted no care and circumspection. His Gaules, in whom he reposed least confidence, he placed in his left wing vpon a Hill, which the Enemie should not, with-¹⁰out much difficultie, be able to climbe: in the right wing he stood himselfe with his A-¹⁰fricans & Spaniards; his Ligurians he placed in the midst; and his Elephants, he bestow-¹⁰ed in the front of his battailes. On the Roman side, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing; *Linus* of the left, and *Porcius* of the battaile. Both Romans and Carthaginians well vnderstood, how much depended vpon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of safety there was vnto the vanquished. Onely the Romans herein seemed to haue had the better in conceit, and opinion; That they were to fight with men desirous to haue fled from them. And, according to this presumption, came *Linus* the Consul with a proud brauery, to giue charge on the Africans, by whom he was so sharply entertained; that the victory seemed very doubtfull. The Africans and Spaniards were stout Souldi-¹⁰ers, and well acquainted with the manner of the Roman fight. The Ligurians also were a ¹⁰hardy Nation, and not accustomed to giue ground; which they needed the lesse, or were able now to doe, being placed in the midst. *Linus* therefore, and *Porcius*, found strong ¹⁰opposition: and with great slaughter on both sides, preuailed little or nothing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their first ¹⁰ranks; and put them in such disorder, as the Roman Ensignes were driuen to fall backe. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vaine against a steepe Hill, was vnable to come to blowes with the Gaules, that stood opposite vnto him, but out of danger. This made *Asdrubal* the more confident; who seeing his owne left wing safe, did the ¹⁰more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other side, vpon the left wing of the Romans. But *Nero* perceiuing that the place wherein he stood, was such as would com-¹⁰pell him to remaine idle till the fight were ended; took a part of his forces, and led them round behind the forces of *Porcius* and *Linus*: vvith hauing compassed, he fell ¹⁰vpon *Asdrubal*, and charged him in the flanke. Here began the victory to bee mani-¹⁰fest on the Roman side. For *Nero*, finding none to resist him in front, ran all along the depth of *Asdrubal* his battaile: and falling vpon the skirts thereof, disordered the En-¹⁰mies, and put all to rout. Of the Spaniards therefore and Africans, that were laid at on-¹⁰every side, the greatest part was slaine. The Ligurians and Gaules escaped as they could; and saved themselves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken alieue: the rest were slaine; some by the Enemies vvapons, others by their owne guides that rode ¹⁰them. For vvhen any of them, being sore wounded, began to vvaxe vvnruly, and rush ¹⁰back vpon their own battailes following them: the guide had in readinesse a Mallet, and a Chizzell, wherewith he gaue them a stroke between the eares, in the ioynt of the neck, ¹⁰next vnto the head; wherewith he killed the beast vpon the sudden. This speedy way of preventing such harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to doe to the squad-¹⁰rons following them; is said to haue been the deuice of *Asdrubal* himselfe, vvho dyed in this battaile.

Great commendations are giuen to *Asdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Linie*. He is said at all times to haue shewed himselfe worthy of *Amilcar* his father, and *Hannibal* his brother: to haue striven with great patience, against many difficulties; whereinto hee fell.

fell by the meanes of those Captains that were sent from Carthage into Spain; to haue performed in this last battaile all duties of a worthy Generall, and finally when he saw the losse irreparable, to haue ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where, fighting brauely, he was slaine. Of the number that died with him in this battaile, the report of *Linie*, and of *Polybius*, doe very much disagree. For *Linie* saith, that the Carthaginians had no lesse an ouerthrow, than was that, which they gaue to the Romans at Cannæ; that fittie fixe thousand of them were slaine, fise thousand and foure hundred taken prisoners; and about foure thousand Roman Citizens, whom they had captiues with them, deliuered, and set at libertie. He saith also, that of the Romans and their Associates there were slaine eight thousand: and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not onely in other kindes, but in gold and siluer. Concerning the bootie, *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to haue been as rich as *Linie* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well-stored with money. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battaile of Metaurus, a parallel vnto that of Cannæ) reports no more than about ten thousand of the Carthaginian side, and two thousand of the Roman, to haue bin slaine. The number of the prisoners he doth not mention: but only saith, That some of the Carthaginian Princes were taken aliue; and that all the rest died in the battaile. Wherby it may seeme that they were all Barchines: forasmuch as they preferred the honour of themselves; and of their country, aboue their liues.

The ioy of this victory was no lesse in Rome, than had been the feare of the euent. For euer since it was knowne in what fort *Nero* had left his Army; the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his comming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consull should make such a great aduerture, as thus to put the one half of all the Roman forces, vnto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to haue notice of this his departure; and either pursue him, or set vpon the Army that staid behinde, much weakened, and without a Generall? Thus did they talke; yet reseruing their censure vnto the successe; with liberty to approue or condemne, according to the issue. In the meane time the people filled the Market-place; the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counsaile, waiting stil ready at hand vpon the Magistrates, as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would aske euery ones helpe. In briefe, they were all so full of melancholy, that when first newes of the victorie came, there were not many that would beleue it. Afterwards when Messengers arriued from the Consuls, with Letters containing all that had passed: there was not onely great and ioyfull concourse of all sorts of men vnto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their priuate businesse; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborn to doe) and attending their owne affaires in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driuen out of Italy.

Nero returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the Carthaginians: and producing his African prisoners bound; sent two of them loose to giue *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners might haue serued well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of the misaduenture, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and farre different manner, had giuen buriall to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea to all the Roman Generals, whose carcases fell into his hands. But it may seeme, that howfocuer the People of Carthage wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the Romans, in their loue vnto the Common-weale: yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more ciuill, and lesse prone to the insolency of reuenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that he hoped much more by the sudden terrour of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which had passed, to make a deep impression of feare into the Carthaginians. It may also be said, That he forgot himselfe, being ouer-joyed with the greatnesse of his prosperity. For it was the battaile of Metaurus that weighed downe the ballance, and turned the Tide of the Roman fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks; *Hannibal* hauing lost in this vnhappy fight (besides that worthy Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in Italy, with-drew himselfe into the Countrey of the Brutians: and thither he caused all the Lucans that were of his partie to remoue; as likewise all that dwelt in Metapontum. For he wanted men to defend

defend so many places as he held at the present, because they lay too farre asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser compasse in the vtmost corner of Italy; it being a country of much fastnesse, and the people exceedingly deuoted to his seruice. In this businesse *Nero* gaue him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, hauing all his forces vnited; or because it is likely that this remoue of the Lucans & Metapontines, was not before the end of Summer, when their harvest was gathered in: at what time the Senate called him home to Rome. *M. Linus* the other Consull taried among the Cisalpine Gaules vntill the end of Summer; there to set things in such order as he thought requisite: which done, he wrote vnto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Prouince, but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause, he desired leaue to returne home; and that he might bring his Army vvith him. The Senate well vnderstood his meaning: which was, to haue the honour of triumph, as he well deserued. But forasmuch as it was well knowne, what interest *Nero* had in the late victory: order was giuen, that not onely *Linie* with his Armie should come home; but likewise *Nero*, though leauing his Armie behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof *Linie* made the greater shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; because in his Prouince, and vpon his day of command, the victory was gotten: his Armie also being present at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horse-backe, and without such attendace, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers, by whom, the victory vvvas in a manner wholly ascribed vnto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Caecilius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generals, the due acknowledgment of their good seruice. For they were commended vnto the People, as men worthy to be chosen Consuls: and Consuls they were chosen for the yeer following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory in their Consulship. Neither indeed from this yeer, which vvvas the thirteenth of the present warre, vntill the eighteenth yeere wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in Italy; saue only the taking of Locri from the Carthaginians by surprize. For *Hannibal* wanted strength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the Romans had little minde to prouoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceiued of him, that though all about him went to ruine; yet in him alonethey thought there was force enough to hold himselfe vpright. And surely very notable are the commendations giuen vnto him by *Polybius*, vvhom *Linie* therein followes: That making warre vpon a People, of all other the most warlike, he obtained so many victories by his owne good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of so many sundry Nations, Africans, Spaniards, Gaules, Carthaginians, Italians, and Greeks; which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in such good order, that they neuer fell to sedition among themselves, or against their Generall. But that which *Linie* addes herto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he sustained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, vpon the hungry soile of the Brutians: which, when it was best manured in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparant, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Armie in such order and obedience, rather than by any greatnesse of reward and bootie: since, after the death of *Asdrubal*, he made no inuasion vpon the wealthier parts of Italy; but held himselfe still among the poore Brutians. Where we must leaue him, vntill he be drawne into Africk by *Scipio*; whose doings will henceforth entertaine, and leade vs, vnto the end of this Warre.

§. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio the Roman, made entire conquest of Spaine.

I.

How the Carthaginians were driven by Scipio from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.

Mago and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesco*, took vpon them the charge of Spain, when *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar* departed thence into Italy. These agreed together, that *Mago* should make a voyage to the Balears; there to leuie a supply of men;

men: and *Asdrubal* with-draw himself into *Lusitania* (which is now *Portugal*) vvhither the *Romans* had ill meanes to follow; being altogether vnacquainted in those parts. *Mago* had soon ended his businesse, and returned into *Spaine*: vvhether he met with one *Hanno* (the same perhaps that had lately bin employed in *Sicily*) who brought new forces out of *Africke*, & came to succeed in place of *Asdrubal* the *Barchine*. It is not vnlike-ly that *Spaine* was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things needfull from *Carthage*; when that sonne of *Amilcar*, vvhose authority had been great-est, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approue it selfe, against that noble race of *Warriours*; when it should appeare, that things did prosper much the better by being left vnto the handling of other men. Whether it were vpon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home, or whether vpon confidence in the forces that he brought ouer: *Hanno* took the field, and led *Mago* with him; as purposing afresh to set vpon the *Romans*. So he entred into the country of the *Celtiberians*, not very far from new *Carthage*: where, by mony, and other persuasions, he leuied about nine thousand men.

P. Scipio in the meane while contained himselfe in the Easterne parts of *Spaine*: atten-tiue, as it may seeme, to the proceedings of *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*; against whom, he is reported by some Writers to haue sent part of his forces into *Italy*; to the assistance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Luinius* the *Consuls*. But hearing of the leuie made by *Hanno* and *Mago*, among the *Celtiberians*: he sent *M. Syllanus* the *Propretor*, with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. *Syllanus* got intelligence by some fugitiue *Celti-berians*, who became his guides, that their Countreimen incamped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great disorder: as men fearing no danger, because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neer to these *Celtiberians*: & falling vpon them on the sudden, gaue them such an ouerthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* coming to their succour, in stead of heartening & re-inforcing them, became partakers of the losse. *Mago* saued himselfe with all the horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand: and in ten daies iourney brought them safe to *Asdrubal*. The rest of the *Africans* were either slaine or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill lucke to be taken prisoner; though he kept himselfe out of the fight vntill all was lost. As for the *Celti-berians*, they knew better how to make shift; and saued most of themselves by running into the vvoods.

It could no other wise be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein *Italy* stood, by the coming thither of *Asdrubal*. Ten thousand foot and eighteen hun-dred horse he did therefore send out of *Spain* (as it is reported by some Authors) to the defence of his owne Countreie: or was perhaps about to send them; and thereupon re-mained at new *Carthage*, intentiue to the necessity and successe of his Countreimen at home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long be-fore the end of the Summer, then might he well adventure, to take in hand the intire conquest of *Spain*, which must needs be much alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of such an ouerthrow. The *Spanish* Souldiers that serued vnder *Hannibal*, and those that had bin sent ouer into *Africke*, were as pledges heretofore, by whom their country was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noysed abroad, That all which had followed *Asdrubal* into *Italy*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal* with his Army was closed vp in a streight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behoue the Spaniards to conforme themselves vnto the will of the Victors. That it was the successe of things in *Italy*, which gaue such confidence vnto *Scipio*; it is the more probable, because he took not this great enterprize in hand, vntill the Summer was almost spent. *Asdrubal* therefore vsed the benefit of the season; and by disposing his Armie into many Garrisons; hindred the Enemy from doing any great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the yeere, caused *Scipio* to returne backe: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother *L. Scipio* took by assault the Towne of *Oringis*.

Against the next yeers danger, *Asdrubal* prepared a great Army: and spared not cost, nor trauaile, in strengthening himselfe, for the triall of his last fortune in *Spaine*. With sixtiety thousand foot, foure thousand horse, and two and thirty Elephants, he took the field: which number I beleeue, that he could hardly haue raised, without boldly deny-ing the truth of those reports that came from *Italy*. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* Legions

too weake to encounter with such a multitude. Wherefore he iudged it needfull to vse the helpe of his *Spanish* friends. But the death of his Father and Vncle, that were cast a-way by the treason of such false Auxiliaries, made him on the other side very doubtfully of relying vpon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest need. Yet since one *Celcher*, that was Lord of eight and twenty towns, had promised him the last Winter; to raise three thousand foot, and five hundred horse for his seruice: he resolved to make vse of those, and some few others, that might helpe to make a shew; and yet not be able to doe any great harme, if they would reuolt. So with five and forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he sought out the Enemy, neer vnto whom: he incamped. At his first coming, *Mago* and *Masaniissa* fell vpon him; vvhith hope to take him vnprepared, whilest he was making his lodgings. But he layde certain troupes of horse in couert: which breaking vpon them v unexpected; caused them to fall off. They made at first an orderly retreat: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly be-tookethemselues to plaine flight. After this encounter, which added some courage to the *Romans*, and abated the presumption of the *Carthaginians*, there were daily skirmi-shes between the horse and light armature, on both sides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Asdrubal* drew forth his Armie, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to shew that he durst fight, yet not proceeding any far-ther. Thus they continued many daies: *Asdrubal* being still the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that, in the euening, withdrew himselfe into his Trenches. The *Spanish* Auxiliaries were placed on both sides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midst, with their Elephants before them; and opposite to these on the other side were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at farre distance, many daies together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same forme; and be matched on each part, with the Enemies long before designed. But *Scipio* when he purposed indeed to fight, altered the forme of his Armie; and withall, came forth earlier than he had been wont. He caused his men and horses, to be well fedde betimes in the morning before day: and then sent forth his horse and light armature, to traîne out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies empty: vsing herein the same trick, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his father in the battaile of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he bestowed in the wings; his Spaniards, in the battaile. *Asdrubal* sent forth his horse in all haste, to entertaine the *Romans*; whilest he himselfe arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the Hill foot, vpon which hee encamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not bee discerned which part had the better: since being ouer-pressed on either side, they had a safe retreat vnto their foote; and one troupe seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: because his men, hauing well fed themselves, were like to hold out better than the Enemy. But about noone he caused his wings to aduance a good pace; leauing their battaile of Spaniards far behinde them, that came on leisurely, according to direction. The *Spanish* Mercenaries that stood in *Asdrubal* his wings, were no way comparable, saue only in number, to the Latine and *Roman* Souldiers, that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, leuied in haste; and fighting onely in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the same time, by the *Roman* Velites, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheele about for the same purpose, they were forely pressed; and with much difficultie made resi-stance. The *Carthaginians* would faine haue succoured them; but that they durst not stir out of their places, because of the *Spanish* battell which was coming against them; though it were as yet farre off. Thus the best part of *Asdrubal* his Armie stood idle, vntill the wings were broken. For, had he aduented to meet with the Spaniards, hee must haue cast himselfe into the open space that lay before him betweene the *Roman* wings: to the depth whereof when hee had arriued, he should haue found himselfe in-closed in such sort, as was the *Consull Paulus* at the battaile of *Cannæ*. Wherefore he did onely imploy his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chased with wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides: but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more vnwilling to kill them. In pro-cess of the fight, the *Romans*, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured lustie; when the others began to faint with trauell and heate of the day.

Where-

Wherefore perceiuing their aduantage, they followed it the more hotly : and gaue not ouer, till they had forc't the enemy to change his pace, and run from him. *Asdrubal* did his best to haue made an orderly retrait ; and after ward againe, to haue caused his men turne head, at the Hill foot. But the Romans would not suffer the victory to be so extorted from them : neither was it easie to put fresh courage into the vanquished, ledde by the obstinate passion of feare, which hearkens to no perswasion. The Campe of *Asdrubal* had that day beene taken ; if a storme of raine, which fell violently on the sudden, and bred some superstition in the Romans, had not caused them to giue ouer.

The same night *Asdrubal* gaue no rest to his men : but caused them, hungry, and ouer-laboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe, wherein he feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he haue in the strength of his Trenches, when he had lost the hearts of his Spanisb Souldiers. One *Atanes*, that was Lord of the Turdetani, fled from him to the Romans, with a great Band of his subiects: many followed this example; and soone after, two strong Townes were yielded vp to *Scipio*, and the Garrisons betraied. It seemes that the peruerse fortune of this late battaile, whereupon *Asdrubal* had set his rest, bred in the Spaniards a disposition, to beleue the more easily those reports which they heard from Italy. For henceforward, they neuer did good office to the Carthaginians. *Asdrubal*, perceiuing this, withdrew himselfe, and marched away faster than an ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning, & ouertaking the Carthaginians with his horse, caused them so often to make stand, that they were at length attached by the Roman Legions. Here began a cruell slaughter: for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, saue onely seuen thousand that with *Asdrubal* himselfe recovered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in haste. The place he made shift a while to defend: but wanting there necessities to sustain himself long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he resolved to make shift for one ; and stealing from his Company by night away to the Sea-side, that was not farre thence ; he tooke shipping, and set saile for Gades. When *Scipio* vnderstood that *Asdrubal* was thus gone, he left *Sylla* with ten thousand foot, & a thousand horse, to besiege their Campe (which was not taken in haste, for *Mago* and *Masanissa* staid in it) whilst he with the rest of the Armie did what was needfull in the Countrey abroad. It was not long, ere *Mago* and *Masanissa* followed *Asdrubal* to Gades: and their Army dispersed it selfe ; some flying ouer to the Romans, others taking what way they liked. So vpon all the Continent of Spaine, there were onely three Towns left, *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*, that made continuance of warre against the Romans: of which onely *Castulo* had a Carthaginian garrison, consisting of such as had saued themselves by flight in the late ouerthrows. Hereby it seems, that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who said, that *Castulo* yielded long since vnto the Romans; though *Hannibal* took a wife in that citie. For this was one of the last three towns that held out on the Carthaginian side. *Illiturgi* had sometimes been inclinable to the Romans; if not altogether at their deuotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earnestly the Carthaginian fortune, it not onely rebelled, but with great cruelty betraied and slue, the poor men that escaped thither from the ouerthrows. *Astapa* was a town that still adhered to the Carthaginians ; and, which was worse, had thriven by the spoyle of the Romans and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not vntill the next yeer) *Scipio* went against these, and took himselfe *Illiturgi* and *Castulo*: *Illiturgi* by assault, and with a generall slaughter of the Inhabitants; *Castulo*, by treason of one *Cerdubellus*. *Astapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcins* ; or rather destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market-place: wherinto was throwne all the gold, and siluer, with whatsoeuer else was precious; the women and children standing by it vnder a sure guard, that should kill and burne them if the Romans got into the Towne. This prouision being made, all the Inhabitants that could beare Armes, rushed forth desperately, and fell vpon the Roman camp; where struing beyond their power, they were euery one slaiue. Then was the Towne forth-with set on fire, by those that had taken charge to doe it : & many of the Romans consumed with the flame; whilst they rushed ouer-hastily to catch the gold and siluer, which they saw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Asdrubal, being beaten into the Iland of Gades, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to Carthage, with seuen Gallies; leauing *Mago* behind him, to wait vpon occasion,

occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, *Syphax*, king of the Massili, a people of the Numidians; hoping to win him to the friendship of the Carthaginians. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his euill Angel, in the kings Port: who landing at the same time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio*, hauing driuen the Carthaginians out of Spain, did forthwith bethinke himselfe, how to finish the war, by putting them to the like distresse in Africke. Hereunto it seemed that the help of *Syphax* would be much auailable: a King that had many times fallen out with the Carthaginians, and sustained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might easily be moued to seeke reuenge. He had also bin beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that sent him ouer a Captaine into Africk; vvhich instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as hetherby often became victorious. Vpon these reasons the Numidian King sent Embassadors to Rome, and made league with the citie in time of great extremitie. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceiued hope of laying a good foundation to the vvar, which he intended in Africk; vpon the friendship of this ill Neighbour to the Carthaginians. For which cause he sent ouer *C. Lelius* his Embassador, to deale with *Syphax*: who declaring that the Carthaginians did very ill in Italy, and had nothing now at all to doe in Spaine, easily perswaded the king to take part with those that had the better, and vvere without question his better friends. Onely *Syphax* requested that the Roman Generall should visite him in person, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treatie. Hereto *Scipio* condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to Carthage, and not farre distant from Spaine, well worthy of the aduenture. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he tooke Sea: and arriued in the kings Port, at the same time, with *Asdrubal*. This would haue been very dangerous to him, had he been descried by his enemies further at Sea : but in the Haven they forbore to make offer one vpon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud, seeing at one time, two such Captaines of two most powerfull cities, came to desire his friendship. He would haue brought them to treat of peace: but the Roman excused himselfe, by vwant of such Commission from the Senate. He feasted them together : and shortly dismised *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into Couenant ; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

¶ II.

Funerall games held by *Scipio*. A Duell betweene two Spanisb Princes. A digression, concerning Duels.

Scipio returning into Spaine, and resting that winter, tooke vengeance the next yeere, vpon those of *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*, as hath been said before. The Conquest of the Countrey being then in a manner at an end, he performed at new Carthage, with great solemnity, some Vowes that he had made, and honoured the memory of his Father and Vncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at sharp, according to the maner of the times. Neither was it needfull, that he should trouble himselfe with preparing slaues for that spectacle, to hazard their liues, as was vsed in the citie of Rome: for there were enow, that either offered themselves as voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes, to giue prooffe in single combat, of the valour that was in their feuerall Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not other wise end, agreed to refer the decision of their Controuersies, to triall of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were *Corbis* and *Orsua*, Cosen-germans: that contended for the principalltie of a Town called *Ibes*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers sonne: wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house, after the maner of our Irish *Tanistry*. But the father of *Orsua* stood lately seized of the Principality: which though himselfe receiued by the death of his elder brother; yet this his sonne would not let it goe backe, but claimed to hold it as heire vnto his father, & old enough to rule. Faine would *Scipio* haue compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends, and kindred, had already laboured in vaine, to take vp that quarrell, and that neither God, nor Man, but onely Mars, their God of battaile, should be Vmpire between them. So they had their wills : and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilfull at his weapon, easily vanquished the foole-hardinesse of the yonger.

Such combats haue bene very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of Troy; by *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two more at the Warre of Troy, the one betwene *Paris* and *Menelaus*; the other, between *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want there examples of them among the Hebrewes: whereof that between *David* and *Goliath*; and others performed by some of *Dauids* Worthies, against those that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Vnto the same kinde appertaines the fight, betwene twelue of the Tribe of *Juda*, and as many of the *Beniamites*. The Romans had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion vpon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, against the three brethren *Curatii* that were Albans. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*; and shortly after, of *Valerius Corvinus* with two Champions of the Gauls, which challenged any Roman; were of lesse importance, as hauing only reference to brauery. In England there was a great Combat fought between *Edmond Ironside*, and *Cannus* the Dane, for no lesse matter than the Kingdom. The vse of them was very frequent in the Saxon-times, almost vpon euery occasion, great or small. In the reigne of *Edward* the third, who sustained the party of *Mountfort* against the Earle of *Blois* contending for the Duchie of Britain; there was a fight, for honor of the Nations, between thirty of the Britons, & thirty English: two of which English, were *Caluerlie* a braue Captaine; and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the French wars, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in English, French, and Italian Histories. Most of them haue been combats of brauery, and of *gayeté de cœur*, as the French terme it; for honour of seuerall Nations; for loue of Mistresses; or whatsoeuer else gaue occasion vnto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either vpon accusation for life, or vpon triall of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of Right*. And of this latter kinde, was that, of which we spake euen now, betwene *Corbis* and *Orsua*. Vnto these (me thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat vpon Wager; such as were that between *David* and *Goliath*, or that between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*: in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one ouer the other, is aduentured vpon the head of Champions. Vpon an accusation for life, there was accustomed appointed between the Lord *Henrie* of Boulinbrook Duke of Hereford, & *Monbray* Duke of Norfolk. There was a combat performed by Sir *John Ansley* and one *Cattrington*: whom *Ansley* charged with treason: and proued it vpon him by being victorious. The like was fought between *Robert* of Mountfort, and *Henrie* of Essex. The like also, between a *Nauarrois*, & one *Welsh* of Grimsby, whom the *Nauarrois* accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had belied him, and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our triall by battell doe determine, that the false accuser, if hee bee vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had bene due to the offender, if the accusation had bene proued; I cannot affirme. But wee euery where finde, That if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customs of Normandy, of Murder, Rape, or burning of places (offences punished by death) be overcome, hee shall suffer the paines appointed for those crimes. In combats for triall of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Paramour* and *Lowe*, or offered to doe, in the reigne of Queen *Elizabeth*. And in this case, hee that is beaten, or yeeldeth, loseth onely his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats, vpon accusation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are those of brauery, but in *Campe close*, that is, within railes. Now this triall by combat was so ordinary in France, before the time of *S. Lewis* and *Philip the faire* his grand-child, as euery Lord of Fee, Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Iurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the French kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the * *Memorials of the Chamber of Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect: That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken vp, each of the parties should pay two shillings six pence; but if it were performed, then should the party vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelue shillings. And vpon this custome grew the French Prouerbe, which they vse when as any man hath had an hard and vniust iudgement, saying, That he was tried by the Law of *Loray*, or *Berne*; *ou le battin paye l'amende*, where he that is beaten giues the recompence. Of these frequent

An. 21. Ric. 2.

An. 3. Ric. 2.

An. 9. Henr. 2.

* Si homines de
Loracio vicia
Duellitimo e
dedarint, &c.

trials by battell, that great learned man *Thomas* Bishop of Chartres, did often complain, & specially against the French Church: in which appears by his letters, to the Bishop of Orleans, to the Arch-deacon of Paris, to *Robert* Archbishop of Sens, and to others; wherein he rebukes the iudgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. Bare his liberty and kinde of triall, was retrancht by *S. Lome*, and *Philip* the king; so that no man could decree, or grant it, saue the king himselfe. It hath since been granted; though more sparingly, by the French kings, as to the Lord of Carouges against *Jaques le Gris*, and to *Isolan* *Kowrathe* Spaniard, against *Moro*, his countiman: wherein *Sir Henry* *Kouquer*, Father of the Lord *Knolles* now liuing, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victory; and lastly to the Lord of Chast. Now in those challenges, vpon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other offence deserving death (and in those onely) the rule held, That le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces deffences per uue dementir; The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giuing the accuser the Lie: otherwise it was concluded, that the Defendant did satisfielement confesser le crime; silently confesse the crime. But after such time as *Francis* the French king; vpon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the Lie vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fift, thereby to draw him to a personall combat; euery petty Companion in France, in imitation of their Master, made giuing of the Lie moralitic it selfe; holding it a matter of no small glory, to haue it said, That the meanest Gentleman in France, would not put vp, what the great Emperour *Charles* the fift had patiently indured.

From this beginning is deriued a challenge of combat, grounded vpon none of those occasions that were knowne to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Triall of Right, the Wager vpon Champions, or the Obiection and Refutation of capitall offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of halfe so many Duels, as are founded vpon meere priuate Anger, yea or vpon matter seeming worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these daies, wherein euery man takes vnto himselfe a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personall combats, the giuing of the Lie, which ought to bee the Negation onely in accusations for life, is become the most fruitfull root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so vnparadonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that giues it. Thus the fashion, taken vp in haste by the French Gentlemen, after the pattern of their king, is growne to be a custome: whence we haue deriued a kind of Art and Philosophie of quarrell; with certaine grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea there are (among many no lesse ridiculous) some so mysticall curiosities herein, as that it is held a farre greater dishonour, to receive from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a sound blow with a Sword: the one, hauing relation to a flane, the other, to a Souldier. I confesse that the difference is pretty: though for my owne part, if I had had any such Italianated enemy in former times, I should willingly haue made with him such an exchange; and haue giuen him the point of honour to boot.

But let vs examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the Lie; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiuing it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that giue it them, vse nothing so much in their conuersation and course of life, as to speake and sweare falsely. Yea it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, hauing assumed & sworn to pay the monies & other things they borrow, doe not breake their word and promise, as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them that are not *Liers by Record*, by being sued in some Court or other of Iustice, vpon breach of word, or bond? For he which hath promised that he will pay money by a day, or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth, hath directly lyed to him, to whom the promise hath been made. Nay, what is the profession of loue that men make now-a-daies? What is the vowing of their seruice, and of all they haue, vsed in their ordinary complements, and (in effect) to euery man whom they bid but good morrow, or salute, other than a courteous and court-like kinde of lying? It is (saith a wise French-man, deriding therein the Apish custome of his Country) *une marche & complos fait ensemble se macquer, mentir, & piper les uns les autres*; A kinde of merchandis, and complos made among them, to mocke, belye, and deride each other: and so surre now-a-daies in fashion, and in vse, as he that vseth it not, is accounted either

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dull, or Cynicall. True it is notwithstanding (omitting the old distinction) that there is great difference between these mannerly and complementall lies, with those which are sometime perfwaded by necessity vpon breach of promises, and those which men vse out of cowardise & feare: the latter confessing themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other stiled the most villanous. But now for the *Lie* it selfe, as it is made the subiect of all our deadly quarrels in effect: to it I say, That whosoever giueth another man the *Lie*, when it is manifest that he hath lied; doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainously taken, than to tell him, hee hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promiseth any thing; tells him, to whom he hath promised, that he will performe it; and, in not performing it, hee hath made himselfe a Lier. On the other side, He that giues any man the *Lie*, when he himselfe knowes to that he, to whom it is giuen, hath not lied; doth therein giue the *Lie* directly to himselfe. And what cause haue I, if I say that the Sunne shines when it doth shine; and that another fellow tells me I lie, for it's midnight; to prosecute such an one to death, for making himselfe a foolish Ruffian, and a Lier in his owne knowledge? For he that giues the *Lie* in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyaltie, or Lifegiueth it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extreame rudenesse to taxe any man in publike with an vntruth: (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice against whom the vntruth is vttered:) but all that is rude, ought not to bee ciuillized with death. That were, more to admire and imitate a French custome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsaile of God. But you will say, that these discourses fauour of cowardize. It is true, if you call it cowardize to feare God or hell: whereas he that is truly wife, and truly valiant, knowes that there is nothing else to be feared. For against an Enemies sword, we shall finde ten thousand feuen-penie-men (waged at that price in the wars) that feare it as little, or perchance lesse, than any profest Sword-man in the world. *Diligentissima in tutela sui Fortitudo, Fortitude is a diligent preseruer of it selfe.* It is (saith Aristotle) a mediocritie betweene doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem pona: sic nec fortem pugnā, sed causā, As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr: so it is not fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good cause.* In which, whosoever shall resolutely end his life, resolutely in respect of the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrey: as hee may iustly bee numbred among the Martyrs of God; so may those that die with malicious hearts, in priuate combats, be called the Martyrs of the Deuill. Neither doe we indeed take our owne reuenge, or punish the iniuries offered vs, by the death of the iniurious. For the true conquest of reuenge is, to giue him, of whom we would be reuenged, cause to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death vpon our owne consciences; *Animasq; in vulnera pene-re, And to drowne our soules in the wounds and blood of our enemies.* Hereupon you will againe aske me, if I condemne, in generous and noble spirits, the defence of their honors, being prest with iniuries? I say that I doe not, if the iniuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the eternall Law: and the Lawes of all Christian Kings and States; doe fauour him that is assailed, in the slaughter of the assailant. You will secondly aske me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honor to satisfie the challenger in priuate combat? I answer, that he is not: because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and opposite to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion ouer it, which can iudge it, which can destroy it; except you will stile those Acts honourable, where the Hang-man giues the Garland. For, seeing the Lawes of this Land haue appointed the Hang-man to second the Conqueror, and the Lawes of God appointed the Deuill to second the conquered dying in malice: I say that he is both base, & a foole, that accepts of any *Cartel* so accompanied. To this perchance it will be answered, That the kings of England & other Christian kings, haue seldome taken any such aduantage ouer men of quality, who vpon euen termes haue slaine their priuate enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they haue not often done it; so did our Noble-men & Gentlemen in former ages, in all important iniuries, sue vnto the king, to approue themselves by battaile and publike combat. For as they dared not to braue the Law; so did they disdain to submit themselves vnto the shamefull reuenge thereof; the same reuenge (because it detesteth murder) that it hath declared against a common Cut-purse or other Theeues:

Nay

Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for such offenders: Yet is not the Manslaier freed by his pardon. For these two remedies hath the partie grieved notwithstanding; that is, to require iustice by Grand Assize, or by battaile, vpon his appeal, which (saith Sir Thomas Smith) is not denied; and he further saith (for I vse his owne words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the Man-slaier) be conuicted either by great Assize or by Battaille, vpon that appeal, the Man-slaier shall die, notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So fauourable (saith the same learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to iustice, and to the punishment of blood violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men and Gentle-men shall be repaired in honour, where an enemy taking the start either in words or blowes, shall lay on them an infamy vnseparable? I say that a Marshalls Court will easily giue satisfaction in both. And if we hold it no disgrace to submit our selues for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, & Lands, and for all things else, by which the liues of our selues, our wiues, & children, are sustained, to the Iudges of the Law; because it may be felony, to take by violence euenthat which is our owne: why should we not submit our selues vnto the Iudges of honour in cases of honour; because to recouer our reputation by strong hand, may bee murder? But yet againe it may be objected, That the losse of honour ought to bee much more fearefull vnto vs, than either the losse of our goods, of our lands, or of our liues; and I say so too. But what is this honour, I meane honour indeed, and that which ought to be so deare vnto vs, other than a kinde of history, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficultie or danger, and vnder-taken for the publike good? In these he that is imployed and trusted, if hee faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection, it is true that he loseth his honour. But the acting of a priuate combat, for a priuate respect, and most commonly a friuolous one, is not an action of vertue, because it is contrary to the law of God, and of all Christian kings: neither is it difficult, because euen & equall in persons and armes: Neither for a publike good, but tending to the contrary; because the losse or mutilation of an able man, is also a losse to the Common-weale.

Now that a Marshall of England hath power to saue euery mans fame & reputation, as farre as reputation may sustaine iniury by words, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent vs of any euill words that wee haue giuen, and to confesse that we haue done him wrong vnto whom we haue giuen them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For he that giues ill words in choler, and suddenly denies them, or repents himselfe of them vpon aduisement, hath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeed not to be giuen but to those that are feruile, whether sufficient recompence will be made for them, it shall appeare by a notable example of a most worthy Gentleman *Monsier de Plessis*, that was stricken in France not long since by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was giuen him by a iudgement of the Constable and Marshalls of France, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gaue iudgement, *M. de Plessis* was set in a chaire vnder the degrees where the Constable and Marshalls sate: the Baron, who had giuen him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a sword with the point towards himselfe, and in his left hand the like cudgel or bastinado, wherewith he had stricken *M. de Plessis*; both which weapons he deliuered into *Plessis* hands, submitting himselfe to such reuenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshalls hauing formerly left it to the will of *Plessis*, to vse his owne discretion in the reuenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himselfe, as one beforehand in point of honor, (who struck *M. de Plessis* like a Ruffian coming behind him, and hauing the aduantage of company and his horses ready, shifted himselfe away on the sudden, but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himselfe in this shamefull manner:) or whether *Monsier de Plessis* (of whose valour no man doubted) had not farre iust cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure haue beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgaue him: let any wise man iudge. To this if it bee said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission, that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no disgrace vnto him: I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a Theefe, when hee is brought to the Gallowes, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is

no disgrace in respect of a force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our sinnes to God) makes all repentance shamefull; because all forced repentance is inflicted vpon vs for somewhat vnworthy of a Gentleman and of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance it selfe, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall vs, or out of the acknowledgement of our owne weakenesse. Certainly, as wise men, and valiant men, doe rather deride petty iniuries or sudden iniuries, that are not offered from malice fore-thought, than reuenge them: so men, apt to quarrell, doe commonly suspect their own valor; and rather desire, that thereby the world should beleene them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselves. For he that knowes himselfe indeed to be an honest man, scorneth to hunt after opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshalls of France haue, hath also a Marshall of England, or his Deputies; by whose iudgement, in all disputes of honour, euery mans reputation may be preferred; we may therefore as well submit our selues to the Iudge of honour in all disputes of honour, as we doe submit our selues in all controuersies of liuelihood and life, to the Iudges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Cheualrie in England, in France, and elsewhere; was no lesse charitable than politike. For the blood of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth *bonnie bees*, as that of Bulls doth, which sting but the fingers or the face: but it produceth that monstrous beast, *Reuenge*, which hath stung to death, and eaten vp of seuerall Nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatning the wrath of God vpon supreme Gouvernours, than the permission.

His Maiesty therefore (which *Henrie* the fourth of France also endeouored) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deed in Scotland, which the most renowned of all his Predecessors could neuer doe: in beating down, and extinguisht, that hereditary prosecution of malice, called the *deadly feud*; a conquest, which shall giue him the honour of Prudence and kingly power, for euermore. And wee haue cause to hope, that his royall care shall bee no lesse happy in preuenting the like mischiefe, which threatens England, by the audacious, common, and braue, yet outrageous vanity of Duellists.

Vnto this that I haue spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must bee added, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproofe & vengeance proportionably, more or lesse, in their seuerall degrees. There is much difference betweene Lies of necessitie vpon breach of promise, or complementall lyes; and such pernicious lyes, as proceed from feare and cowardize, or are vttered by false witnesses: the former sort, being excuseable by weakenesse or leuitie; the latter, being altogether detestable. No lesse, if not more, difference there is, betweene killing of a man in open field, with euen weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile, dolo* or *per insidias*; though our Lawes doe not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his owne priuiledge, commandeth, that the *guilefull* murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is euery guilefull murder performed by the sword, nor by ouert violence: but there is a guilefull murder also, by poysoning; and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, betweene committing presumptuously vpon a man, *to slay him with guile*; and *lying in wait for blood, priuily, for the innocent, without a cause*, vpon hope of spoile, after such manner as *the net is spread before the eyes of the birds*. *Francis* the first, *Queen Marie* of England, and the kings Maiesty now reigning, haue giuen notable testimony of their iustice, vpon three Noble men, who committed *guilefull murder*. Of the first kinde, King *Francis* vpon the Lord of Talar: who being (saith the French Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & supporté de plusieurs grandes alliances; whose being of high and ancient linage, and supported by diners great alliances*, of which the Cardinall of Bellay (in especiall fauor with the King) was one, was notwithstanding deliuered ouer into the hands of the Hangman. *Queen Marie*, vpon a noble man of her own Religion, and in many other respects very deare vnto her. *His Maiesty*, vpon a Baron of Scotland; whose house was no lesse ancient and faithfull, than himselfe valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poyson, and of punishment following such wicked Artisans, euery age hath had too many examples. Of killing guilefully by the pen (that I may not speake of any English Iudge) the Author of the French Recherches giues vnto vs two notable instances: the one of *des Esbars*, who (saith *Pasquiere*) *fit mourir Montaigne grand Maistre de France, pour contensser l'opinion de celui dont il estoit lors idolastre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut*

Exod. 21.

Exod. 21. 14.
Prov. 20. 11.Lib. 9. cap. 18.
¶ cap. 11.

il fut pendu & estranglé; who caused Montaigne great Master of France to die, to content his minde (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) whom at that time Esbars worshipped as his idol: but God permitted, that he himselfe was soone after hanged and strangled. The other was of the Great *Francis* the first, vpon his Chancellor *Poyet*: who, to satisfie the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Admirall *Chabot*, a man most nobly descended, and of great seruice. For as in other men, so in Kings, the passion of loue growes old, and wears out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall, hee charged him with some offences which he had formerly committed. The Admirall, presuming vpon the great good seruice which he had done the King in Piemont, and in the defence of *Marseilles* against the Emperour; gaue the King other language than became him; and desired nothing so much, as a publike trial. Hereupon the King (it being easie to prouoke an ill disposition) gaue commission to the Chancellor, as President, and other Iudges; vpon an information of the Kings Aduocate, to question the Admiralls life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, & of a large conscience, (which is not rare in men towards the Law) hoping highly to content the King, wrought with some of the Iudges with so great cunning; with others, with so sharpe threats; and with the rest, with so faire promises; as albeit nothing could be proued against the Admirall, worthy of the kings displeasure; yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Liberty; though not able to preuaile against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falshood in so great a Magistrate) other than his owne degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Belle leçon certes (saith Pasquiere) dont luge pour demonrer tousiours en soy, & ne laisser flatter sa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imaginative faueur, qui pour fin de ieule submerge; A faire leçon to all Iudges, to dwell alwaies in themselves, and not so suffer their consciences to float upon the waves of imaginative faueur, which in the end overwelmes them.* And as for the Admirall: though it might haue beene answered vnto his friends, if any bewailed his calamitie as vnderferued, That he was tryed, according to his owne desire, by the Lawes of his Countrey, and by the Iudges of Parliament; yet the Kings iustice, surmounting all other his passions, gaue backe vnto him his Honour, his Offices, his Libertie, and his Estate.

†. III.

The last Acts of Scipio in Spaine. His returne to Rome where he is chosen Consul.

THE last businesse that troubled *Scipio* in Spaine, grew by the rebellion of the People, and mutinie of his Souldiers. He fell dangerously sicke, in such sort, that the rumor of his death ran currant throughout Spaine. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, pettielings, that had forsaken the Carthaginians, and followed *Scipio* a while before, to take arms against the Romans. They were vainly perswaded, that after the Carthaginians were driuen out, they themselves should become the mightiest in all Spaine. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatnesse of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present aduantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they rashly fell vpon the *Suesetani* and *Sedetani*, Confederates of the Roman; and wasted their Countrey. Part of the Roman Army lying at *Sucro*, in stead of making head against these Rebels, grew to be affected with the like distemper. They had not reaped such profit of their Roman conquests, as might satisfie their desires; or as they thought easie to be gotten, if they might be their owne Caruers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought, that the time serued very well, to enrich themselves with the spoile of the Countrey. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, driuing away their Colonels, that should haue bridled their furie; they chose out of their owne number two base fellowes, *Albius Calenus*, and *Atrius Vmber*, to their Commanders. These tooke vpon them all the Ensignes of Proconsuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had beene like to that, wherein *Lucius Martins* was chosen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two *Scipio's*. But whilest they were deuising, what exploits they might doe, for the enriching of themselves, in a time of such combustion as was expected; there arriued more certaine newes, that *Scipio* was both aliue, and in good health. There came also new Colonels, sent vnto them from their Generall: who mildly rebuking their want of consideration, and seeming to be glad that they had no further

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ouer-thor themselves; led them to Carthage, there to receive their pay. Before their comming, *Scipio* had resolved to doe exemplarie iustice on the principall offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in feare, of what they had deserued. Therefore hee caused *Syllanus* to make ready the Companies which lay before in the Towne, as it were to make an Expedition against *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*; Hee caused *Albius* and *Atrius* with some thirty other of their Complices, to be secretly apprehended in their lodgings; He called the Mutiners to assembly; and hauing them vnarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his Companies, prepared for the purpose, he bitterly inueighed against them all, as Traitors. This done, *Albius*, and *Atrius*, with the other prisoners, were haled to the stake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the Roman custome toward such offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thousand, were called to take their oath of obedience anew; and receiued euery man his pay when hee was sworne.

Mandonius and *Indibilis* continued in armes; notwithstanding that they had certaine word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could haue beene contented to bee quiet; but by the seueritie vsed to the Roman Souldiers, they stood in feare, as being Spaniards, and greater offenders, of harder measure. *Scipio* went against them; and found them in a Valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Armie. In the entrance thereof he fought with them; and sending *Lalius* with all his horse to fetch a compass about the Hills, & charge them in reare, he ouerthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this, no hope remaining to preferue themselves and their estates, otherwise than by making submission. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*; and humbly crauing pardon, both for himselfe, and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his request; yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselves lesse free Princes than formerly they had beene.

Afterward *Scipio* went toward Gades: and was met on the way by *Masanissa*; who secretly promised to doe him all seruice, if the people of Rome would send him to make war in Africk. Vnto *Mago* that lay in Gades, came directions from Carthage, that letting all care of Spaine alone, he should thence depart with his fleet into Italy; and there wage an Army of Gaules, and Ligurians, to ioyne with *Hannibal*. For this purpose, was money sent vnto him from Carthage; & he himselfe laid hold vpon all that he could finde in the Town of Gades, without sparing either priuate men, the common treasury, or the Temples. In his voyage thence, he landed at Carthage; hoping to haue taken it by surpris. But he failed in the attempt; and was so beaten to his ships, that he returned backe to repose himselfe awhile at Gades. The Gaditanes, offended with the robberies and spoyle that hee had made at his taking leaue of them, would not suffer him againe to enter into their City. By this hee foresaw, that it would not bee long ere they became Roman. Wherefore sending Messengers into the Towne, to complaine of this vn courteous dealing, he allured their Magistrates forth vnto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, hee followed his former intended voyage; bidding Spaine farewell for euer.

The Isle and City of Gades, was yeilded to the Romans, presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliuer vp the Prouince, to those that were sent from Rome to succceed him therein; and himselfe with ten ships returned home. At his comming to Rome, he made suite for the honour of a triumph. But it was denyed him: for that it had as yet bin granted vnto no Proconsul, excepting to such, as receiued that dignitie after a Consulship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse: the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by generall voyce of the Citie *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen Consul; and *P. Licinius Crassus*, ioyned with him. This *Crassus*, being high Priest, or Bishop of the Romans, might not, by the custome of those times, goe farre from the Citie; as being to intend the matters of their superstition: though *Cesar*, and others, who in ages following held the same Office; were stayed by no such religious impediment from being farre, and long absent. Hereby it came to passe, that *Scipio* desiring to haue the warre transferred into Africk, was in no danger to lose that honourable charge; by any mischance of lot, in the diuision of Prouinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment so farre off.

6. XVIII.

Scipio obtains leaue to make warre in Africk. His preparations. Of *Masanissa* who was ioyned with *Scipio*. The victories against *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*.

P. Cornelius Scipio, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, entering into their Consulship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* should bee allowed, to bestow part of the money which hee had brought out of Spaine into the treasury; vpon the setting forth of solemne plaies, that he had vowed to make; while hee was busied in his Spanish warres. This helped well to reuiue the memory of his victories already gotten; and to giue hope vnto the People of greater victories in the warre, which he intended to make in Africk. To the same purpose, did the Spanish Embassadors analle much in the Senate, especially that of the Saguntines: who magnified his actions, highly and deseruedly, saying, That they were the most happy of all their countrymen, since they being present, had seene him chosen Consul, and should carry home such ioyfull newes. The Saguntine Embassadors were louingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to Rome (though costly it were both to them, and to the Romans) had well deserued. Neuerthelesse, when *Scipio* proposed, that Africk might be decreed vnto him for his Prouince: there wanted not many, euen of the principal men, that vehemently said him, Of these was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chiefe: who seemed to haue beene troubled with that disease, which too often causeth men renowned for long approued vertue, to looke asquint vpon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kinde. Hee alleged many reasons against the purpose of the Consul: whereof the chiefe were, That the treasury was vnable to sustaine the charges of a warre in Africk; and that it was extremely perillous to hazard so great forces, where they could not at pleasure be recalled vnto the defence of Rome it selfe, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein Italy stood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother: that was arming the Ligurians: as also concerning the honour of the Consul, which would (he said) be greater in setting Italy free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harme to Africk. Neither did he forget, both to eleuate the Spanish warres, as of lesse moment than the intended voyage against Carthage; nor withall to lay great blame vpon *Scipio*, for hauing suffered *Asdrubal* to passe into Italy: shewing, that it was greatly to be feared, lest the like might happen againe; and that a new Armie, notwithstanding the good successe of *Scipio* (if it hapned to be good) might be sent from Carthage, to the vtter endangering of Rome, whilst the Roman forces were employed abroad. But the maine point which he vrged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, Africk to be that yeer a Prouince: which the Consul neuerthelesse propounded in such wise, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other side, insisted vpon this one point; That it was better to make an offensiu, than a defensiu warre: especially against such as the Carthaginians, who being ill provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves by helpe of money, with leuiues made abroad. As for the care of Italy, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague would be as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promising to draw *Hannibal* into Africk, for defence of his own home: and taxing as ciuilly as he could, the enuy of *Fabius*, which withstood such a gallant enterprife, he proposed the matter againe vnto the Senate. Much altercation there was about the manner of his proceeding: forasmuch as it was noyed abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his minde, he would carry it by the People. This offended many of the Ancients: who reſented in this honourable man a little spice of that arrogancie, which in following ages, grew to be much hotter in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, *Scipio* referred himselfe wholly vnto the Senates good will and pleasure, whereby he obtained thus much, That the Isle of Sicill might be appointed vnto him for his Prouince; with leaue to passe ouer into Africk, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the Roman Senate haue little care to furnish out *Scipio* to the warre, by him intended vpon Africk. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, comming on the suddaine from the Balears to Genua, and winning the Town, bred a feare of no lesse terrible inuasion vpon Italy, than that which *Asdrubal* had lately made. Hee could not indeed raise any great Armie of the Ligurians; for that he found them distracted with ciuill warres. Therefore he was driuen to make choyce of his

his partie; and to helpe those whom he thought fittest for his turne, against the others. This troublesome businesse, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly haue spared; yet it got him reputation by his victories, & made the ynsteady Gaule, ready to enter into his pay. Hereupon the disperfed Legions of the Romans, that vnder Proconsuls, and Pretors, lay ready to bee employed where need should require; were directed vnto the borders of Lombardie and Liguria, there to make head against *Mago*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet either comming to his ayde from Carthage, or by him sent thither (the report is vncertaine) laden with the booty that he had taken, fell into the hands of the Roman Pretor, that governed in Sardinia. This did much disaile him: and though after a while, there came letters from Carthage, together with store of money, heartening him in his proceedings: yet some impediments which hee found, and that fatall voyage of *Scipio* into Africke, disturbed all; and made him be recalled home.

Against *Hannibal*, was nothing done this yeere. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the Roman Historians haue bin pleased to take notice. Onely it is said, that he spent the Summer by the Temple of *Inno Lacinia*, where he raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, grauen in Punike, and Greek letters. Such account of winnings-past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission, and carelesnesse; in those that are vpon the losing hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they finde a notable change. A great pestilence, infecting both the Carthaginian and the Roman Campe, is said to haue bene the occasion of this yeeres idlenesse; which fell out not much amisse for the Citie of Rome, that was mutually empouerished by this warre; and had already tried the vniuersal way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieue the present necessitie, it was well thought vpon, that a great part of Campania (not in many yeeres since confiscated) should be sold, or let out: in which bargain, that the Citie might receive no losse; the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, vnto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was giuen to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make presse of Souldiers for his African voyage; neither did he ouer-much labour to obtain it. That which the Senate refused, the People did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is vniuersally found in Councils of state, that the busie, or obstinate heads of a few, doe carry all the rest. And many times men make a surrender of their owne iudgements, to the wisdom that hath gotten it selfe a name, by giuing happie direction in troubles forepast. Therefore, he that reposeth himselfe vpon the aduice of many, shall often finde himselfe deceived: the counsaile of those many being wholly directed by the empire of a few, that ouer-sway the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his warie nature sorted well with the businesse, that fell out in the chiefe of his employment. Vnto him therefore *Q. Fabius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne old in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well aduise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needfull resolution of *Scipio*: in such sort, that besides his Roman forces, hee had from diuers parts of Italy about seuen thousand Voluntaries. He had also prouision from the seuerall Townes; Corne, Iron, Canuas for sailes, Axes, Beede-hooks, Hand-mills, and the like implements, Firre for building of ships, many thousands of Targets, Helms, and Spears: of all kinde: euery place furnishing him with that commoditie, which it best could afford.

Vnto this willingness of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correspondent. In the compass of fife and fortie dayes, he had both feld his Timber, built, and lancht twentie *Triteme*, and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies, wherewith he transported his Armie into Sicil. In Sicil he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had serued at Cannæ: which were old Souldiers, and (as he himselfe well knew) not guilty of the ouerthrow; for which they had long vnder-gone a heauy censure. They had serued vnder *Marsellus* and *Leuinus*, at the taking of many Cities, and strong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good vse to him in Africk, where would be store of such employment. For increasing the number of his horse, he pressed three hundred Sicilians, all wealthy yong men, and such as loued well their ease. These he afterward discharged from the Warre, highly

highly to their contentment: but with condition that they should deliuer their Horse and Arms, so as many Roman Gentlemen, which he brought ouer with him for the purpose, whilst he was prouiding, to haue things in a readinesse for Africk, the banished Locrians, that followed the Roman side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, wherby they hoped to recouer their City. Some handicraft-men, that wrought for the Carthaginians by the Romans, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransomed, and taken prisoners. *Scipio* being aduertised of this, gaue order to haue the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; and that Citadel was surprisid. The other Citadel was strongly defended by the Carthaginian Garrison, which sent to *Hannibal* for aide. The Romans in like helpe of the Consul *Scipio*. The Town-men were doubtfully affected: but the best, and caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the Carthaginian Garrison to abandon the other Cittadell. Many outrages were committed by the Roman Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in custodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the Locrians vnto the Roman Senate; not onely against those of the Garrison: but much more against *Pleminius* the Captaine, who gaue bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies: the Temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctitie, was spoyled by these barbarous Theeues. The Locrians therefore aduised the Senate to make present amends to the goddesse for this sacriledge: saying, that the like had neuer bene committed, without notorious reuenge by her taken vpon the Authors. The Senate gaue good care to this complaint, comforted the Locrians, and redressed the iniuries done vnto them; sent for *Pleminius*, with offers: as also they restored vnto *Proserpina* her money twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was a man in Locri; and had not carefully hearkened to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to runne on in these his wicked courses. By the sharpe inuectiue that *Fabius* made, others tooke courage to speake what they pleased, as well against the demeanour of *Scipio*, as against the dissolutenesse of his Armie; which lay, as they said, idle in Sicil, neither mindfull of any seruice toward, nor fit for it if need should require. Finally, things were so farre vrged, that tenne Legates were sent ouer into Sicil, together with the Pretor appointed for that Iland; two of the Tribunes, and one of the *Adiles*; who should examine these matters; and either cause the Generall to returne into Italy, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all, was: they found him so well prepared against Carthage, as that they hastned him on his journey, and gaue him high commendations at their returne.

Scipio had already employed *Lelius* in Africk; rather to make discouery, than to worke any other great effect of warre. Hee tooke a great bootie: and stricke no little terrour into the Carthaginians, who saw their affaires to be vpon termes of change. But the greatest fruit of his journey was. That speaking with *Masanissa*, hee well informed himselfe of the state of Africk; and knew what was to be expected of those two Kings, that had promised to ioine with the Romans at their landing.

Concerning *Masanissa* his reuolt from the Carthaginians, and his compact made vnder-hand with the Romans: *Liuius* doth professe, That there was no such euident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancie, in following times, must helpe to proue, that this his change, was not without some good cause. But *Appianus* (an Historian farre inferiour to *Liuius*, both in Worth and Time) giues one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessary truth. Onely the doubt is, How it could any way come to passe; that the knowledge of such a matter should haue escaped the diligence of *Liuius*, if it had been true: vnlesse we should beleue, that he wilfully forbore to rehearse a Tragedie; the sorrow wherof would cause men to thinke amisse of *Scipio*. Howsoever it was, thus *Appian* tells it: and many circumstances of things done, confirme it. *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gesco*, had a faire daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Masanissa* loved. *Masanissa*, being brought vp at Carthage, and being withall a goodly Gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by *Asdrubal* to bee his sonne-in-law. When

When the virgin was betrothed vnto him, he went into Spaine, and there did great seruice. But afterwards, the Carthaginian Senate thought the marriage of *Asdrubals* daughter to be a matter of State: and bestowed her vpon *Syphax*; without standing to acquaint her father or *Masanissa* therewithall. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulse, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Masanissa* was aduertised: and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, secretly as he thought; yet not so secretly, but some notice was taken of it: which would haue cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conueighed himselfe home into his fathers Kingdome. Thus farre forth we may beleue *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things past, and following. Onely it seemes, that howsoeuer *Sophonisba* the daughter of *Asdrubal*, was promised by the Carthaginians vnto *Syphax*; yet since this their courtesie proceeded from feare, Hee thought it wise dome to continue and increase the same their feare, by making faire promises to the Romans; vntill *Asdrubal* had sent for his daughter from Carthage, and the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the warre it selfe, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Linie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appeares by the broken pieces of his workes remaining) *Linie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed vnto his reports.

Tiu. Lib. 19.

Masanissa was the sonne of *Gala*, a King of the Numidians: whose father dying, the Crowne descended by order of the Countrey, vnto *Desalees* the brother, not vnto *Masanissa* the sonne. But this Vncle of *Masanissa* shortly dyed: and his elder sonne, who took possession of the kingdome, was vanquished, and slaine in battaile by a Rebel, that made himselfe Protector ouer the younger which was a childe. The Traitor fortified himselfe against *Masanissa*, whose returne he feared, by Alliances with the Carthaginians and *Syphax*. But all would not serue: Hee, and his Pupill, were dispossessed of their Estates by *Masanissa*; that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloued for the memorie of his father *Gala*. The Carthaginians in reason would haue bene glad, that *Masanissa*, who had done them notable seruice, was thus confirmed in his Estate: had they not been guiltie of the iniurie by them done vnto him; whilst his Vncle or Cousin reigned, and he seemed vnlikely to stand them in any stead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own malice towards his Corriual, warred vpon him; and ouer-charging him with numbers, draue him out of his Kingdome. Neuerthelesse *Masanissa* still retained the hearts of his people: and thereby remained strong enough, to infest both *Syphax* and the Carthaginians; though hee was often put in distresse, by great forces that were sent against him. Hetherefore keeping much about the lesser Syrtis, between the borders of the Carthaginians and the Nation of the Garamants, expected the comming of the Romans: yet so, as he made long roades ouer all the Countrey, euen as far as to Hippo; and when *Laelius* arriued thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to hasten on *Scipio* to the inuasion of Africk.

But *Syphax*, in whose great aide and succour was repofed more hope of good successe, than could be expected from the good will of poore *Masanissa*; sent an Embassage into Sicil about the same time, which was little pleasing vnto *Scipio*. He excused himselfe of his promise lately made: and signified his alliance with the Carthaginians; adding, That he could not choofe but fight for the defence of Africk, wherein he was borne and reigned; and for the defence of his beloued wiues Countrey, if it were inuaded. Neuerthelesse he promised to remaine a Neuter; so long as the Romans & Carthaginians held war abroad, farre enough from Africk, as hitherto they had done. This message hastened *Scipio* in his expedition, much more than any perswasion could haue done. For the promised assistance of *Syphax* had not a little aduanced his enterprize; in procuring both the assent of the Senate, and the forwardnesse of many Aduenturers. Left therefore the faying of this hope, should worke too great a change in common opinion; He thought it the best way to preuent all discourse, and set the warre vnder taken immediately on foot. The Embassadors he dismissed in all haste, with letters to their King: wherein he willed him to consider, that what hee had promised, hee had also sworne; and therefore should doe well to make it good. Hauing sent them away, Hee called his Souldiers together, and bade them make readie for the voyage; which hee intended no longer to deferre. For, said he, *Masanissa* hath bene with *Laelius*: and *Syphax* hath newly sent to mee; greatly wondring vpon what I should thus stay; and saying, That they will prouide for themselves, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine

tale permitted all further inquisition; that might else haue bene made, concerning the messages of these Embassadors, whose followers had bene scene walking vp and downe *Syracus*. And lest any thing should afterwards breake out, that might hinder the business, *Scipio* immediately sent about his fleet vnto Lilybaeum: and requesting by letters *Masanissa*, that was Prætor in Sicily, to meet him there; halted thither with his Armie. At Lilybaeum he agreed with the Prætor, about the diuision of the Legions between them; which to haue behind for defence of the Island; and which to carry with him into Africk. What numbers he transported, it is not certaine: some Historians reckoning onely ten thousand foot, and two and twenty hundred horse; others increasing them to five and thirty thousand horse and foot. Concerning his directions from embarking, and other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needlesse to set them downe; since they were points of ordinarie care, and which it is like that neither hee, when hee tooke his voyage into Spaine, nor others vpon like occasions, haue omitted; they being also word for word set downe by an Historian, who borrowed them from *Linie*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This Roman Army landed in Africk, neere to a fore-land then called the faire Promontorie which how false it was from Carthage, or toward what point of the Compasse, I cannot precisely affirme; because it is vncertaine, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercurie*, and lay to the North-east of Carthage; or whether that of *Apollon*, which lay Northerly from Carthage, and by West. The comming of *Masanissa* vnto *Scipio* at his first arriual, helpees to confirme the opinion of *Xylander*; who thinks the faire Promontorie to haue been the same; that was also called *Mercuries cap*; since with little difficultie *Masanissa* might come thither from the lesser Syrtis, whereabout was his common abiding. But forasmuch as without any memorable impediment soon after his arriual, *Scipio* encamped before Vtica, that stood Westward from Carthage beyond the Riuer Bagradas: it may rather seeme, that hee landed within the Promontorie of *Apollon*, whence the way to Vtica was not long. This is also strongly proposed; for that out of Carthage were sent, the next day, five hundred horse to trouble him in his dis-embarking. Neither was it so hard for *Masanissa*, that roued about the Countrey with a troupe of horse, to finde out the Romans, though they landed farre from the place to the which he vsually resorted, like as before hee had met with *Laelius* at Hippo that was farther off; as it would haue bene for *Scipio*, with his Armie and Carriages, to overcome the trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great compasse to Vtica, by Land; when he might haue dis-embarked neerer vnto it. Neuerthelesse it may passe as a coniecture, That *Scipio* came first of all to Emporia, a plentiful Region about the lesser Syrtis; since he gaue charge to the Masters of his ships, at the setting forth from Lilybaeum, to shape their course for that coast. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustenance of an Armie: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well prouided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masanissa* had signified vnto *Laelius*, when he spake with him at Hippo: thinking that the Romans, howsoeuer they made braue promises, would not come strong enough to fight at head. But when hee saw their fleet and Armie to bee such, as not onely seemed to inuade the lands of Carthage, but threatened a conquest of the Citie, and whole Estate: then might he better aduise them to set sayle for Vtica, and make warre vpon the Enemies at their owne doores.

The Carthaginians had at that time neither any Captaine of great worth at home, nor better Armie than of raw Souldiers; that were leuiued, or to be leuiued in haste. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, the same that had lately bene chased out of Spaine by *Scipio* was their best man of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his followers, of whose faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobilitie, together with the affinitie of King *Syphax*, made him passeable. Hee was then with the King his son-in-law, working him (no doubt) against the Romans: when letters were brought from Carthage, both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Inuasion: entreating the one of them to giue assistance, and commanding the other to make his repair vnto the Citie, where he was chosen Generall. But ere these could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troupe of Carthaginian horse, that were sent out of the Citie to disturbe his landing; and slaine *Hanno* a yong Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Towne of the Carthaginians: wherein, besides other bootie, hee tooke eight thousand prisoners; all which he conueighed aboard his Hulks or Ships of

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burden, and sent them backe laden into Sicill. He tooke likewise a Towne called Salera, which he held and fortified. In Salera lay another *Hanno*, with foure thousand Numidian horse: whose seruice being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceiue the vnskillfulnesse of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he sent *Masanissa* before him: who rode vnto the gates; and, by making a brauado, trained out the improuident *Hanno* so farrre, that hee drew him vnto a place, where the Romans lay in wait for him. The victorie was easily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken, or slaine. With those that fled, the Romans entred pell-mell into the towne, which presently they made their owne. Thence went *Scipio* to Vtica, a Citie of great importance, * of which mention hath bene formerly made, and sate downe before it. Forty to dayes he spent about it, assaying it both by Land and Sea, and vsing all his engines of battery whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of preuayling. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter-Campe, which must be well stored against the yeece following. Whilste thus necessitie vrged him to leaue Vtica: and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprife, rather than any hope of better successe, caused him to stay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gaue him the honour of a faire pretence to leaue the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a Leuie of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse: yet aduentured not with this ill-trained Army to draw neere vnto the Romans, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him vnto Carthage fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: which ioyning vnto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched brauely toward *Scipio*: who thereby tooke occasion to dis-lodge. He chose for his Winter-campe the banks of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Nauie. His foot-men hee lodged on a Promontorie, ioyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men he bestowed vpon lower ground, on the other shoare: in the bottome of the Creek he moted his ships; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged vnto the Fleet. The whole campe hee strongly fortified, and so attended the season of the yeece, when it should serue him againe to fight. Of cattell and other bootie *Masanissa* had brought in great store, by driving the Countrey, before the coming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corne also hee had gotten some: and great store was sent him from Sicill and Sardinia. Likewise apparrell for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from Sardinia: though scarce enough to serue turne, for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, hee frighted homewards with such part of his bootie, as he could best spare; especially with captiues to be sold for slaues. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped neere vnto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the Romans, either for that they wanted the seuerer institution, which the Romans vsed in the discipline of warre, or for that they presumed vpon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue forth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

When Spring drew neere, *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the Numidian King, if perhaps hee might be wonne by perswasions to forsake the Carthaginians. It was considered, that those Barbarians were naturally vnconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had giuen proofe before this of his much leuirie. It might therefore be hoped, That hauing wearied himselfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Campe: and being peraduenture no lesse weary with satiety of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this warre: he might be moued with a little entreatie to withdraw himselfe home into his Kingdome, and rest a Neuter. But it is not vnlikely, that such a friend as this King had bene highly entertained and honoured in the City of Carthage, which was neere at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had bene inuited, to make a step thither and repose himselfe awhile: his wife *Queene Sophoniba* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoeuer it were, *Syphax* did onely make an ouerture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That *Hannibal* should be recalled out of Italy by the Carthaginians: & that the Romans in like sort should quietly depart out of Africke, and so make an end of the warre: wherewith now both Africke and Europe were disquieted. Vnto this would not *Scipio* at the first giue care: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the inter-course of Embassadors; he began to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was giuen to vnderstand by those whom he had sent vnto the king, That the Enemies had their camps without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cab-

bins, and covered with boughs: and that the Numidians, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, vsed coverings of Mattes and Reeds; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaues: vnder which they lay carelessly without their Trenches. Vpon this aduertisement hee bethought himselfe, That it would not be hard for him to set their camps on fire, and thereby giue them a notable ouerthrow. Without helpe of some such stratageme, hee fore-saw that it would be a worke of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his warres when time should serue. It was a plaine open Countrey, wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great aduantage of him in number; especially in horse; which, vpon such ground, could not be resisted by the Roman Legions. The longer therefore that he thought vpon the matter, the more needfull he found it for himselfe, to make some sudden attempt vpon their Campe. To this end hee sent many Embassadors, vnder pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpose to discover all that might concerne the intended surprife. With these Embassadors he sent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers disguised like slaues; that wandering (as it were) idle vp and downe the Campe, might obserue the wayes and entrances, with whatsoeuer else was needfull. When he had learned as much as hee desired: vpon the sudden he sent word to *Syphax*, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, forasmuch as he could not get the consent of his Councell of warre; without whose approbation, all that himselfe could doe, was no more, than the good will of one man. This hee did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, hee might put his designe in execution. The Treachery being thus cut off, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very pensiue; as hauing lately perswaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they began to deuise, by what art they might draw *Scipio* out of his Campe, and prouoke him to battaile in those Plaines. This if they could doe, they hoped to make his Councell of warre repent as greatly the refusall of peace, as did *Marcus Attilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches, what else remained than to besiege him? which they themselves were well able to do by land; and the Carthaginian fleet should doe by Sea, that was making ready for the purpose. By such discourses these two comforted themselves; recompencing (in conceipt) the losse of their hopes past, with that of victorie to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed: for that consulting about the future, they provided not against present danger, but continued in the same negligence, which was growne vpon them by the long discourse of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to doe somewhat against Vtica. Two thousand Souldiers he had made ready, and appointed to take the same peece of ground, whereon he lay against Vtica before. This hee did, partly to keep secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to haue notice of it, partly to hinder those of Vtica from setting vpon the few, that hee purposed to leaue behinde him in his Campe. Hee caused his men that night to sup well, and betimes, that they might beeready for the iourney. After supper, he appointed such Companies as hee thought fit, to the defence of his Campe; all the rest of the army he led forth, about nine of the clocke at night. The Carthaginians lay from him seauen miles and an halfe: whom he purposed to vndertake himselfe with the one halfe of his army; the other halfe he committed to *Laelius* and *Masanissa*, whom he sent before him to set vpon the campe of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the campe of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the Carthaginians. For the fire might seeme to haue taken hold by casualty vpon the Numidians, that lay farther off: whereas if it first appeared in the campe of *Asdrubal*, it would be suspected as the doing of enemies, and giue *Syphax* warning to look to himselfe. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched faire and softly; that *Laelius* and *Masanissa*, who had a longer iourney, and were to fetch a compass about for feare of being discovered, might haue time to get before him, & do their feat. It was about two or three of the clocke in the morning, when the campe of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not onely the Numidians, but their king himselfe, imputed vnto casualty; as thinking themselves safe enough from enemies, for that the Carthaginians lay interposed betweene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, some, starting halfe asleepe; and others, that had sitten vp late at drinking, ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But so great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly vnderstand in what case they were, nor giue any remedie to the mischance, as it

was supposed. Many were smothered and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the sudden mischiefe, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped the fire, fell vpon the enspies sword, which was ready to receive them. Especially *Masanissa*, that best knew the Countrie, did great execution vpon them; hauing laid all the waies, by which hee foresaw that they would seeke to escape. The Carthaginians perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittifull mischance: so that some ranne out to help the poore Numidians; carrying onely what would serue to quench the fire. Others ranne vp to the Rampart: where, fearelesse of any danger towards themselves, they stood beholding the greatnesse of the flame; and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would haue it. He therefore lost no time: but setting vpon those that were running towards the Numidians, he killed some, and pursued the rest back into their campe; which in a little while he made to burne as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* seeing this, and knowing that the Romans were there, did not stand to make resistance, but shifted onely for himselfe, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had bene taken in such a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hanno* would haue iudged him worthy to be crucified. It would then haue bene said, that with lesse than one halfe of thirty thousand men, hee might at least haue giuen some bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling these fires, had he not bene only carefull how to saue his owne fearefull head. Nevertheless *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to haue bene true, That if *Asdrubal*, or any of those about him, would haue striuen to shew valour, when the Campe was once on fire: He should not thereby haue done any manner of good, because of the tumult and confederation. I shall not need to tell what a fearefull thing it was, to heare the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruell flame that consumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirmes) none that hath beene is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands very few did escape; which accompanied *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* in their severall wayes of flight. Besides these also there were some scatterers, especially of the Numidians, that saued themselves in the darke: but they were not many, as after shall appeare. Surely it must needs haue bene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made away, and what numbers escaped in the darke of night. Wherefore *Lixie*, who in the rest of this Relation, as often 30 elsewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may seeme to haue followed some lesse worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in casting vp the summe. For hee reckons onely two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to haue escaped; forty thousand to haue perished by sword or fire; and about fixe thousand to haue bin taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre short of fourescore and thirteene thousand, which were in these two Campes.

Asdrubal, putting himselfe into the next town that was very strongly fortified, thought there to finde the Romans worke, vntill the Carthaginians at good leisure might repaire their Army. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and five hundred horse: which hee thought sufficient to defend the Towne; if the Townes-men would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeeld. Vnto this disputation, hee well foresaw, that the arriual of *Scipio* would soone giue an end: Wherefore, lest they should lay hold vpon him, and seeke the Victors fauour by deliuering him vp; he shrunke away betimes, and made all haste to Carthage. As for the town, which he left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his first coming: and thereby preserved it selfe from all manner of losse. The two next Townes adioyning would needs be valiant, and make countenance of warre: but their strength not being answerable, they were soone taken by *Scipio*, who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This being done, hee returned to the siege of *Vtica*.

The Carthaginians were sore troubled, as they had good reason, when, in stead of either Peace or Victorie, which they lately hoped for, they heard newes of such a lamentable ouerthrow. Necessitie enforced them to make haste prouision for the future: but how to doe it, few of them saw any meanes. Some gaue aduice to craue peace of *Scipio*: others, to send for *Hannibal* out of Italy; but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithstanding the losse of this Armie, they might well defend

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against themselves against the Romans, by raising new forces: especially, if *Syphax* would not leaue them: It was therefore concluded, That they should bend all their care this way, leuying in all haste another Armie; and sending Embassadors to deale with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Towne called *Abba*, not passing eight miles from Carthage. Immediately the same their vnfortunate Commander, *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco* was employed to make new leuiies of men: and Queene *Sophonisba* went forth with Embassadors to her husband *Syphax*; who hauing gathered together as many as hee could of his subjects that had escaped from the late slaughter; was thinking to returne into his owne kingdom. *Sophonisba* laboured so with her husband, that at length hee whistled him to her owne desire. And it fell out at the same time, that foure thousand Spaniards, 10 waged by the Carthaginians, were brought ouer to serue in Africk. Of these were made such braue reports, as if their courage, and the armes which they vsed, were not to be resisted. Even the multitude within Carthage belequed these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be, which is great wonder, since in one Age, the whole country of Spaine had bene twice conquered; first, by the Carthaginians themselves, and after by the Romans. But with *Syphax* these tales preuailed much: which the Carthaginian Embassadors helped with a lie; saying, That there were come ten thousand of these terrible Spaniards. Vpon this confidence, the people of Carthage and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirty dayes they made vp an Army, consisting well-neere of thirty thousand men, reckoning the Spaniards, and *Syphax* with his Numidians in the number. So they incamped in a Region called, *The Great Fields*, about five dayes journey 20 from *Vtica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Vtica* thither, to visit them: leauing behinde him his impediments, with some part of his Army, to make a shew of continuing the siege. Two or three dayes, after the meeting of both armies, passed away in skirmish, without any great thing done. It had now bene time for *Asdrubal* to follow the example of the Roman, *Fabius*, and seeke to weary out the Enemy by delays. But either (which is likely) he was a farre worse Commander, or else it was not in his power to giue such directions as best pleased himselfe. The fourth day the Armies met in battaille; wherein the Romans were marshalled by *Scipio* after the best manner, hauing their Italian horse in the right wing, and *Masanissa* with his Numidians in the left. On the contrary side, *Asdrubal* and his Carthaginians had the right wing; *Syphax*, the left; 30 and the Spaniards, the battailo. The victorie was gotten without many blowes: for the vntaunted followers of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, could not sustaine the first charge of the Italians, or of *Masanissa*. Onely the Spaniards fought a long time, euen vntill they were all in a manner slaine: rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercy; since they were thus come ouer to fight against *Scipio*, who had otherwise deserted of them, than vpon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obstinacie was beneficiall to those that fled; for that it hindered the Romans from making any great pursuit. Hereby *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* escaped: *Asdrubal*, to Carthage; and *Syphax* home to his owne kingdom: whither his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him. 40 *Scipio*, hauing thus gotten the mastery of the field, tooke counsaile about the prosecution of the warre. It was resolved vpon as the best counsell, That he himselfe, with part of the Army, should attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Masanissa*, with his Numidians, and *Lelix*, with some of the Roman Legions, should follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take rest within his owne Kingdom, where easily else he might repaire his forces, and put them to new trouble. This aduice, it seemes that *Masanissa* gaue; who knew best the quality of the Numidians; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The least that could be expected, was his re-stitution into his owne kingdom, vsurped by *Syphax*: which to accomplish, it no lesse concerned the Romans at the present, than it did himselfe. According to this order con- 50 cluded, *Lelix* was sent away with *Masanissa*; and *Scipio* stayed behinde, carrying the warre from town to town. Many places yeelded for feare, many were taken by force; and all the subjects of Carthage wauered in their fidelity, as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those vnfavourable burdens; which their proud Masters had laid vpon them for maintenance of the warre in Spaine and Italy. What to do in this case, the Carthaginians could hardly resolue. Fortune was their Enemy; they had lost their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durst they make bold to trouble their owne subjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who neuertheless of

their own free-wil were likely to giue little help. Very much it grieved them to send for *Hannibal* out of Italy: yet since there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That Embassadors should be forthwith sent to call him home. Some there were that gaue aduice, to set out a fleete against that of *Scipio*, that rode before *Vtica*, weakly manned, and easie to be taken, whilst *Scipio* himselfe was busied in the In-land Countries. Some were of opinion, That it should be their principall care, to fortifie by all means the City of *Carthage*: vpon the safety whereof they said all depended: adding, that whilst they were true, and at vnity among themselves, they might well enough subsist, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtlesse) would present them. These counsels were not reiected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the City, and for the attempt vpon the Roman fleet at *Vtica*. Neurtherlesse, it was considered, that hereby they should onely protract the warre, without any aduancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victory, no, though it should fall out, that all the shippes at *Vtica* might be taken or destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, That hee should immediately come ouer into *Africke*, as the last refuge of *Carthage*. The Councell was no sooner broken vp, than all the Senators betooke themselves to the execution of that which was decreed: some, to the fortification of the Towne: some, to make ready the Fleet; and some, appointed thereunto, forthwith to imbarque themselves for Italy.

In this their trepidation *Scipio* comes to *Tunes*, a City in those dayes very strong, and standing in prospect almost of euery part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather some defensible piece adioyning, he easily tooke; the garrison forsaking it, and running away as soone as he drew neere. But whilst he was about there to Incampe, and fortifie himselfe against the City, he might perceiue the *Carthaginian* Fleet setting forth, and making towards *Vtica*: What this meant, he readily conceiued; & stood in great feare, lest his own ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heavily laden with engines of battery, & wholly disposed in such order, as was most conuenient for assaulting the town) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that special service. Wherefore he hasted away towards *Vtica*, to assit with his presence in this needfull case. It fell out well, that he had sent his carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, hee should haue come too late. Neither could he indeed haue beene there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had vsed such diligence as was conuenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Vtica*, they tarried awhile to make a brauado; presenting themselves in order of battell, as if the Romans would haue put forth to Sea against them. But *Scipio* had no such intent: hee thought it would be sufficient, if he could preferue his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their brauerie at Sea, it should little auaille the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole estate by Land. Wherefore he tooke his ships of burden, and fastning them together with cables, in foure ranks, one behinde another, made a foure-fold bridge ouer the Channel of the Hauen; whereon he placed a thousand of his choice men, with store of Darts, and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces he left, whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessels, might run out and backe againe vpon any aduantage or need: but these he couered with planckes, vsing the masts and yards of his ships in stead of rafters, to ioine all together, that his men might helpe one another, and the bridge it selfe not be torne asunder. Scarce was this worke finished, when the *Carthaginians*, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Hauen. The fight betwene them and the Romans that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the assaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood vpon the bridge, had sure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole strength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and vnsteady, could not do. But the Roman Frigots & long boats, aduenturing forth from behind the bridge, were greatly over-born by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small losse which followed. They that stood vpon the Bridge were neither able to relieue them, nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for feare of hurting these their friends, that were intangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grapling hooks, hanging at Iron chains. These they threw vpon the masts and yards which serued as arches to ioine the bridge together: then row-

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ing backwards, they tore all asunder, in such sort, that one ship followed another, and all the first ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to saue themselves as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next ranke of ships, that lay behinde them vntouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themselves any further in this laborious worke: but hauing haled away sixe ships of burden, and towed them out of the Hauen, returned home to *Carthage*. Their wel-come was greater than their victory: because among so many grievous losses, onely this exploit had succeeded well, though it were of small importance.

Whilst things thus passed about *Carthage*, *Lalium* and *Masanissa*, in their iourney against *Syphax*, found as good successe as could be desired. The fame of the victories already gotten, restored *Masanissa* to his kingdom, without farther contention: the *Mas-syli*, his subiects, ioyfully receiuing him, & forsaking the vsurpers. But here they stayed nor: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and therefore being solicited by *Ashubal* and *Sophonisba*, hee prepared againe for warre. But beside the instigation of his beloued wife; the losse of the *Mas-syli* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Lalium* and *Masanissa*, to giue him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no lesse vnwillingly from that which they haue gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in possession, bee the title vnto some part neuer so vnjust. Herunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that she had vomited vp her owne guts, when it was onely the garbage of some other fowle, that shee had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, beleeued the kingdom of the *Mas-syli* to be part of hisentrailes: *Lalium* and *Masanissa* will shortly giue him somewhat that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so farre. It concerned the Romans to dispossesse (if it might be) that king, whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had beene conuered into strong enmity; as also to set in his place another, who might do them such good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done vnto the *Carthaginians*. How easily this might be effected, *Masanissa* knew best, as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries, wherein, euen to this day, though there be many strong Towns, yet the fortune of a battaile is enough, to translate the kingdom from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came against them with no lesse an Armie, than his former, and marshalled in the Roman order, according to the skill, which he had learned of the Roman Centurion, long agoe sent vnto him out of Spaine from *C. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight courageously. They were a rabble of all sorts, gathered vp in haste: and few of them had seene warre before. Encamping neere vnto the Romans, it fell out, as commonly, that some small troupes of horse on both sides, encountred one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellowes. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: so that at length *Syphax*, vnwilling to dishearten his men by taking any foyle at their first meeting with the Enemy, came vp with all his horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith ouer-charged *Masanissa*, whose numbers were farre lesse. But whilst he was prosecuting his hope of victory: some Roman Squadrons of Foot came against him through their own Troupes of horse; which fell to the sides, and made a lane for them. So their battaile standing now more firme, than a little before, *Syphax* was vnable, though hee laboured much, in vaine, to makethem giue ground. *Masanissa* likewise, and his Troupes grew confident vpon this assistance: and charging afresh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, caused him to giue backe. Herewithall the Legions came in sight: which terrified so the Numidian horse, that they beganne presently to dis-band. Faine would *Syphax* haue stayed them from flight: and to that end made head in person against the Romans; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leaue him. But it fell out vnappily, that hee was cast from his horse, which receiued a wound, and so taken prisoner. Of others that were slaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It sufficed, that they forsook the place, and fled, and that their king, vpon whom all depended, was in the Romans hand. *Masanissa* told *Lalium*, that this victory should make an end of the Numidian war, if presently they hasted away to *Cirta* the chiefe City of the kingdom; whither he himselfe desired

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to be sent before with the Horse, carrying *Syphax* along with him. *Hercubto*, *Lalius* agreed, *Masanissa* coming to *Cirta*, before any newes of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chiefe of the City to parlee: wherein by many faire promises and threats, but especially by shewing vnto them *Syphax* bound, he preyed for fame, that the gates were forthwith opened vnto him; and euery one strove to get his fauour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest, *Queen Sophonisba* yielded her selfe into his hands, and vehemently besought him, that she might not be deliuered vp vnto the Romans. Her youth, and excellent beauty, so commended her suite, that *Masanissa* forthwith granted it, and to make good his promise, married her himselfe that very day: thereby to preuent *Lalius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwise of her, since she was his wife. But *Lalius*, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainously, so that at first he would haue haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other prisoners, and haue sent her vnto *Scipio*. But being ouer-intreated by *Masanissa*, hee suffered the matter to rest a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio's* discretion: to whom he sent away *Syphax* and other captiues immediately; following shortly after himselfe with *Masanissa*, when they had done what was needfull in the kingdome.

At the coming of *Syphax*, there was great ioy in the Roman Campe: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Asdrubal*, both at one time, when Rome and Carthage together fought his friendship: with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune, ministring to euery one a large argument of discourse. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moued him, not onely to forsake the Roman friendship, but to make warre vpon them, vnproouoked. He briefly answered: That his wife had moued him so to doe, calling her a Fury, and a peeuish creature: and saying, that *Masanissa* was no wiser than himselfe, since hee had now taken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and stood in great doubt, lest this perillous woman should deprive him of *Masanissa*, as she had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere *Masanissa* and *Lalius* came vnto him: both of whom together he louingly welcomed, and highly commended in publique, for their notable seruice in this Expedition. Then taking *Masanissa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him vnderstand, that the Romans had tittled her head, and that she was a mischieuous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to moderate his affections: and not to detace the memory of his great seruices already done; (for which he should bee highly rewarded to his owne contentment) by committing a great offence vpon little reason. *Masanissa* blusht, and wept: and finally promised to be gouerned by *Scipio*, whom hee neuertheless intreated, to thinke vpon his faith giuen to *Sophonisba*, that she should not bee deliuered into the Romans power. So he departed to his owne Tent, where, after sometime spent in agony, he called vnto him a seruant of his that had the custody of his poyson (which Princes vse then to haue in a readinesse, against all mischances that might make them vnwilling to liue:) and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, sent it vnto her with this message; That gladly he would haue had her to liue with him as his wife: but since they who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yeeld thereto, he sent her a cup, that should preserue her from falling aliuie into the hands of the Romans; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for herselfe.

At the receit of this Message and Present, shee onely said; That if her husband had no better token to send vnto his new wife, she must accept of this; adding, That she might haue dyed more honourably, if she had not wedded so lately before her funeral. And here withall she boldly dranke off the poyson. Thus *Lalius* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and sets it downe agreeably to that which hath bene spoken before, concerning the precontract betwene *Masanissa* and *Sophonisba*. He saith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embassadors from *Cirta* met with *Lalius* and *Masanissa* vpon their way thither, yielding vp their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her owne priuate, sent messengers to excuse her marriage with *Syphax*, as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. *Masanissa* readily admitted this excuse, and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had receiued information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perswasion *Sophonisba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of Carthage; hee fell out about her with *Masanissa* at his returne, and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the Romans. *Masanissa* said, she,

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was his owne wife, and vnto him betrothed many yeeres before. But *Scipio* would not heare of this: or if it were true, yet he said it was no reason, that *Masanissa* should keepe her in possession, as long as it was disputable, vnto whom she might appertaine. Wherefore hee would him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claim vnto her, wherein he should haue no wrong. Here withall he sent to fetch her away: and *Masanissa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliuer her: but making her acquainted with the necessity, gaue vnto her a cup of poyson, wherewith she ended her life, before they came that should haue apprehended her. So hee shewed vnto the Romans 10 her dead body, which he royally interred. The sudden violence of *Masanissa's* his loue, and the ready consent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him: added not so much credit vnto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other euident cause (which *Lalius* notes) 12 of the sudden falling out between him and the Carthaginians, vnder whom he had bin trained vp, and done them great seruice. Howsoeuer it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragick accident, sent for *Masanissa*, and comforted him as well as he could, lest his melancholy should leade him to some inconuenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashnesse, he brought him forth in presence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserved of the City of Rome, he proclaimed him King, and gaue vnto him a Crowne of gold, with other royall ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to diuert his thoughts from the sad remembrance of that which was past, vnto the more cheerefull contemplation of good fortune, that began to smile vpon him.

This was the first time that the Romans took vpon them to create or proclaim a king: Which honour though *Masanissa* well deserved: yet would not the Title haue redounded vnto his great benefit; neither should he haue bene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their means recovered possession of his Country, together with the greatest part of *Syphax's* his Dominions. It seemeth not vnlikely, that had he remained a Neuter in these warres, and sustained himselfe with his troupe of horse, in such sort as he did before the coming of the Romans; he might neuertheless haue recovered his proper inheritance, by the loue of his owne subiects, without other helpe, when *Syphax* had once or twice bene vanquished. As for the enlargement of his kingdome, it was 13 not more than he deserved: neither were the Romans then in case, to make a conquest of Numidia for themselves; neither could they haue wished a fitter opportunity, than of such a man, vpon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, and passable withall among the Numidians, as being (for the Masafyli were a Numidian Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the Romans, was noysed abroad as very glorious: and the Romans themselves, in a politicke sort of grauity, tooke highly vpon them; as if euen their saluting him by the name of King, had bene a matter of great consequence. He thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, inroaching vpon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all vpon the State of Carthage, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speake more) which held some 14 piece of his fathers kingdome, desiring friendship of the Romans, and promising by all meanes to deserue their loue, requested therewithall, that they would call him King. But though it were so, that neuer any before him had made this a matter of suit: yet the Roman Senate was punctilious herein, and answered very grauely, That it was not their custome to giue the honour of that appellation, saue onely vnto such kings, as had greatly 15 deserved of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; & in proceesse of time grew so proud of this their imaginary prerogatiue, that they imputed as a singular benefit vnto Kings, that no way depended vpon them, the salutation by that name, though it were not accompanied with any other fauour or profit thence redounding.

S. XIX.

The Carthaginians desire Truce, and breake it.

THE Carthaginians were extremely dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befalling their good friend *Syphax*; and vnderstood that *Masanissa* their immortall enemy, had got possession of his kingdome. To increase their feare, *Scipio* returned againe to Tunes in view of their City: where hee made an end of that Fortification, which hee had begun at his last being there. The Carthagi-

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Excerpt. 2 Po.
lib. lib. 15.
lin. lib. 30.

nians had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth vnto them thirty Embassadors, Princes of the city, which were their Priuy Councell, to make suite for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not onely prostrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the * feet of him, and of those that sat in Councell with him.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to haue vniustly broken the Peace between them and Rome; and to haue deserved whatsoeuer punishment it should please the Romans to inflict vpon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio* and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes, whereto all men are subiect, they would shew mercy vnto the city of Carthage; and let it remaine, as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deserved to be ouerthrowne. Herewithal they did not forget, to lay the blame vpon *Hannibal*: who without their appoyntment had begunne the warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole Citie. By this it appeares, that these Embassadors were no Barchines: but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his company; who had now their long desired work in hand, of suing vnto the Romans for peace. Whatsoeuer they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men ouer those that were subiect vnto their power: for they would not haue made such adoration to the Romans in their owne necessity, vnlesse they themselves had expected the like, where they had the aduantage.

It was not vnkowne to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poor case the city of Rome then was; and how vnable to defray the charges of continuing the war. Neither were the Carthaginians, notwithstanding the losse of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the Romans themselves had very lately beene. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a Citie farre stronger than Rome; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the Roman resolution: and therefore distrusted the wals of Carthage, though *Vtica*, a weaker Citie, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission; and told them, That though hee came into Affricke, to make a conquest, and not a Peace; yet hauing the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they desired; for thereby should all Nations vnderstand, that the people of Rome did follow the rule of Iustice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The Conditions which he imposed vpon them, were these: That they should render vp vnto him all the prisoners that they had taken, together with all Renegadoes and fugitiue slaues: That they should withdraw their Armies out of Italy and Gaule: That they should not meddle in Spaine, nor yet in any Iland betwene Italy and Affricke: That they should deliuer vp all their shippes of warre, saue twenty; and that they should pay a great summe of money, with certaine hundred thousand bushels of wheat and barley. To consider of these Articles, he gaue them three dayes: and when they had approued them, he granted a Truce; that they might send Embassadors vnto the Roman Senate.

This done, *Masaniissa* was dismissed, and went home into his kingdome, as if the war had beene already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before sent with *Lalius* vnto Rome: where the fame of these victories filled men with ioy, and gaue hope, that the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were fet open; and an holy day appointed for thanksgiving and supplication to their gods. *Lalius* was accompanied with Embassadors from King *Masaniissa*: who gratulating the happy successe of the Romans in their African war, and giuing thanks vnto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* vnto their Master, made request for the Numidians, such as were now his subiects and prisoners in Rome, that they might be bestowed vpon him, who by rendering them to liberty, should doe an act very plausible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The Roman Senate were not behind with *Masaniissa* in complement: but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that *Scipio* had done, and should do for him, they called him King againe; released his Numidians that were captiues; and sent him two purple Caslocks, that had each of them one gold button, with such other presents, as in time of their poverty might serue to testifie their good will. Scarcely were these and *Lalius* gone from Rome, when the newes came, that Embassadors from Carthage were arrived to desire peace. These Embassadors

were

were not admitted into the Citie, but were lodged without: vntill *Lalius* being sent for, came backe from Ostia, to be present when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience giuen them in the Temple of *Bellona*, that stood in the Suburbs. The errand of these Embassadors, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their City, was onely to winne time, and get respite for warre; vntill *Hannibal* and *Mago* should come out of Italy, either to chase the Romans out of Affricke, or to obtain peace for Carthage, by removal of their great names and Armies, vpon more easie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle discourse of the League, that was concluded between them and *Lulcius Catulus*, at the end of the former warre. This League they said, all things well considered, did still remaine in force: neither had there since beene any warre at all, betwene the people of Rome & the Carthaginians. For it was onely *Hannibal*, that, without any leave from Carthage, had of his owne head besieged and razed the Towne of *Saguntum*; and after that aduentured in like sort, without Commission, to passe the Alpes, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of Italy. This being so, their Message was none other, than to desire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter stand in force, as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cause to wonder at this tale, hearing these Embassadors make (as it were) a leaue of a warre, that had beene so terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that Peace made by *Lulcius*, and other passages following betwene the two Cities. But they excused themselves, by their age: (for they were all yong men) and said, That those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they sought no other than to gaine time, vntill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were sent home in company of *Lalius*, without any conclusion at all of peace; and, in effect, without answer. This notwithstanding, wee finde in *Polybius*, That the Senate receiuing aduertisement from *Scipio*, of that which had passed between him and the Carthaginians in this Treatie of peace, approued the Conditions by him propounded, and gaue him licence thereupon, to proceed vnto conclusion. This may with good reason bee beleueed, since it was not vnkowne, that if the warre continued, all these goodly hopes must rest vpon the most vncertaine issue of one battell between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune should be auerfe to them, their forces in Affricke were no better than quite lost.

Matters thus hanging in suspence, before the Carthaginian Embassadors came backe from Rome, a Fleet out of Sicily, wherein were two hundred shippes of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for Affricke, to victuall the Roman Campe, was ouer-taken, by foule-weather at Sea, and hardly escaping wreck, was dispersed, and driuen aground in diuers parts of the Bay of Carthage, euen in view, and vnder command of the Citie. There was at that time, as wee finde in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuals in Carthage, which caused the people to cry out vpon their Magistrates, that they should not let such a booty escape them, saying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so that hunger vrged them, or that they yeelded to their owne greedy desires: the multitude in Carthage vnderstood (as it seems) that all this discourse of Peace in hand, was no better than mere mockery, and therefore cared not for obseruation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in Carthage, as likewise in Alexandria, for all the rascality, together with women & boyes, to be meddling in vproaires; the clamors of the boyes being in such tumults no lesse violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was sent out vnder *Asdrubal*, to gather vp the dispersed Roman shippes of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recouered the station whereto their camp adioyned) and bring them into Carthage; which was done. *Scipio* was herat much offended: not onely for the losse, and for that the Towne was thereby relieued; but for that by this breach of Truce, he fore-saw the intention of the Carthaginians to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadors vnto them, both to require satisfaction for the iniury done; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gaue the Carthaginians to vnderstand, That Letters were come from Rome vnto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace, vpon those conditions which he had propounded. But (said they) we hold it strange, That ye, who so lately haue cast your selues to the ground before vs, and kissed our feete,

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Excerpt. 2 Po.
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lib. lib. 15.

after an vn-usuall manner of humilitie, confesting your selues to haue perfidiously broken the League that was betwene vs; and thereby to haue deserved such punishment as is due unto Rebels; should so soone forget what ye them vntered, and runne headlong againe into the same crimes, for which ye acknowledged your selues worthy to be destroyed, hauing onely recourse vnto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in Hannibal, that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amisse, that yee should consider, how long hee hath bin pent vpon in a corner of Italy, among the Brutians; where he is in a manner besieged, and vnable to stirre: so that ye are like to find his helpe wanting in your greatest need. Or he is be supposed, that he were now in Africke, and ready to giue vs battaile: yet should it well agree with your wisdom, to doubt what might befall; remembering that he is a man, and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were overcome, what refuge haue ye left vnto your selues against hereafter? what gods will yee either sweare by, to be beleued, or call vpon in your misery? what words, and lamentable gesture will ye henceforth vse, to moue compassion? Surely yee haue already wasted all your force of perswasion, and shall not againe deceiue vs, if ye refuse the grace, whereof at this present ye are capable. It is no maruell though the Carthaginians were angry, when they heard themselves vbraided with the base demeanor of their Embassadors. For it was not the generall opinion of the Citie, that the Truce was broken by themselves: though it had pleased *Hanno*, or such as were of his faction, to gratifie the Romans with all manner of submission; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all iustification of matters past. And indeed it seemes, that the Roman Embassadors were very much delighted, in the rehearfall of that point which was yeilded vnto them; as knowing that thereon depended the iustice of the quarrell. But the Carthaginians took this in so ill part, that hardly they could refrain from doing violence vnto the men, who had vsed vnto them such insolent speeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in some sort appeased; either by *Hanno*, whom *Appian*, (I know not why) calles *Hanno the Great*: or by the very reuerence, due vnto the place of those that had vttered such liberall words. So they were dismissed in friendly sort, although it were without answer to their Proposition. There were also two gallies appointed for their safe conuoy home; though with little intent of good vnto their persons. *Asdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men sailed from Carthage towards *Vtica*. He, whether onely desirous to please the multitude, of whose disposition he was informed, or whether directed by publike order to cut off these Embassadors in their way homeward, lay waiting for them behinde a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the riuier *Bagradas*. Their Conuoy hauing brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wished them a good voyage; and so tooke leaue of them, as if they had bene then in safety, since the Roman Camp was euen in sight. The Embassadors tooke this in ill part, not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themselves too much neglected, forasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leaue them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Asdrubal* fell vpon them, in such manner, as they might well discern his purpose; which was to haue stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a *Quinquereme*, that had more bankes of Oares, than had any Gallie of *Asdrubal*, they slipped away, and made him ouer shoot himselfe. Yet hee gaue them chase, and had well-neere surprised them. But they discovered some Roman Companies on the shoare ouer against them, and therefore aduentured to runne their vessell aground: whereby they saued their owne liues, though a great part of their company were slaine, or hurt. This practice of the Carthaginians was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartned in such a dishonorable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the warre, that thereby they might bee driuen to studie nothing else, than how to get the victory, as hauing none other hope remayning. Yet likely it is, that the same feare, which had caused them to make such earnest suite for peace, would also haue caused them to be better aduised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatie: had they not been giuen to vnderstand, that *Hannibal* was already landed in Africk, in whom they reposed no small confidence; but verily perswaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, & teach the Romans to hold themselves contented with more easie conditions, than were those that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

In which *Hannibal* spent the time after the Battaille of *Metaurus*. The doing of *Mago* in Italy. *Hannibal* and *Mago* called one of Italy. How the Romans were deeply affected by *Hannibals* departure.

Ever since the losse of that battaile at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remained in the Country of the Brutians, waiting for another supply from Carthage. The Roman Consuls that succeeded vnto *Claudius* and *Linus*, by whom *Asdrubal* was overcome and slaine, were contented to be quiet all their yeere. Neither did *Licinius* the Collegit of *Scipio* bight worthy of remembrance against *Hannibal*: being hindred by the penitence that was in his Armie. *Sempronius* the Consul, who followed *Licinius*, and *Cn. Seruilius Capi*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earnestly bent to haue done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitlesse. In some skirmishes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in some the worse: and a few poore Townes they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preferue his Armie, than to keepe those places that were weak.

The Romans had at this time so many great pieces of work in hand, that their chiefe enemy was become, not the chiefe part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent vpon Africk, wherein they were at no small charges to maintaine the Armie, which (as was hoped) should bring the warre to a short and happy conclusion. They stood neuertheless in much feare of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who tooke exceeding paines among the Ligurians and Gaules to raise an Armie, wherewith to kinde anew the war in Italy, that beganne to waxe cold. *Mago* solicited also the Hetrurians, and found them so ready to stirre in his behalfe, that if he could haue entred their Country strong, it might haue proued no lesse needfull for *Scipio* to returne home out of Africk, than shortly it was for *Hannibal*, to make speed vnto the defence of Carthage. These dangers caused the Romans to employ one of their Consuls or Proconsuls, with an Armie, among the Hetrurians; another among the Gaules; and a third among the Ligurians: forasmuch as it was vncertaine, vpon which side *Mago* would breake out. Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to overcharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*, when things were in some readines for his setting forwards, he met in the country of the Insulbrians, which is about *Milth* with *M. Cornelius* the Roman Proconsul, and *P. Quintilius Varus* one of the Prætors. With these he fought a battaile, wherein though his vertue shewed it selfe worthy of his father and brethren, yet his fortune was Carthaginian. The fight continued a long while doubtfull, in such sort that the Roman Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Prætor, taking vnto him all the Roman Horle, thought to haue shaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the same time gaue a loud shout: and strained themselves hard; as if at that brunt the victory should haue bene carried before them. But *Mago* opposed his Elephants to the Horle: the seruice of those beasts being fitter for such vse, than against the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horle, that they started aside, and were scattered ouer the field, their Riders being vnable to manage them: Hereby the Numidians got aduantage vpon them: whose manner of fight was more auailable against those that were loose, than against the Troupes that were close and thicke. Then fell the Elephants vpon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a showre of darts, and killed foure of them, causing all the rest to giue backe. This notwithstanding, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemy; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Proconsul therefore brought vp those forces, which he had kept vnto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these *Mago* employed some of his Gaules, whom he had in readinesse for the like occasion. But these Gaules discharged their parts very ill. They were soone beaten off, and recoiled so hastily, that they brought feare vpon all the rest. When *Mago* saw that his men began to shrink, hee put himselfe in the head of his Armie, and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retrait, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length hee receiued a grievous wound in his thigh, whereof shortly after hee dyed. Hee was taken vp, and carried out of danger by some of his owne men:

men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, provided every one for himselfe: So the Romans obtained victory, not without great cost; as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the losse of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætors Armie, besides those that dyed of the Proconsuls Legions; also besides diuers Colonels, Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this hot piece of seruice. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. However it were, this victory would haue much imported for the assurance of Italy, if the State of Carthage could longer haue permitted these valiant sonnes of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himselfe (by easie iournies, because of his wound) into Liguria, found there Embassadors from Carthage attending him: who gaue him to vnderstand the pleasure of their Citie, which was, That both hee and *Hannibal* should presently repaire homewith all their forces; not staying any longer to thinke vpon the conquest of Italy, since Carthage it selfe was ready to be lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and imbarqued shortly his Armie; but dyed of his wound about Sardinia, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* received the like command from Carthage to returne into Africk. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were ready to burst out, whilst the Embassadors were deliuering their errand. When their message was done, He told them, That *this was yet to plaine dealing. For, said He, They that now directly bid mee come home, haue long agoe done their best to hale me out of Italy; though more closely and crookedly they went to worke, by stopping the supply, that should haue enabled me to mannage the warre here.* Scipio therefore shall not need to bragge, that he hath drawne me home by the heeles: it is Hanno, that hath wrought this noble feat; and overwhelmed the house of the Barchines, for lacke of other means to doe it, with the ruine of Carthage. He had before prepared a Fleet in readinesse, doubting that, which after came to passe: wherein he imbarqued, besides his owne men, as many of the Italians, as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were, that shrunke backe from him, and refused to doe seruice in this Expedition: of whom such as he could take he slew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Iuno Lavinia*, which had been held an inuiolable Sanctuary vnto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of Italy no lesse passionate, than men are wont to be, when they leaue their owne Countries to goe into exile. Hee looked backe vnto the shore: accusing both gods and men; and cursing his owne dulnesse, in that hee had not ledde his Armie from Cannæ, hot and bloudied as it was, directly vnto the wals of Rome. With such vexation of spirit He quitted the possession of Italy; wherein he had liued almost halfe his time.

If it could haue been foretold vnto the Romans, in the first beginning of this Warre, with what exceeding ioy in times following they should entertaine the newes of *Hannibal* his departure out of Italy: they would (I thinke) lesse earnestly haue pressed the Carthaginians to send him ouer thither. When sure aduertisement was brought vnto the Citie, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Armie: an Holy-day was appointed for thanksgiving vnto their gods; & extraordinary great sacrifices publicquely made, for ioy of such happy tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remaine the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his comming into Africk, would finde *P. Scipio* other manner of worke, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would doe greater matters in his owne Country, than euer he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers. The remoue of the war from their owne doores, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped, was enough to makethem presume further, than at other times they would haue done. When therefore the Saguntine Embassadors brought vnto them a greatmasse of Gold and Siluer, together with some Agents of the Carthaginians taken by them in Spain: only the Carthaginian prisoners were accepted; the treasure was rendred back vnto the Saguntines that had surprised it. Vpon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies, that had bin borrowed in time of more necessity from private men. Hence also proceeded the seuer chastisement, laid vpon those 12. Colonies, that for want either of meanes, or of good will, had refused to giue aid to the Romans. They were commanded, and inforced, to giue double the number of Foot to that which they had

had beene wont to set out for the Warres, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the very most of their ability. So confident were the Romans growne, though their wealth were not as yet futable to the greatnesse of their spirit, vpon the good successe of the battaile at Metaurus, and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more neerely of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Armie, whereof Italy had beene few daies since discharged, was landed safe in Africk: they began to reuolue a thousand fearefull matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who died about the same time) would bee found a true Prophet. For, bethinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syphax* & *Asdrubal* no specialty of such great worth, as might promise the like successe against another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were eyther of those two. The Numidian King had beene wont to bring into the field a rascall multitude of halfe-scullions, that were good for nothing, being himselfe a fit Captaine for such Souldiers. Likewise *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, was a Commander well thought of by the Carthaginian Senate; but otherwise one, that in the field was only good at sauing himselfe by a swift retreat. But now there came an Armie of men, hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fashed many hundred times in Roman bloud, and wearing the spoyles, not onely of good souldiers, but of braue Captaines, by them slaine. Such talke vied the people of Rome, saying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battell, with many that had slaine Roman Prætors, yea and Consuls, with their owne hands; with many, that had been first in getting ouer the Trenches of seuerall Roman Camps, or in winning the tops of wals at the siege of Townes; briefly, that he should now be opposed by an Armie, as good as euer had seruied in warre, and following the dreadfull name of *Hannibal*.

§. XXI.

Hannibal in Africk prepares to fight with Scipio; treates with him about peace in vaine; doth a battaile at Nadagara, and perswades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.

H *Annibal* disembarked his Army at Leptis, almost an hundred miles from Carthage, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercurie*, and somewhat more then one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of Italie. Therefore it behoued him to land, as he did, somewhat farre from the Enemy; that hee might furnish himselfe of these and the like needfull helpes, against the day of battell. From Leptis he passed on to Adrumetum, and so along through the In-land Country, gathering friends vnto him by the way. *Tychæus* a Numidian Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was said to haue in those dayes the best Horse of seruice, that were to be found in Africk. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure vnto his partie: making him vnderstand, that if the Romans got the victory, it should be easie for *Masanissa*, by their countenance and helpe to oppresse both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindered his prospect. This argument, and the fame of him that vsed it, preuailed with *Tychæus*; who shortly after brought vnto the Carthaginian two thousand Horse. *Appian* further addes, That *Mezetullus*, (the same who had made himselfe Protector ouer *Masanissa* his Cousins; and was Head of a Family, and aduersely to the Numidian kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thousand Horse: as likewise that *Vermine* the son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers kingdom, began at the same time to assaile the places that yeelded obedience to *Masanissa*. This *Vermine*, as we finde in *Liniæ*, came with more than 16. thousand men (for he lost more than so many) to succour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The Carthaginians were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would haue made the victory assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatnesse of his Acts: it offended them to thinke, that they had beene so base as to make humble suit vnto the Romans for peace, whilst they had such a braue Champion aliue, to maintaine their cause by Warre. But when as they bethought themselves of their owne sufferings, which, for want of Roman magnanimity to indure them,

them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cried they out earnestly, that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad: and to this purpose they sent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. *Hannibal* made answer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Armie: but since he was Generall of their forces, Hee thought it reasonable that they should suffer him to doe as a Generall ought to doe; and to choose his owne times. Neuerthelesse, to giue them satisfaction, Hee made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the Carthaginians: The violence, done to his Embassadors: and the news of *Hannibal* his being landed in Africke, made *Scipio* to vnderstand the resolution of the Carthaginians, which was, not to yeeld vnto any conditions vprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore hee sent vnto *Masanissa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other businesse a-part. Tenne Roman Companies, of Horse and Foot together, *Masanissa* had with him; that were lent vnto him by *Scipio*, to do him seruice in the establishing and enlarging of his kingdome. But he well vnderstood, that those and many more besides all his own forces would but little auaille him; if *Hannibal* should driue the Romans out of Africke. Wherefore taking such order as he could vpon the sudden, for the safety of his owne kingdome; with foure thousand Horse, and sixe thousand Foot he made all haste vnto *Scipio*.

Soone after the beginning of these new troubles, the Carthaginian Embassadors that had been at Rome, returned backe vnder the conduct of *Lalius* and *Fulvius*: who brought them safe into the Roman Campe. There when they arrived, and vnderstood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaued themselves towards the Roman Embassadors: they made little doubt, how their owne heads should answer for such notorious outrage. To confirme them in this opinion:

M. Babi is one of the late Embassadors that had bin in Carthage, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands vpon them and detained them; sending word vnto his Generall, who was gone abroad to make warre in the Country, that hee had them in his power, & that now the Carthaginians might be repaid in their owne Coyne, for the iniurie by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to heare of this; & commanded *Babi* to vse them with all possible courtesie, & send them safe home. By thus doing, He brake the hearts of his enemies; & caused them to acknowledge themselves (which was a great victory) far lesse honourable than the Romans. This notwithstanding, Hee made more cruell warre vpon them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to sacke, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the Romans, as often as they tooke a Town by assault, to put all that came in their way to the sword, whatsoeuer they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible: and the better to worke such impression in the minds of those, with whom they had to doe, they vsed oftentimes to kill the very Dogges and other Beasts, that ranne athwart them in the streets; hewing their bodies asunder, as men delighted in shedding of blood. This being their practise at other times: it is likely, that now they omitted no piece of cruelty, when they meant to giue proofe of their vehement indignation, and reuengeful minds, for the iniuries receiued. Hence it partly grew, that the Carthaginians were so earnest in pressing *Hannibal* to fight.

Hannibal being incamped at *Zama*, sent forth his Scowts and Spies, to discover where the Romans lay; what they were doing, and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, & brought vnto *Scipio*: who in stead of trussing them vp, gaue them free leaue to view his Campe at pleasure, appointing one to conduct them vp and downe, and shew them whatsoeuer they desired. This done, Hee gaue them leaue to depart, and sent them away safe vnto their Generall. *Hannibal* vnderstanding this, admired the brauery and courage of his Enemy: with whom on the sudden hee grew desirous to haue an Enter-view, and personal conference, and signified so much vnto him, by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the Roman liked well, and returned answer, that Hee would meet him shortly in a place conuenient. The next day *Masanissa* came with his Armie: whom *Scipio* taking with him, remooued vnto a Towne called *Nadagata*; neere vnto which he sat downe, in a place otherwise commodious, & close

Excerpt 2 Po.
by lib. 10.

by a water that might opportunely serue his Campe. Thence hee sent word vnto the Carthaginians, That the time & place did stily serue. If he had ought to say to him. *Hannibal* thereupon removed from *Zama*, & came within foure miles of the Enemy: where he incamped well to his owne good liking in all things else, excepting that his men were driuen to take much paines in fetching their water somewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals, each of them with a troupe of Horse, rode forth of their Campes, till they came vnto a piece of ground; which was before well searched for feare of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off; and themselves with each of them one Interpreter, encountered each other in the mid-way betweene their Companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then beganne the Carthaginians, saluting the Roman, to deliuer his minde to this effect: That it had beene better both for Carthage and Rome, if they could haue limited and contained their ambition within the shores of Africke & of Italy; for that the Countries of Sicill and of Spaine, about which their fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for so many Fleets as had beene lost, and of so much blood as had beene shedde, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not be recalled: Hee said, That it was meet for them to consider, vnto what extreame dangers their owne Cities had beene exposed, by the greedy desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was euen time for them now at length, to make an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisdom hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition Hee affirmed that his owne yeares, and long triall of Fortune both good and euill, had made him inclinable. But much he feared; that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience, might rather fixe his minde vpon vncertaine hopes, than vpon the contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affaires are subiect. Yet (said he) mine owne example may peradventure suffice, to teach thee moderation. For I am that same *Hannibal*; who after my victory at *Cannae*, wonne the greatest part of *Italie*: and desirous with my selfe, what I should doe with your Citie of Rome, which I hoped easily to haue taken. Once I brought mine Armie to your walles, as thou hast since brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now, see the change? I stand heere entreating thee to grant vs peace. This may serue as a document of Fortunes instabilitie. I haue sought what thy father, *Scipio*: He was the first of the Roman Generalls, that euer met mee in the field. I did then little thinke, that the time would come, that I should haue such businesse, as now at the present, with his sonne. But this is euen one of Fortunes Pageants, wherof wee see buth many. And thou maist haue experience of the like in thy selfe, who knowes how soone I thinke vpon M. *Atilius*. If he would haue hearkened vnto such persuasions, as I now vse to thee; he might haue returned home to Rome an happy man. And so maist thou doe now, if any reasonable offer will giue thee satisfaction. How saist thou? Canst thou be contented, that all Spaine, Sicill, Sardinia, and whatsoeuer Ilands else are situate betweene *Italie* and *Africke*, be abandoned by the Carthaginians for euer; and left vnto the Romans, to beare Dominion therein? Thou shalt haue glory enough by effecting thus much: and the Romans may well be glad of such a bargain. As for vs: our owne quiet shall henceforth giue vs contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make vs faithfully obserue the Peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazard thou must vnderge for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou maist haue without contention: It is now in thine owne power, to lay hold vpon good Fortune, if it please thee, stay but untill to morrow night, and thou maist take such fortune, as it please the gods. The issue of battaile is vncertaine, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and Steele wee shall each of vs bring into the field: but of the victory, neither of vs hath assurance. Let vs therefore without more lido, make peace. And doe not tell me, that some false-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treatie: It is I *Hannibal* that now desire peace with thee; which I would neuer doe, if I thought it not expedient for my Country. And thinking it expedient, I will alwaies maintaine it: like as I haue maintained, vnto my power, as long as the gods did not enuie me, the warre by me begun.

Hereunto *Scipio* made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in Sicill and in Spaine which had moued the Romans to enter into this or the former War: but that the defence of the Mamertines, and afterwards of the Saguntines, their confederates, had caused them to put on those armes; which the gods by the finall issue of the Warres had approued, and would approue to bee most iust. As for the mutability of Fortune

hee said, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of insolence, or over-weening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. *For was it not plaine, that all these Countreies, with which the Carthaginians now so willingly departed, were already wonne from the Romans? If, said He, these Conditions had beene propounded whilst as yet wee detained some part of Italy, they might peradventure not haue beene reieced. But as the case now stands, I see no reason, why I should remit vnto you any one piece of these my former demands, to which the Carthaginians haue yielded already, and thought mee to be gracious in dealing so moderately. Rather I say, that the iniuries which they haue done me since, haue made them unworthy of obtaining peace vpon so friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee, Hannibal, though thou wouldest be glad to make thy Citizens vnderstand, from how much of their burden they are by thy meanes eased. Onely thou must thinke, that in like sort it concernes me in honour, not to let them be gainers or sauers by the wrongs which they haue done of late. Thou knowest well, that besides those offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore vnto vs ransom-free, all prisoners that they haue of ours; to pay vs fine thousand Talents; to deliuer vp their Gallies; and to deliuer hostages for assurance of faire dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this, by their breach of Truce, their spoiling of our Fleet, and their violating our Embassadors? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these iniuries newly done: then will I take aduice with my Councell what answer to giue you; otherwise, you may euen prepare for warre, and blame your owne selves for that I haue denied you peace.*

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battaile, wherein should be decided the quarrell between Rome & Carthage. The next morning at breake of day they issued into the field: a notable march, and such as hath very feldome been found; whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two cities that contended; or the great importance of the battaile at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing first the *Hastati*, diuided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance betweene them: Not farre behinde these followed the *Principes*, likewise diuided; and so after them the *Tuarii*. But herein *Scipio* altered a little the ordinary custom of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* opposite vnto the void spaces betweene the *Hastati*, that so the *Hastati*, as was vsuall, might fall backe betwene the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behinde another, as it were, in File. This he did, because of the Elephants, whereof *Hannibal* had many. For of those beasts the danger was lesse, whilst there was open way to let them through. Therefore hee took such order, that when they had passed through the spaces betweene the first Battalions, they should not come vpon the *Principes* in Front. Vnto his Velites, or those of the light armature, that were to beginne the fight, he gaue direction, that when they found themselves to be over-charged, either by the Enemies, or (which was most to be feared) by the Elephants, they should runne backe through those lanes that were betweene the Maniples; and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, vntill they were got behinde all their owne Armie; thereby leauing roome enough vnto those that were wounded, or cast behind, to saue themselves on the voyde ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third battalies, without cloying vp the way betweene the Maniples, which hee desired to keepe open. His Italian horie he placed in the left wing vnder *C. Lelius*. In the right wing was *Masanissa* with his Numidians. He himselfe riding vp and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly; vsing words, not many, but forcible. Hee bade them remember what they had atchieued, since their comming into Africke. He told them, that if this day were theirs, the warre was at an end: and that their victory in this war, should make them Lords of all the world; for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would flie. They were farre from home, yea and farre from their owne standing Campe: neither was there any place in Africke, that would giue them shelter: if they fell into the Carthaginians hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory: vnlesse they would liue like wretched slaues vnder most mercilesse Enemies. In such necessity, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, & take resolution answerable thereunto, haue neuer beene knowne to faile of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than fourescore, in Front

Front of his Battaile. Next behinde these, he made his Vantguard all of Mercenaries, *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, *Baleares* and *Moores*. Then followed his Battaile: which was of Carthaginians & Africans, more interessed in the quarrell than were those Mercenaries; though not so good souldiers: but to helpe (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them foure thousand Macedonians, lately sent from King *Philip*. More than the space of a furlong behinde these came his Rereward, consisting of those braue Souldiers which had serued him in his Italian warres; and were the onely men, in whom he reposed any confidence: Opposite to *Lelius*, in his owne right wing hee bestowed the Carthaginian Horie. *Tychas* and the Numidians he placed in his left wing against *Masanissa*. Hee was indeed farre too weake for the Enemy in Horie, both in number and in goodnesse. For *Tychas* and *Mezerubus* had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the foure thousand of *Masanissa*. The Carthaginians also were no more, nor none other than such as could be leuiued in the haste of a few dayes; and the remainder of those, that had of late beene often vanquished, and accustomed to flye. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authoritie, to make these his companions alight and serue on foot, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could haue done, was to stay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had *Vermina* the son of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in few dayes after, with sixteene thousand and vpwards, the most of them Horie, the aduantage of number might haue serued well to supply all other defect. Yet since the Lords of Carthage would brooke no delay: *Hannibal* must be faine to comfort himselfe, with the hope that he reposed in his old Italian souldiers; whose vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their feuerall conditions: promising vnto the Mercenaries bountifull rewards: threatening the Carthaginians with ineuitable seruitude, if they lost that day; but especially animating his old fellow-souldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against farre greater numbers. Hee bade them to looke vpon the Enemies; and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many; as that huge Armie which they had slaughtered at Cannae. Hee willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, euen the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to runne away. Hee told them, that these Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them, the very worst of the Roman Souldiers; euen such, as for their dastardly flight out of sundry battalies, could no longer be trusted to beare Armes in their owne Countreie. As for the rest: they were young men, the sons of Cowards, and bred vp in the continuall feare of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slain or chased. Wherefore he entreated these his old companions, vpon whose vertue hee meant wholly to repose himselfe, that they would this day strue to make good their honour, and to purchase the fame of men inuincible.

Such exhortations vsed the two Generals before the fight. When they drew neere together, the Numidian Horie men on both sides began to skirmish. The Trumpets, and other instruments of warre, sounded to battaile: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to breake vpon the Romans. Of these Elephants (as they were alwaies an vncertaine kind of help) those that stood neere vnto the point of the left wing, turned back for feare: and ran vpon their own Numidian Horie; which they affrighted and disordered. *Masanissa* espying this, gaue charge vpon the same Numidians; and not suffering them to re-ally themselves, draue them quite out of the field. The rest of those beasts made a great spoile of the Roman Velites, whom they followed into the spaces betweene the Maniples: but without any harm to the Battalions themselves, which gaue them open way, accordingly as *Scipio* had well provided. Diuers of them receiuing many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be gouerned: but ran backe vpon the right point of their owne battaile, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they disordered the Carthaginian Horie which were in that wing: against whom they gaue to *Lelius* the same aduantage, that *Masanissa* had against the Numidians; which he vsed in like sort. In the meane while, the battalies of foot aduanced, and drew neere together with a slow and watery pace, till they were almost within a weapons cast: at what time they gaue a shout, and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time seemed both in audacity, and in quicknesse, to haue the better of the Romans; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they tooke. But the Roman discipline after a while, preuailed against the boisterous violence of these vntrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battell

of the *Principes*, following somewhat neere after the *Hastati*, encouraged their fellowes, and shewed themselves ready, if need were, to relieue them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries received no manner of helpe or comfort, from those that should haue seconded them. For the new-leiued Carthaginians & Africans, when they saw their hired souldiers giue back, did also themselves retire. This caused the Ligurians, Gaules, and the rest, to thinke themselves betrayed: whereupon they enclined vnto flight. The Carthaginian Battaile was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to giue way vnto the Mercenaries for their safe retrait; and yet withall forbore to make head against the Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation caused those that were at once chased by the Romans, and betrayed, as they thought, by their owne fellowes, to turne their Armes with an heedlesse furie against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the Carthaginians beaten downe and slaine, through their owne indiscretion, by their owne Mercenaries. The Roman *Hastati* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a throng; had their hands full of worke; that the *Principes* were faine to come vp vnto them, and helpe to ouer-bear this great medley of enemies, that were together by the eares among themselves. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the Carthaginians: which hindring one another, could neither fight, nor easily flye. Such of them as escaped, ranne towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not stirre one foote, to helpe or save these Run-awaies. Hee caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his owne side, that would haue ruined vpon him: whom he thereby compelled to turne aside beyond his Battaile, and save themselves in the open field. The ground, ouer which the Romans were now to march, ere they could meet with *Hannibal*, was covered with heapes of dead bodies and weapons, and so slipperie with blood: that *Scipio* began to stand in great doubt, lest the orders of his Battalions should bee dissolved in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that warlike Armie, which hee saw before him, remaining yet entire, and without feare expecting him; He might be well assured to receive a notable ouerthrow. Hee caused therefore the *Hastati* to make a stand there where they were, opposite to the maine battaile of the Hannibalian. Then drawing vp his *Principes* and *Triarii*: He placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one front with the *Hastati*, and made of them histwo Cornets. This done, hee aduanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than euer hee had bene receiued in his life before. All the dayes worke till now, seemed to haue bene a matter of pastime; in regard of the sharpe Conflict, that was maintained betweene these notable Souldiers. The Romans were encouraged by their hauing preuailed all the day before: They were also farre the more in number. But these old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were fresh; (and perhaps) the better men. They fought with such obstinate resolution; that no man gaue backe one foot; but rather chose to die on the ground, whereon hee stood. So that, after a long time, it was vncertaine which part had the worke: vnlesse it may seeme, that the Romans were beginning to shrinke; for as much as the returne of 40

Excerpt. à Pol.
lib. 1.5.

Masaniissa and *Lelius* from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to haue bene most happy and in a needfull time. These vpon a sudden charged the Hannibalian in Rere; and ouer-bearing them by mere violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

In this Battaile there died of the Romans fifteene hundred and vppwards: on the Carthaginian side, aboue twenty thousand, besides as many that were taken, of whom, *Sopater* Capaine of the Macedonians was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Linus* reports, by *Scipio* himselfe. But the Enemies were too strong for him in Horse: and being enioyned, as he was, by the State of Carthage to take battaile with such disadvantage, he could worke no manuels. Hee saued himselfe with a few Horse, and stayed not in his journey, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence was he sent for to Carthage; from which he had bene absent fixe and thirtie yeeres. At his comming into the Senate hee said plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the Carthaginians not knowing what other course to take, resolved to send Embassadors againe; and trie the fauour of *Scipio*, whose Armes they could not now resist.

Scipio hauing spoyled the Enemies Campe, returned backe to *Vtica*: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arriued, with fiftie Gallies and an hundred Shippes of burden. With this

this Fleet, and that which he had before, hee thought it best to make towards Carthage: rather of purpose to terrifie the Citie, than with any hope to take it. His Legions hee committed vnto *Cn. Octavius*; whom hee willed to meet him there by land. Then sending *Lelius* away to Rome with newes of the victory, he set saile from *Vtica* towards Carthage. He was encountered on the way by ten Embassadors from the City: who bearing vp with the Admirall Gallie, began to vse the pittifull gesture of suppliants. But they receiued none other answer, than that they should meet him at Tunes, where he would giue them audience. So rowing along before the City: and viewing it more in brauery, than with meaning to attempt it; He returned back to *Vtica*, and called back *Octavius* thither; with whom in person hee set forwards to Tunes. As they were in their journey thither, they heard the newes, that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, was comming with an Armie of more Horse than Foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Vermina* seemed to haue bin both carelesse of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defectiue in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Armie. Part of the Roman foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not onely beat him, but so compasse him in, that he hardly escaped himselfe with a few; leaving fiftie thousand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelue hundred taken prisoners. If this good company had bin with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they should haue bene far better conducted, and might well haue changed the Fortune of the day; which the Carthaginian lost, by default of Horse. But God had other wise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this victory, though it were no great access vnto the former, yet serued well to daunt the Carthaginians, and imprint in them the greater feare of *Scipio*. When he came to Tunes, there met him thirty Embassadors from Carthage: whose behaviour though it was more pittifull than it had bin before, yet procured it lesse commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselves. Neuerthelesse it was considered, what a long and laborious work it would proue, to besiege the mightie Citie of Carthage. And particularly *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honour of this warre, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands; and giuen to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Seruilius Capio*, that Consul who had charge of the warre against 30 *Hannibal*, at such time as he departed out of Italy: was bold to passe ouer into the Ile of Sicill (as it were in chafe of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driuen away) with a purpose thence to haue proceeded into Africk, and taken from *Scipio* the command of the Armie there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restrain the ambition of this Consul *Seruilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suite for the same Prouince of Africk: and was therein so earnest, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire; yet he needs would be going, procuring onely leave of the Senate, that he being Consul might ioyne with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equall authoritie. But ere He could haue his Fleet and all things in a readinesse for the journey, where- in no man cared to further him: Winter came on, and hee was onely tost at Sea with 40 soule weather, first vpon the Coast of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Consulship expired, and so hee returned home a priuate man. Then came the ioyfull newes to Rome, of the victory obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the warre was now euen at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Consul so passionate, in desiring Africk for his Prouince, That hee said he would suffer nothing to passe in the Senate, vntill hee had first his will. Much adoe there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the people, at last it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it should be granted by *Scipio*; if the warre continued, *Scipio* should haue command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to giue the more fauourable answer vnto the Carthaginian Embassadors. Hee willed them to consider 50 what they had deserued: and in regard thereof to thinke themselves well dealt withall in that he was contented to leaue vnto them their libertie and their owne Lawes; without appointing any Gouernour ouer them, or Garrison to hold them in subiection; leaving also vnto them their possessions in Africk, such as they were at the beginning of this war. Astouching the rest hee was at a point, That, before he either granted them Peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilest the late Treatie was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yeeld; then required Hee, That immediatly they should deliuer up vnto the Romans all Prisoners, Fugitives, and Renegados, that they had of theirs: likewise all their Gallies excepting ten: and all their Elephants: That they should make

no warre at all thenceforth out of Africke, neither yet within Africke, without licence of the Romans: That the Countreies, Townes, goods whatsoever, belonging any wise unto Masanilla, or to any of his Ancestors, which were in their possession, should bee all by them restored unto him: That they should finde corne for the Roman Army, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded: That they should paye tenne thousand Talents of Silver, in the terme of fiftie yeeres, by two hundred Talents a yeere; and that for obseruance of Conditions, they should giue an hundred hostages, such as Scipio would choose, being none of them under foureteene yeeres of age, nor above thirtie.

With these conditions the Embassadors returned home, and reported them vnto the Citie. They were very vnpleasing; and therefore one *Geseo* stood vp to speake against them: and exhorted the people, who gaue good attention, that they should not condescend vnto such intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiuing this, and noting withall what fauourable audience was giuen to this vaine Oratour, by the vnquiet yet vnwarlike Multitude, was bold to pull him downe from his standing, by plaine force. Hereat all the People murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captaine. Which *Hannibal* perceiuing, rose vp and spake vnto them, saying; That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customes of the Citie would allow; forasmuch as he had bene thence absent euer since he was a Boy of nine yeeres old, vntill he was now a man of fife and fortie. Hauiug thus excused himselfe of the disorder, hee discoursed vnto them concerning the Peace: and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting abilitie to defend themselves; had the Demands of the Enemy bene yet more rigorous. Finally, vpon good aduice, they resolved to yeeld vnto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they paid out of hand fife and twenty thousand pounds weight of silver, in recompence of damages, and iniuries by them done to his Fleet and Embassadors. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three moneths; in which time they might negotiate with the State of Rome, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall he gaue iniunction, that they should neither in the meane while send Embassadors any whither else, nor yet dismisse any Embassadors to them sent, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honourable men, by the miseries whereinto Carthage was fallen through their malicious counsailes. *Asdrubal*, surnamed the Kid, a venerable man, and a great friend of *Hanno*, was chiefe of the Emballages which they sent to Rome for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embassadors, who related vnto the Senate and People these ioyfull newes. About the same time arriued at Rome Embassadors from *Philip* King of Macedonia: who, together with the Carthaginians, were faine to waite awhile for audience, till the election of new Consuls then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the Prouinces of them, and the new Pretors. Then were the Macedonian Embassadors called into the Senate: who first answering vnto some points, wherein the Romans had lately signified vnto their King, that they found themselves grieued; returned the blame vpon those Greekes themselves, that had made their complaint at Rome. Then accused they *Marcus Aurelius*: who being one of the three Embassadors, that had lately bene sent from Rome vnto King *Philip*, tarried in Greece behinde his fellows; and there leuying men, made warre vpon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betweene him and the Romans. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a Macedonian Gentleman, with other of their Countri-men, that had lately serued *Hannibal* for Pay; and being taken prisoners in Africke, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*, might be released and deliuered vnto them. Vnto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to Rome for that purpose, made a sharp answer. He said, that the Greekes which were confederate with Rome, endured so many iniuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was faine to stay behinde, to help them as he might; which else were like to be brought vnder the Kings subiect ion. As for *Sopater*: hee affirmed him to bee one of the Kings Counsaile, and very inward with him; one that serued not for money; but carried money with him, and foure thousand men, sent from the King to the ayde of *Hannibal*. About these points when the Macedonian Embassadors could make vnto the Senate no good answere: they were willed to returne, and tell their Master, That warre he sought, and

and warre he should finde, if he proceeded as hee had begun. For in two maine points hee had broken the League, that was betweene him and the Romans: first, in that hee had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that he had ayded their Enemies against them with men and money.

These quarrels with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into Greece and the Easterne Countries, helped well the Carthaginian Embassadors in their sollicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reuerend company, when they entred into the Senate: and *Asdrubal* about the rest was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the Romans from necessitie of sending Embassadors to Carthage, vpon the like errand. Hee liberally granted, that the iustice of the quarrell had bene wholly on the Romans side; saying that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuse the Citie, that had been too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsaile. But if *Hanno* and himselfe might haue had their wills: the Carthaginians, euened at the best of their Fortune, should haue granted the peace which they now desired. Herewithall hee commended the moderation of the Romans, as no small argument of their valour; by which alwayes they had bene victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadors: all of them entreating to haue the Peace ratified, though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diuersitie of their stile. They had patience enough to endure such reproofe of Periuice, as they themselves might haue laid vpon the Romans, if their diligence and fortune had been such as the Romans was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would sweare to keepe the peace hereafter: *Asdrubal* made answer; *Even by the same gods, that are so seuerer vnto those that violate their Leagues.*

Lentulus the Consul interposing the authoritie of his Office, would haue hindred the Senate from proceeding vnto conclusion of peace, for that hereby hee was like to lose the honour, which hee purposed to get by making warre in Africke. But the matter was propounded vnto the people, in whom rested the Soueraigne Command of Rome; and by them referred wholly vnto the pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio* with tenne Delegates sent vnto him from Rome of purpose, should make a League with the Carthaginians, vpon such Conditions as seemed best: which were none other, than the same which he had already propounded. For this fauour, the Carthaginian Embassadors humbly thanked the Senate; and craued licence, that they might visite their Countreimen, which were prisoners in Rome: afterwards, that they might ransom and carry home with them some, that were their especiall friends; of whom they gaue in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadors would choose, should be sent ouer into Africke, and be freely restored to libertie by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they tooke leaue, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to ioyne with *Scipio* in Commission.

At their coming into Africke, the Peace was giuen, and accepted, without any controuersie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fugitiues and Renegado's, were deliuered vp to *Scipio*: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* tooke more vengeance vpon the Renegado's, than vpon the Fugitiues; and vpon those of the Romans than vpon the Latines or other Italians. The Latines he beheaded: the Romans he crucified. About the first payment of their money, the Carthaginians were somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasurie could haue spared two hundred Talents for the present: yet since the pension was annuall, and to continue fiftie yeeres; it was thought meet to lay the burden vpon the Citizens. At the collection of the summe there was piteous lamentation, as if now the Roman yoke had begun to pinch them; so as many, euened of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwise *Hannibal* could not restraîne from laughter. For which when he was checked by *Asdrubal* *Hadus*, and told, That it worst of all befecimed him to laugh, since he had bin the cause why all others did weep; He answered, That laughter did not alwayes proceed from ioy; but sometime from extremie indignation. Yet, said He, My laughter is more seasonable, and lesse absurd, than your teares. For yee should haue wept, when yee gaue up your Shippes and Elephants, and when yee bound your owne hands from the vse of Armes; without the good leaue of the Romans first obtained. This miserable condition keeps vs vnder; and holds vs in assured seruitude. But of these matters yee had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your priuate purses, yee haue thereof

thereof some sense. God grants that the time come not hereafter, whereby, hathfull acknowledgement. That it was the very least part of your miserie; for which yet heinous lord these hautes. Thus did he scourged Hannibal vnto those, who tasting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counsaile, repented when it was too late; and in stead of cursing their owne misdoers, which had bred this grievous disease, accused the Physician, whose noble and laudable had bin employed in procuring the remedie.

Scipio being to take leaue of Africk, produced Masinissa, and magnified him in presence of the Armie, with high commendations not vnderstandedly. To him also he consigned ouer those towns of King Syphax, which the Romans at that present held: where in, to say truth, he gaue him but his due; & that which ought to be known by not well how to bestow. But the loue of the Romans, & friendship of Scipio, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the desertings of this Numidian King. About Carthage there rested no more to be done: Wherefore the Romans embarked themselves for Sicilie: where when they arrived at Lilybæum, Scipio with some part of his Army tooke his way home to Rome by land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His iourney through Italy was no lesse glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to doe him honour as he passed along. Hee entered the Citie in Triumph: neither was there euer before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with so great ioy of the people, as was this of Scipio; though, in brauery of the pompe, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether Syphax were carried through the Citie in this Triumph; and died soone after in prison: or whether hee were dead awhile before; it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be allowed, That it was a barbarous custome of the Romans, to insult ouer the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea though they were such, as had alwaies made faire and courteous warre. But hereof we shall haue better example, ere the same Age passe. It was neither the person of Syphax, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of Scipio; as did the contemplation of that glorious warre past, whereof the Romans had bin in a manner without hope that euer they should see Italy free. This made them looke cheerefully vpon the Author of so great a conuersion, and filled them with more ioy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gaue to Scipio the Title of the African: stiling him by the name of that Prouince which he had subdued. This honourable kinde of surname, taken from a conquered Prouince, grew afterwards more common, and was vsurped by men of lesse desert: especially by many of the Cæsars, who sometimes arrogated vnto themselves the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious Attributes could haue made them like in vertue vnto Scipio the African.

CHAP. III.

Of PHILIP the father of PERSEVS, King of Macedon:
His first Acts and Warre with the Romans; by whom
hee was subdued.

S. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of warre there. The beginning of many Princes, with great warres, at one time. The Ætolians ouer-run Peloponnesus. Philip and his Associates make warre against the Ætolians. Alteration of the State in Sparta. The Ætolians invade Greece and Macedon, and are invaded at home by Philip.

The great similitude found in worldly euents, the limitation of matter hath bene assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined vnto a subiect that is not vnbounded; the workes of Nature must needes bee finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seeme to haue their whole dependance vpon the will of man, wee are lesse to wonder, if wee finde lesse varietie: since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious

obnoxious vnto humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundrie men are ouer-ruled; in manning the affaires of our daily life. It may be obserued in the change of Empires, before those times whereof wee now write, how the Assyrians or Chaldeans invaded the Kingdome of Medes, with two hundred thousand Foot, and threescore thousand Horse: but failing in their intended conquest, they became subiect within a while themselves vnto the Medes and Persians. In like manner Darius, and after him Xerxes, fell vpon the Greekes with such number of men, as might haue seemed resistlesse. But after that the Persians were beaten home againe, their Empire was neuer secure of the Greekes: who at all times of leisure from intestine Warre, deuised vpon that conquest thereof, which finally they made vnder the great Alexander. If Nabuchodonosor with his rough old souldiers, had vnderaken the Medes: or Cyrus with his well-trayned Armie, had made attempt vpon Greece; the issue might, in humane reason, haue bene farre different. Yet would it then haue bene expedient for them, to employ the trauell and vertue of their men; rather than the greatnesse of their names, against those people; that were no lesse valiant, though lesse renowned, than their owne. For the menacing words vled by Cyrus, and some small displeasures done to the Greekes (in which kinde it may bee, that Nabuchodonosor likewise offended the Medes and Persians) were not so auailable to victory, as to draw on reuenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old Lyon, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Ass. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by misse-vnderstanding the language of Fame: and despising the vertue that makes little noyse, aduventure to prouoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their owne glorie should bee foyled by any of lesse-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat Xerxes, and before him as (I take it) Enilmerodach, had stumbled, Pyrrhus the Epirot hath dasht his foot. He was not indeed the King of all Greece; though most of marke, and a better souldier than any other Greekish King, when he entered into warre against the Romans. This warre hee vnderooke as it were for his minds sake: hauing received no iniurie, but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the Greekes that serued vnder him, to preuaile so easily against the barbarous Romans, that they should onely serue as a step to his further intended conquests, of Sicill and Africk. But when the Romans, by their victory against Pyrrhus, had found their own vertue to be of richer mettall, than was the more shining valour of the Greekes: then did all the brauery of the Epirot (his Elephants and whatsoeuer else had serued to make him terrible) serue only to make the Romans, in time following, to thinke more highly of themselves. For since they had overcome the best Warriour in Greece, euen him, that being thus beaten by them, could in a yeere after make himselfe Lord of Greece and Macedon: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those vnwarlike Prouinces, which in compasse of 12. yeeres a Macedonian King of late memory had wonne? Certainly there was hereunto requisite no more, than to bring to their owne deuotion by some good meanes, the whole Countrey of Greece: all the rest, this done, would follow of it selfe. How to deale with the Greekes; Philip and Alexander had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

When therefore the first Punicke warre was ended, which followed soone after the wars of Pyrrhus and of the Tarentines: then were the Romans at good leisure to hearken after newes in Greece; and to entertaine any good occasion, that should be on that side presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwise very skilfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the Illyrian Queene Tima made at the same time cruell war vpon the Greekes: wasting their Countrey, and sacking their Townes, onely because they were vnable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the Romans were desirous, to enter, the Queene was not slow to giue them cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war which they made with Her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not vnworthy to make their Patronage to bee desired by the Greekes. But no such thing happened: though they sent Embassadors, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for loue of Greece they had vnderaken this Illyrian warre. Thus beganne the first acquaintance betwixt the Greekes and Romans: which afterwards encreased verry hastily, through the indiscretion of King Philip the Macedonian, whose businesse

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* The King of Spaine pretended inuincible Nauie, being beaten out of the British seas, invited vs to the use of Spaine: and hauing broken the greatest Fleet that euer the Spaniards gathered together; we neuer made account of any of his preparations after that time.

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with them, being now the subject of our storie, it is meet that wee should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reigne, and his first Actions: It was like to prove a busie time in the world, when, within the space of 4. yeeres, new Kings began to reigne in the most of all Countreys knowne; and 3. of them young boyes; in 3. of the greatest Kingdomes. This hapned from the third yeere of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, vnto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of Asia and Syria, in whose roome succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called the great; *Ptolemie Philopater* succeeded in the Kingdom of *Aegyptus* vnto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, being 16. or 17. yeeres old, received the Kingdom of Macedonia, together with the Patronage of the Achæans and most of the Grækes; by the decease of his Vnkle *Antigonus Dofon*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About this same time also was the like change in Cappadocia, *Lacedæmon*, & the Countreies about Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariarathes* then began his reigne in Cappadocia; *Lycurgus* found means to make himselfe King ouer the Lacedæmonians, whose Commonwealth, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headlesse; and *Achæus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebelle vnto him, occupied the Regions neere vnto Mount *Taurus*, & kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third yeeres of the hundred & fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war brake out between Rome & Carthage; & that *Hannibal* began his great Inuasion vpon Italie. Those troubles of the Westerne world, which were indeed the greatest, we haue already followed vnto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemie*, & the rest, we shall speake hereafter, when the Romans find them out.

Philip, soone after the beginning of his reigne, came into Peloponnesus; greatly desired of the Achæans, and many others his dependants. That Countrey, having freed itselfe by the helpe of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subiection vnto *Cleomenes*; was now become no lesse obnoxious to the Macedonian; than it should haue bene to the Spartans; & therewithall it lay open vnto the violence of the Ætolians, who despised euen the Macedonian Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The Ætolians were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted vnto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell vpon the Messenians that were their owne Clients, and (excepting the Eleans, that were anciently of their consanguinitie) the onely good friends which they had at the present in Peloponnesus. Their inuasion was no lesse vnexpected, than it was vnjust; whereby with greater ease they made spoyle of the Countrey, finding none prepared to make resistance. The Achæans, were called by the Messenians to help; which they did the more willingly; because the Ætolians passing without leaue through their Territorie, had (as was their manner) done what harme they listed. Olde *Aratus* could hardly abide these Ætolians; as both knowing well their nature, and remembering the iniuries; wherewith most ingratfully they had required no small benefits done to them by the Achæans. Hee was therefore so hastie to fall vpon this their Army, that hee could hardly endure to stay few daies vntill the time of his owne Office came; being chosen Prætor of the Achæans for the yeere following. But his anger was greater than his courage; and he shewed himselfe a man fitter (as hath bene already noted of him) for any other seruice, than leading of an Armie. He suffered them to passe quietly along with their bootie, through a part of the Countrey, wherein he might very easily haue distressed them; and afterwards pressed them to neere, when they had recouered ground of aduantage, that they easily defeated all his Armie. So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne againe. As for the Achæans, they got hereby onely the friendship of the Messenians: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made confederacy. Shortly after, the Ætolians inuaded Peloponnesus againe; hauing no more to doe, than to passe ouer the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulph of Lepanto, where they might land in the Countrey of the Eleans. There ioyned with them, in this their second inuasion, a great number of the Illyrians; who neglecting that Condition imposed vpon them by the Romans, of setting out no ships of war vnto the Coast of Greece: made bold to seek aduentures againe, & did great mischief. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the Romans, commanded a part of these Illyrians: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdom, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, & fell vpon the Islands of the Cyclades in the Ægean sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip*, or his friends. The rest of the Illyrians vnder *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scerdila*, hauing gotten

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gotten what they could else where by running at Sea, accompanied the Ætolians into Peloponnesus: who made great havoc in the Countrey, now, than in their former Expeditiō, and returned home with much spoyle, and any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made vnto *Philip*, who came to Corinth, and because men were desirous to satisfy themselves with some speedy reuenges, there were that vrged to haue some great punishment layd vpon the Lacedæmonians, who were thought vnder hand to haue favoured the Ætolians, in this despite of the Achæans and Macedonians, by whom themselves had lately bene oppressed. It is true, that the Lacedæmonians had bene so affected: and which was worse, at the arrival of *Philip*, they flew such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appease them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they yett commit themselves to iudgement, but considered the King that haue vnder his hand, from committing to them with an Army, since their Towne was so much besieged with gull, discord, which they hoped to appease, and meant alwayes to continue in his deuotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that hee was rather old, *Aratus*, who then wholly gouerned him, did not understand the Lacedæmonians; but for that hee was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at Corinth in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the Achæans, Boeotians, Epirots, and Acarnanians: all complaining vpon the Ætolians; and desiring to haue war decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters vnto the Ætolians, requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time; if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at Rhium, for that purpose; whither if it pleased him to come, or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to haue bene there at the day. But when the Ætolians understood this for certain, they adioyned the Council vnto a further time: saying, That such weighty matters, ought not to be handled, save in the great Parliament of all Ætolia. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had deserved it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Inuasions made on Peloponnesus, and the onely man in that sort, vpon whom they must haue laid the blame of these actions, if they would haue shifted it from the publike.

After this, *Philip* went into Macedonia, where hee prepared busily for the warre against the yeere following. He also assayed the Illyrian, *Scerdilaidas*, with faire words, and promises; whom he easily won from the Ætolian side, forasmuch as the Ætolians had couzened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the Achæans, who had first of all others proclaimed the warre in their owne Countrey, sent vnto the Acarnanians, Epirots, Messenians, and Lacedæmonians; requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce war vnto the Ætolians; without staying (as it were) to await the event. Herevnto they receiued diuers answers, according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The Acarnanians, a free hearted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering vpon the Ætolians, of whom they stood in continuall danger, said, that they could not honestly refuse to they their faithfull meaning in that warre, which was concluded by generall assent. The Epirots that were more mighty, were neuertheless more cunning and reserved, so that they stood vpon a needlesse point, and desired to be held excused, vntill *Philip* (of whose meaning they needed not to haue made any doubt) should first proclaim the war. The Messenians, for whose cause the warre was vnderaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Towne, which the Ætolians held vpon their borders, and said, that they durst not beouer bold, vntill that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the Lacedæmonians, the chiefe of them studied onely how to manage the Prætor, for which there City had bene so lately pardoned: and therefore dismissed the Embassadors of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had thre yeeres together continued subiect against their wills to the Macedonians, expecting still when *Cleomenes* should returne out of Egypt, to reigne ouer them againe, and maintaine, as hee was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings; but were contented with the rule of *Ephors*. Of these there were some; that thought the publike safety to consist, in holding their faith with the Macedonian that had persecuted them: And hereto they referred all their counsailes; being perhaps a little moved with respect of the benefit, which might redound

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vnto themselves, by adhering firmly to those which at the present bore rule over them. Others, and those the greater part, were still devising how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* against his returne, & sought to soyme with the Aetolians, which were the most likely to giue him strong assistance. The Macedonian faction had the more authority and durst more freely speake their mindes: but the contrary side was the more passionate, and spared not by murders or any other violent courses to set forward their desire. Neyther did it suffice, that about these times there came certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death: For it was the liberty and honour of Sparta, which these intended: fancying vnto themselves the glory of their Antecessors in such Ages past, as were not like to come againe: *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the most able man to restore them vnto their greatnesse and lustre, to which once hee had in a manner performed: But since hee was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deserving vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would haue, and those of the race of *Heracles*, as in former times: For that without such helpe, they must continue little better than subjects vnto the Macedonian, and farre lesse by him respected, than were the Achæans. Thus were they transported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, procured the Aetolians to send an Embassage to Sparta, which proposed the matter openly vnto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durst haue made himselfe the Author. Much disputation, and hot, there was, betwene those of the Macedonian party, and those their opposites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded, vntill by massacre or banishment of all, or the chiefe, that spake against the Aetolians, the difference of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded betwene the Lacedæmonians and Aetolians: without all regard of the Macedonians or Achæans, who had spared the Citie, when they might haue destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the choosing of the one King, that we may iustly wonder, how they grew so careless in making choyce of the other. In the one of their royall Families they found *Agisippus*, the sonne of *Agisipolis* the sonne of King *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to reigne ouer them, as heire apparant to his grandfather. This *Agisippus* was a yong Boy, standing in neede of a Guardian: and had an vncke, his fathers brother, that was fit for the Gouvernement. Yet because the Law required, that the sonne, how young soeuer, should haue his fathers whole right and title: the Lacedæmonians, though standing in neede of a man, were so punctuall in obseruation of the Law, that they made this childe their King, and appointed his vncke *Cleomenes* to bee his Protector. But in the other branch of the royall Family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodnesse of his Claime, but made election of *on Lysurgus*, who hauing no manner of title to the kingdome, bestowed vpon each of the *Ephors*, a Talent, and thereby made himselfe bee saluted King of Sparta, and a Gentleman of the race of *Heracles*. This *Lysurgus*, to gratifie his Partisans, and to approue his worth by action, inuaded the Countrey of the Argiues: which lay open and vnguarded, as in a time of peace. There hee did great spoile, and won diuers Townes; whereof two hee retained, and annexed vnto the State of Lacedæmon. After such open hostility, the Lacedæmonians declared themselves on the Aetolian side; and proclaimed warre against the Achæans.

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwise, than the Achæans and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the Epirots gaue vncertaine answer: the Messenians would not stirre: all the burden must lie vpon themselves and the poore Acarnanians, whom the Aetolians, by fauour of the Eleans, could inuade at pleasure, as they were like to doe, and by helpe of the Lacedæmonians, could assaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the Aetolians, passing ouer the Bay of Corinth, surprised the Towne of Aegira: which if they could haue held, they should thereby grievously haue molested the Achæans, for that it stood in the mid-way betwene Aegium and Sycion, two of their principall Cities; and gaue open way into the heart of all their Countrey. But as Aegira was taken by surprise: so was it presently lost againe, through greedinesse of spoyle, whilst they that should haue made it their first care, to assure the place vnto themselves, by occupying the citadell and other peeces of strength, fell heedlesly to ransacke priuate houses, and thereby gaue

the Citizens leaue to make head, by whom they were driuen with great slaughter backe vnto their Fleet. About the same time, another Aetolian Armie landing among the Eleans, fell vpon the Westerne Coast of Achæia, waisting all the Territorie of the Dymæans and other people, that were first beginners of the Achæan Confederacie. The Dymæans and their neighbours made head against these Inuaders; but were so well beaten, that the enimie grew bolder with them than before. They sent for helpe vnto their Prator, and to all the Townes of their Societie. In vaine. For the Achæans hauing lately been much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries, forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his warre, they had couetously with-held part of their due from those that serued them therein. So through this disability of the Achæans, and insufficiency of their Prator, the Dymæans, with others, were driuen to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publike seruice, & to conuert the money to their own defence. *Lysurgus* also with his Lacedæmonians, began to win vpon the Arcadians; that were confederate with *Philip* & the Achæans. *Philip* came to the borders of the Aetolians, whilst their Armie was thus employed a farre off in Peloponnesus. The Epirots ioyned all their forces with him: & by such their willing readines, drew him to the siege of a Frontier peece, which they desired to get into their owne hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselves Masters of Ambracia: There he spent forty dayes, ere he could end the busines, which tended onely to the benefit of the Epirots. Had he entred into the heart of Aetolia at his first comming in, it was thought that he might haue had an end of the war: But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken vpon small Townes or Forts: and not seldome, that the importunity of Associates, to haue their own desires fulfilled, conuerts the preparations of great kings to those vses for which they neuer were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their maine designs. Thus was our king *Henric* the eight led aside, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperor to the siege of Tournay: at such time as the French king *Lewes* the twelfth, hearing that the strong City of Terwin was lost, and that his Caualerie, wherein rested his chiefe confidence, two thousand were beaten by the Earle of Essex with seuen hundred English; was thinking to withdraw himselfe into Brittain, in feare that *Henric* would haue come to Paris.

The stay that *Philip* made at Ambracius, did wondrously embolden the Aetolians: in such sort, as their Prator *Scopas* aduentured to leade all their forces out of the Countrey, and therewith not onely to ouer-runne Thessalie, but to make impression into Macedon. He came as farre as to Diium, a Citie of Macedon vpon the *Ægean Sea*; which, being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his comming, He tooke, and razed to the ground. He spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but ouerturned all: and among the rest, hee threw down the Statua's that were there erected, of the Macedonian Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Countrey-men at his returne, forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to bee growne terrible, nor onely (as before) vnto Peloponnesus, but euen to Macedon it selfe. But this their pride was soone abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their owne Countrey, for their paines taken at Diium. *Philip* hauing dispatched his worke at Ambracius, made a strong inuasion vpon Aetolia. He tooke Phœtia, Metropolis, Oeniade, Præanium, Elæus, and diuers other Towns and Castles of theirs: of which he burnt some, and fortified others. He also beat the Aetolians in sundry skirmishes, and waisted all the Countrey ouer, without receiuing any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut ouer the Streights into Peloponnesus, and to doe the like spoile in the Countrey of the Eleans, whereto he was vehemently solicited by the Achæan Embassadors, newes came out of Macedon, that the Dardaniens were ready with a great Armie to fall vpon the Countrey. These Dardaniens were a barbarous people, diuided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northerne part of Macedon, & were accustomed to seeke booty in that wealthy Kingdome, when they found their own times. Hauing therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a iourney into Peloponnesus; they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his Countrey, as had bene their manner vpon the like advantages. This made the King to dismissthe Achæan Embassadors, (whom he should haue accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them haue patience vntill another yeere. So hee tooke his way homewards: and as hee was passing out of Acarnania into Epirus, there repaired vnto him *Demetrius Phariæus*, with no more than

one Ship; that was newly chased out of his Kingdome by the Romans. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himselfe a friend to *Antigonus Dofon* in the warres of *Cleomenes*; and returning in his last Voyage from the Cyclades, was readie, at their first request, to take part with *Philips* Captaines. These, or the like considerations, made him welcometo the Macedonian King: whose Counsaillour he was euer after. The Dardanians hearing of the Kings returne, brake vp their Armie; and gaue ouer for the present their inuasion of Macedon, towards which they were already on their way.

All that Summer following the King rested at Larissa in Thessalie, whilst his people gathered in their Haruest. But the *Atolians* rested not. They auenged themselves vpon the *Epirots*: whom for the harmes by them and *Philip* done in *Atolia*, they required with all extremities of warre, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the most famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of warre, vntill another yeere, was laid aside: *Philip* stole a iourney into Peloponnesus, with five thousand Foot, and about foure hundred Horse. As soone as he was within Corinth, He commanded the Gates to be shut, that no word should be carried forth of his arriual. He sent priuily for old *Aratus* to come thither vnto him: with whom he tooke order, when, and in what places, he would haue the Achæan Souldiers ready to meete him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrey, with somewhat more than two thousand Foot and an hundred Horse, little thinking to meete with such opposition. Indeepe they had little cause to feare; since the Achæans themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his Macedonians, vntill they heard, that these two thousand Eleas, *Atolians*, and their fellowes, were by him surpris'd, and all made prisoners, or slaine. By this exploit which he did at his first comming, *Philip* got very much reputation; and likewise he purchas'd both reputation and loue, by diuers actions immediately following. He won *Plophis*, an exceeding strong Town, in the borders of *Arcadia*, which the Eleas and *Atolians* then held. He won it by assault at his first comming: wherein it much auailed him, that the Enemy, not beleeuing that he would undertake such a peece of worke at such an vnseasonable time of the yeere, was carelesse of providing euen such store of weapons, as might haue serued to defend it. The Towne was preserued by the King from sacke, & giuen to the Achæans, of his own meere motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to *Lasion*, which yeelded for very feare, hearing how easily he had taken *Plophis*. This Towne also he gaue to the Achæans. The like liberality he vsed towards others, that had ancient title vnto places by him recovered. Then fell he vpon the Countrey of *Elis*, where was much wealth to be gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandrie, and liued abroad in Villages; euen such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the Citie of *Olympia*: where hauing done sacrifice to *Iupiter*, feasted his Captaines, and refreshed his Armie three daies; He proceeded on to the spoile of those, that had taken pleasure to share with the *Atolians* in the spoiles of their other wise deserting neighbours. Great abundance of *Garrell* hee tooke, with great numbers of slaues, and much wealth of all sorts, such as could be found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the Townes, wherein a great multitude of the Countrey-people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yeelded for feare. Some preuented the labour of his iourney, by sending *Hambassadors* to yeeld before he came. And some that were held with *Garrisons* against their wils, tooke courage to set themselves at libertie, by seeing the King to neere; to whose Patronage thenceforth they betooke themselves. And many places were spoiled by the *Atolian* Captaines, because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the King wonne more Townes in the Countrey, than the sharpe froste of Winter would suffer him to stay three daies. Faine he would haue fought with the *Atolians*; but they made such haste from him, that he could not ouertake them, till they had couer'd themselves with in the Towne of *Samicum*; where they thought to haue bene safe. But *Philip* assailed them therein so forcibly, that he made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart with their liues and armes. Hauing performed so much in this expedition, the King reposed himselfe awhile in *Megalopolis*; and then remoued to *Argos*, where hee spent all the rest of the Winter.

Before the Kings arriual in Peloponnesus, the Lacedæmonians, with *Lycorgus* their new King, had gotten somewhat in *Arcadia*; & threatned to do great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamitie that fell vpon the Eleas, of the danger hanging

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ouer their owne heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home. This *Lycorgus*, as hee had no other right to the Kingdome of Sparta, than that which he could buy with money: so was he neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him, nor from those ielousies, with which *Vsurpers* are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royall blood, that thinking himselfe to haue best right vnto the Kingdome, purposed to make way thereunto, by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards to confirme himselfe, by propounding vnto the Multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equall distribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Common wealth. Hee wonne to his partie some two hundred men; with whom hee fell vpon the *Ephori* as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to *Lycorgus* his house; who perceiuing the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should giue account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto pre-disposed; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as euen whilst he was vsing his best persuasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceiued whereabout they went, and shifted presently away. So he liued afterwards among the Achæans a banished man; and hated of his owne people. As for *Lycorgus*, hee returned home: and suspecting thenceforth all those of *Hercules* his race, found means to driue out his fellow-King young *Agisipolis*; whereby he made himselfe Lord alone. His doings grew to bee suspected, in such sort, as once hee should haue bene apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might haue bene defended; yet rather than to aduenture himselfe into iudgement, he chose to flie for a time, and so iourne among his friends the *Atolians*. His well-knownne vehemencie in opposition to the Macedonians, had procured vnto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they beganne to consider the weaknesse of their owne surmise against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, He tooke better heede vnto himselfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they listed. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant: or at what time it was, that he chased *Agisipolis* out of the Citie; I doe not certainly finde. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three *Vsurpers*, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the ranke of Tyrants; which the last of the three very iustly deserved. Whatsoeuer he was toward some priuate Citizens: in the warre against *Philip*, he behaued himselfe as a prouident man, and carefull of his Countreys good.

Now *Philip* was misadvised by ill Counsaillors, who afterwards wrought treason against him; and miserably punished. Hee made the *Atolians* a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted vnto them.

Whilst the King lay at *Argos* deuising vpon his businesse for the yeer following, some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently for their own greatnesse, as they were like to haue spoiled all that hee tooke in hand. *Antigonus Dofon* had left vnto *Philip* such Counsaillors, as to him did seeme the fittest men for governing of his youth. The chiefe of these was *Capelles*, that had the charge of his person, and also the ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himselfe a great Politician, thought that hee should be a notable peece of seruice to his Prince; if hee could reduce the Achæans vnto the same degree of subiection, wherein the Macedonians stood. To bring this to passe, during the late Expedition he had caused some of the Macedonians to thinke this Achæan out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proddoring further as beaflow fell out, hee was bold to chide some of that Nation, causing his Ministers to take good whippes abhain. If any of them offered, as there were some, to stand up that could not reffraine, to helpe their fellowes; that he laid by the heels, and punished by Ministers. Hereby he thought to bring it to passe by little and little, that he should be qualified with the habite of blind obedience; and think nothing vnjust than pleased the King. But these Achæans were tenderly sensible in matters of libertie, and were so, if they could haue bene contented so to suffer any little

little diminution, they needed not haue troubled the Macedonians to helpe them in the war against *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themselves vnto olde *Aratus*; and besought him to thinke vpon some good order, that they might not bee oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seeme. The King bestowed gracious words vpon those that had bene wronged; and forbade *Apelles* to follow the course begunne. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choler for a time. Hee thought so well of his owne Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps vnable to doe the King any valuable seruice, in businesse of other nature. Hee purposed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head; since, in biting at the taile, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise bee than that among the Achæans there were some, who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out, and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court, promising to become their especial friend, and commend them vnto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himselfe: letting him know, that as long as hee continued to make much of *Aratus*, hee must be faine to deale precisely with the Achæans, and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to giue countenance vnto those others whom he himselfe commended, then should the Achæans, and all other Peloponnesians, be quick ly brought to conforne themselves vnto the duty of obedient Subjects. By such perswasions, he drew the King to bee present at Ægium, where the Achæans were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would haue bin needefull in a businesse of more importance, the King by faire words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new fauourites, was chosen Prætor, in stead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction vnto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by Patras and Dyma, to a very strong Castle held by the Eleans, which was called Tichos. The garrison yeelded it vp for feare, at his first coming; whereof he was glad, for that he had an earnest desire to bestow it vpon the Dymæans, as he presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the Eleans, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countrey the last Winter, he had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captaine of theirs, that was his prisoner, because hee found him an intelligent man, and one that vndertook to make them forsake their alliance with the Ætolians, and ioyne with him vpon reasonable termes. This if they could be contented to doe, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them vnderstand; That hee would render vnto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all foreign inuasion; and that they should hold their liberty entire, liuing after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept vnder by any garrison. These conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might haue done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of Tichos, and made a new inuasion vpon their Countrey: then beganne the Eleans, (that were not before ouer-hastie to beleue such faire promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was set on worke for no other end, than to breede a mutuall diffidence betwene them, and the Ætolians. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands vpon him, and send him prisoner vnto Ætolia. But he perceived their intent, and got away to Dyma: in good time for himselfe, in better for *Aratus*. For the king (as was said) mistrusting what should be the cause, that hee heard no newes from the Eleans, concerning the offers which hee had made vnto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles*, his Counsaillor thereby tooke occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said that olde *Aratus*, and his sonne together, had such deuices in their heads, as tended little to the kings good. And long of him he said it was, that the Eleans did thus hold out: For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arati*, (the father and the sonne) had taken him aside & giuen him to vnderstand, that it would be very preiudiciall to all Peloponnesus, if the Eleans once became at the deuotion of the Macedonian: And this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very carefull in doing this message, nor the Eleans in hearkning to the kings offers. All this was a falselie; deuised by *Apelles* himselfe, vpon no other ground than his owne malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard this tale but in a great rage he sent for the two *Arati*, and bade *Apelles* rehearse it ouer againe to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance making

talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had said all he rested, ere either *Philip* or they spake any word; He added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you such vngratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the Achæans; and therein hauing made it knowne what ye are, to depart into Macedonia; and leaue you to your selues. Olde *Aratus* grauely admonished the King; That whensoever he heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his owne or a man of worth, He should forbear a while to giue credit, vntill hee had diligently examined the businesse. For such deliberation was Kingly, and he should neuer thereof repent him. At the present hee said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talk with *Amphidamus*, and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, That the king should make himselfe the Author of a report in the open Parliament of Achaia, whereof there was none other euidence, than one mans yea, and anothers no. Hereof the king liked well, and said that hee would make sufficient inquiry. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilst *Apelles* delayed to bring in the prooffe, which indeed he wanted, *Amphidamus* came from Elis, and told what had befallen him there. The king was not forgetful, to examine him about the conspiracie of the *Arati*: which when he found no better than a meere deuce against his honourable friends; Hee entertained them in louing manner as before. As for his loue to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by meanes of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The worst full tempest of *Apelles*, hauing with much vehemencie brought nothing to passe, beganne (as commonly Ambition vseth) to swell and grow venomous for want of his free motion. He betakes himselfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, he had prepared a snare for the *Arati*; so sayling of them; he thinks it wisdome to lay for the King himselfe, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to haue taken the Swallow which draue away Flies out of the chieftie; but was carried (net and all) into the Ayre by the bird, that was too strong to be caught and held by the subtile workmanship of a Cob-web. Of the foure that next vnto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chiefe place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in Peloponnesus, and *Alexander* Captaine of the Guard, were faithfull men, and such as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontinus* Captaine of the Targuettiers, & *Megalas* chiefe of the Secretaries, were easily won to be at *Apelles* his disposition. This politician therefore studied how to remooue the other two from their places, and put some Creatures of his owne into their roomes. Against *Alexander* He went to worke the ordinary way; by calumnie and priuie detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* he vsed more finenesse; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of warre, & one, whom for his many vertues the King might ill spare from being alwaies in his presence. By such Art hee thought to haue remooued him, as we say, Out of Gods blessing into a warme Summer. In the mean season *Aratus* retired himselfe; and sought to auoide the dangerous trendship of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the new Prætor of Achaia, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; Hee was a man of no dispatch; and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore a great deale of time was lost, whilst *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corne; wherewith hee should haue bene furnished by the Achæans. This made the King vnderstand his owne errour; which hee wisely sought to reforme betimes. He perswaded the Achæans to reiourne their Parliament from Ægium, to Sydon, the Towne of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his son, perswading them to forget what was past; and laying all the blame vpon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the trauell of these worthy men, He easily obtained what he would of the Achæans. Fifty talents they gaue him out of hand, with great store of Corne; and further decreed, That so long as he himselfe in person followed the warres in Peloponnesus, hee should receiue ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to provide shipping, that so he might inuade the Ætolians, Eleans, and Lacedæmonians, that were maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure, to see things goe forward so well without his helpe, even by the ministry of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entred into conspiracie with *Leontinus* and *Megalas*; binding himselfe and them by Oath, to crosse and bring

Philip had at this time no great liking vnto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the warre. But it happened in the middelt of this Negotiation, that he was aduertised by letters out of Macedon, what a notable victorie Hannibal had obtained against the Romans in the Battaille at Thrasymene. These letters he communicated vnto Demetrius Pharius: who greatly encouraged him to take part with Hannibal: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian Warre. Hereby hee grew more inclinable than before vnto Peace with the Aetolians: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at Naupactus. There did Agelaus an Aetolian make a great Oration: telling, how happie it was for the Greekes, that they might at their owne pleasure dispute about finishing Warre betweene themselves, without being molested by the Barbarians. For when once either the Romans or Carthaginians, had subdued one the other, it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look Eastward, and seek by all meanes to set footing in Greece. For this cause he said it were good, that their Countrey should be at peace within it selfe: and that Philip, if he were desirous of warre, should lay hold on the opportunitie, now fitly seruing, to enlarge his Dominion, by winning somewhat in Italy.

Such aduice could the Aetolians then giue, when they stood in feare of danger threatening them at hand: but being soone after wearie of rest, as being accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so farre from obseruing and following their own good counsell, that they invited the Romans into Greece, whereby they brought themselves and the whole Countrey, (but themselves before any other part of the Countrey) vnder seruitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That euery one should keepe what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

§. III.

Philip, at the perswasion of Demetrius Pharius, enters into League with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Tenour of the League betwene Hannibal and Philip.

His being agreed vpon: the Greekes betooke themselves to quiet courses of life; and Philip to prepare for the businesse of Italy, about which hee consulted with Demetrius Pharius. And thus passed the time away, till the great battaille of Cannæ: after which hee ioyned in league with Hannibal, as hath beene shewed before. Demetrius Pharius bore great malice vnto the Romans; and knew no other way to be auenged vpon them, or to recouer his owne lost Kingdome, than by procuring the Macedonian, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsaile, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwise beene farre more expedient for Philip, to haue supported the weaker of those two great Cities against the more mighty. For by so doing, hee should perhaps haue brought them to peace vpon some equall tearmes; and thereby, as did Hiero a farre weaker Prince, haue both secured his owne Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chiefe place in his friendship. The issue of the counsaile which hee followed, will appeare soone after this. His first quarrell with the Romans; the trouble which they and the Aetolians did put him to in Greece; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, vpon such Conditions that might easily be broken: haue beene related in another place, as belonging vnto the second Punicke Warre. Wherefore I will onely here set downe the tenour of the League betwene Him and Carthage: which may seeme not vnworthy to be read, if onely in regard of the forme it selfe then vsed; though it had beene ouer-long to haue beene inserted into a more busie peece.

THE

The Oath and Couenants be-

tweene Hannibal, Generall of the Carthaginians, and Xenophanes, Embassador of Philip King of Macedon.

THIS is the League ratified by oath, which Hannibal the Generall, and with him Mago, Myrcal, and Barmocal, as also the Senators of Carthage that are present, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Armie, haue made with Xenophanes the sonne of Cleomachus Athenian, whom King Philip the sonne of Demetrius hath sent vnto vs, for himselfe and the Macedonians, and his Associates: Before Jupiter, and Iuno, and Apollo: before † The God of the Carthaginians, Hercules and † Tolaus, before Mars, Triton, Neptune: before The Gods accompanying Armes, the Sun, the Moone, and the Earth; before Riuers and Meddowes, and Waters; before all the Gods, that haue power ouer Carthage; before all the Gods that rule ouer Macedon, and the rest of Greece; before all the Gods that are Presidents of warre, and present at the making of this League. Hannibal the Generall hath said, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the Carthaginians in his Armie: Be it agreed betwene You and Vs, that this oath stand for friendship and louing affection, that wee become friends, familiar, and brethren, vpon Courant, that the safetie of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of Hannibal the Generall and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the Carthaginians vsing the same Lawes; and of the Vticans, & as many Cities & Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiers and Associates, and of all Townes and Nations with which we hold friendship in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom we shall hold friendship or make alliance hereafter in this Region; be preferred by King Philip and the Macedonians, and such of the Greekes as are their Associates. In like manner shall King Philip and the Macedonians, and other the Greekes his Associates, be saued and preferred by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the Vticans, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their Associates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italy, Gaule and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or shall hereafter ioyne with Vs in Italy. Wee shall not take counsaile one against the other, nor deale fraudulently one with the other. With all readinesse and good will, without deceit or subletie, we shall be enemies vnto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, Townes, and Hauens, with which we haue already league and friendship. wee also shall be enemies to the enemies of King Philip, excepting those Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which wee haue already league and friendship. The warre that we haue with the Romans, haue we also with them, untill the Gods shall giue vs a new and happie end. Wee shall aide Vs with those things whereof wee haue need, and shall doe according to the Couenants betwene Vs. But if the Gods shall not giue vnto You and Vs their helpe in this warre against the Romans and their Associates; then if the Romans offer friendship, wee shall make friendship in such wise that wee shall be partakers of the same friendship, with Condition, That they shall not haue power to make warre vpon you: Neither shall the Romans be Lords ouer the Corcyreans, nor ouer those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor ouer Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They shall also render vnto Demetrius Pharius all those that belong vnto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after such peace made) shall make warre vpon You or Vs; wee will succour one another in that warre, as either shall haue need. The same shall be obserued in warre made by any other, excepting those Kings, Cities, and States, with whom wee hold already league and friendship. To this league if we or You shall thinke fit to adde or detract, such addition or deduction shall be made by our common consent.

LIII 2

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

How Philip yeelded to his naturall vices, being therein soothed by Demetrius Pharius. His desire to tyrannize vpon the free States his Associates: with the troubles, into which hee thereby fell, whilst he bore a part in the second Punic warre. Hee poysoneth Aratus: and growes hatefull to the Achæans.

Hitherto Philip had carried himselfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisdom, hee might haue offered his friendship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians, who had the better hand: yet this his meddling in the Punic warre, proceeded from a royall greatness of minde, with a desire to secure and increase his owne estate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countie. But in this businesse he was guided (as hath bene said) by Demetrius Pharius: who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himselfe to his desires: and thereby shortly gouerned him as he listed. For the vertues of Philip were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustfull, bloudy, and tyrannicall: desirous of power to doe what he listed, and not otherwise listig to doe what he ought, thah so farre forth, as by making a faire shew he might breed in men such good opinion of him, as should helpe to serue his turne in all that hee tooke in hand. Before hee should busie himselfe in Italy, he thought it requisite in good policie, to bring the Greekes that were his Associates vnder a more absolute forme of subiection. Hereunto Apelles had aduised him before: and he had liked reasonably well of the course. But Apelles was a boisterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himselfe deeply wronged if he might not wholly haue his owne way, but were driuen to await the Kings opportunity at better times. Demetrius Pharius could well be contented to observe the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man with the reins in his hand, those affections which himselfe did onely seeme to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted Aratus: which the violence of Apelles could neuer doe.

There arose about these times a very hote Faction among the Messenians, betwene the Nobilitie and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diuerted (as hap. 30 pens often after a forreign warre) vnto domestickall objects, than allayed and reduced vnto a more quiet temper. In proesse of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that Philip was entreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strue any more about their Gouernment: for that hee would assume it wholly to himselfe. At his coming thither, hee found Aratus busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reuerend old man: but talked in priuate with such of the Messenians as repaired vnto him. He asked the Gouernours, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Lawes, to bridle the insolence of the vnrule Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, He said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselves to be opposed by a few, as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilst each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it but to goe roundly to worke, ere that hee were gone that should countenance their doings. The Gouernours therefore would haue apprehended some seditious Oratours, that were, they said, the stirrers vp of the multitude vnto sedition. Vpon this occasion the people tooke Armes: and running vpon the Nobilitie and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. Philip thought, it seemed, that it would be easie to worrie the sheepe, when the Dogs their guardians were slaine. But his fallshood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger Aratus forbear, to tel him of it in publike, with very bitter and disgracefull words. The King was angry at this. But hauing already done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein hee should need the helpe and countenance of his best friends; Hee was content to smother his displeasure, and make as faire weather as hee could. Hee ledde olde Aratus aside by the hand; and went vp into the Castle of Ithome, that was ouer Messene. There hee pretended to doe sacrifice: and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keepe the place

to

to his owne vse, for that it was of notable strength, and would serue to command the further parts of Peloponnesus, as the Citadell of Corinth, which he had already commanded the entrance into that Countie. Whilst he was therefore sacrificing, and had the entralls of the beast deliuered into his hands, as was the manner, hee shewed them to Aratus, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, he should quietly goe out of it, or rather keepe it to himselfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would haue soothed him a little: were it onely for desire to make amends, for the angry words newly spoken by his sonne. But as Aratus stood doubtfull what to answer, Demetrius Pharius gaue this verdict: *If thou be a soothsayer, thou must goe thy waies, and let slip this good advantage; If thou bee a King, thou must not neglect the opportunitie, but hold the Oxe by both his hornes.* Thus hee spake, resembling Ithome and Acrocorinthus vnto the two horns of Peloponnesus. Yet would Philip needs heare the opinion of Aratus: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keepe the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith vnto the Messenians: But if, by seizing vpon Ithome, He must lose all the other Castles that he held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left vnto him by Antigonus, which was his credit; then were it farre better to depart with his souldiers, and keepe men in durie, as he had done hitherto, by their owne good wills, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his Enemies. To this good aduice Philip yeelded at the present: but not without some dislike; thenceforth growing betwene him and the Arats, whom he thought more froward than be- 10 seemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affaires, or be inward with him. For as hee plainly discovered his Tyrannous purposes: so likewise he perceiued, that in resorting to his house, He had bene dishonest with his sonnes wife. He therefore staid at home; where at good leisure he might repent, that in despite of Cleomenes, his owne Countryman, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Philip made a Voyage out of Peloponnesus into Epirus, wherein Aratus refused to beare him company. In this journey he found by experience what Aratus had lately told him, That vn honest counsailes are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The Epirots were his followers & dependants, and so they purposed to continue. But He would needs haue them so to remaine, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious vnto his Will, He seized vpon their Towne of Orgeum, and laid siege to Apollonia; hauing no good colour of these doings: but thinking himselfe strong enough to doe what he listed, and not seeing whence they should procure friends to help them. Thus in stead of settling the country, as his intended Voyage into Italy required: He kindled a fire in it which he could neuer quench, vntill it had laid hold on his owne Palace. Whilst hee was thus labouring to binde the hands that should haue fought for him in Italy: M. Valerius the Roman came into those parts, who not onely maintained the Epirots against him, but procured the Aetolians to breake the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that warre, the occurrences whereof wee haue related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In manning whereof though Philip did the offices of a good Captaine: yet when leisure serued, He made it apparant that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the libertie of the Messenians; but made another journey into their Countie, with hope to deceiue them, as before. They vnderstood him better now than before; and therefore werenot hasty to trust him too farre. When he saw that his cunning would not serue, He went to worke by force; and calling them his Enemies; invaded them with open Warre. But in that warre he could doe little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to helpe him 10 in such an enterprise. In this attempt vpon Messene he lost Demetrius Pharius; that was his Counsellor and Flatterer, not his peruerter; as appears by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that hee sped, the more angry hee waxed against those that seemed not to fauour his iniurious doings. Wherefore by the ministry of Taurion, his Lieutenant, hee poysoned old Aratus; and shortly after that he poysoned also the younger Aratus: hoping that these things would neuer haue bene knowne, because they were done secretly, and the poysons themselves were more sure than manifest in operation. The Sicyonians, and all the people of Achaia, decreed vnto

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ARATUS

Aratus more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymnes, and Processions, to be celebrated every yeere twice, with a Priest ordained vnto him for that purpose, as was accustomed vnto the *Athenians*, or men, whom they thought to be translated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are said to haue beene encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollon*, which is like enough to haue beene true, since the helpe of the *Deuill* is neuer failing to the increase of Idolatrie.

The folowing memorie of *Aratus* their Patron, and singular Benefactor, could not but worke in the *Achaean*s a maruellous dislike, of that wicked King, which had made him thus away. He shall therefore heare of this hereafter; when they better dare to take countsaile for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally known or beleued: neither were they in case to subfist, without his helpe that had committed it. The *Etolians* were a most outrageous people, great darers, and shamelesse robbers. With these the *Romans* made a league, whereof the Conditions were soone diuulged, especially that maine point, concerning the diuision of the purchase which they should make, namely, That the *Etolians* should haue the country and Townes; but the *Romans* the spoyle, and carry away the people to sell for slaues. The *Achaean*s, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make freight alliance with the *Etolians*, as knowing their vniuersall disposition; were much the more auerse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the Barbarians (for such did the *Greeks* account all other Nations except their owne) to make hauock of the Countrey. The same consideration moued also the *Lacedaemonians*, to stand off a while, before they would declare themselves for the *Etolians*; whose friendship they had embraced in the late warre. The industry therefore of *Philop*, and the great care which he seemed to take of the *Achaean*s his Confederates, sufficed to retaine them; especially at such time, as their owne necessitie was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged vnto himselfe the *Dymeans*, by an inestimable benefit: recovering their Towne after it had beene taken by the *Romans* and *Etolians*; and redeeming their people wherefoer they might be found, that had been carried away Captiue, and sold abroad for slaues. Thus might he haue blotted out the memorie of offences past; if the malignitie of his naturall condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and giuen men to vnderstand; that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodnesse. Among other foule acts, whereof hee was not ashamed; He tooke *Polyarcha* the wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might serue to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guiltie of the old mans death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the *Romans* make warre vpon him the second time: for, of that which hapned in this their first Inuasion, I hold it superfluous to make repetition.

S. V.

Of *Philopemen* Generall of the *Achaean*s: and *Machanidas*, Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*. A battaile betwene them, wherein *Machanidas* is slaine.

IT happens often, that the discafe of one eminent man discouers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there stood vp *Philopemen*: whose notable valour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the *Achaean*s redoubtable among all the *Greekes*, and carelesse of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopemen*: who being then a young man, and hauing no command, did especiall seruice to *Antigonus* at the battaile of *Selassia* against *Cleomenes*. Thence forward vntill now he had spent the most part of his time in the Ile of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldom by either at peace betwene themselves; He bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of warre. At his returne home, Hee had charge of the Horse: wherein he carried himselfe so strictly, traauiling with all the Cities of the Confederacie to haue his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces: as also he so diligently trained them vp in all exercise of seruice, that he made the *Achaean*s very strong in that part of their Forces. Being afterward chosen Prator or Generall of the Nation, He had no lesse care to reforme their militarie discipline throughout, whereby his Countrey might be strong enough to defend it selfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend vpon the helpe of others; Hee perswaded the *Achaean*s to cut off their vaine

expence

expence of brauery in appareled household stuffe, and curious farr, and to bestow that cost vpon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to procure the better Souldiers, and surable in behauiour, vnto the pride of their furniture. They had seduced hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast a farr off that were vsuall in skirmishing: at some distance, or for Surprises, or sudden and hasty Expeditions; whereto *Aratus* had beene most accustomed. But when they came to handle strokes, they were good for nothing; so long as they were wholly driuen to rely vpon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopemen* altered this: causing them to arm themselves more weightily, to vse a larger kind of shield, with good swords, and strong pikes, fit for seruice at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order, and altered the forme of their embattailing; not making the Files so deep, as had been accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might vse the seruice of many hands.

Eight months were spent of that yeer, in which he first was Prator of the *Achaean*s; when *Machanidas*, the tyrant of *Lacedaemon* caused him to make triall, how his souldiers had profited by his discipline. This *Machanidas* was the successor vnto *Lycurgus*, a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a strong Army of Mercenaries; and he kept them not onely to fight for *Sparta*, but to hold the Citie in obedience to himselfe perforce. Wherefore it behoued him not to take part with the *Achaean*s; that were fauourers of liberty; but to strengthen himselfe by friendship of the *Etolians*; who, in making Alliances, tooke no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their owne profit. The people also of *Lacedaemon*, through their inueterate hatred vnto the *Argiues*, *Achaean*s, & *Macedonians*; were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the *Etolian* Faction. Very vniuersally. For in seeking to take reuenge vpon those, that had lately hindred them from getting the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; they hindered themselves thereby from recouering the Maistrie of their owne Citie. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his owne security, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but alwaies made him readie to fall vpon his neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilst they were enforced, by greater necessity, to turne face another way. Thus had he often done; especially in the absence of *Philop*: whose sudden comming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made him faile of his attempts. At the present he was stronger in men, than were the *Achaean*s, and thought his owne men better Souldiers than were theirs.

Whilst *Philop* theretore was busied else-where, he entred the Countrey of the *Mantians*; being not without hope to doe as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, as hauing stronger friends, and weaker opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopemen* was ready to entertaine him at *Mantinea*; where was fought between them a great battaile. The Tyrant had brought into the field vpon Carriages a great many of Engines, wherewith to beat vpon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in disorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopemen* sent forth his light armature a good way before him; so as *Machanidas* was faine to doe the like. To second these, from the one & the other side came in continuall supply; till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Achaean*s & of *Machanidas*, were drawn vp to the fight: being so farr aduanced, each before their owne Phalanx; that it could no otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were *Machanidas* his Engines made vnseruiceable, by the interposition of his own men; in such manner as the Canon is hindred from doing execution, in most of the battailes fought in these our times. The Mercenaries of the Tyrant preuailed at length: not onely by their aduantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well obserueth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage; wherein usually the hired souldiers of Tyrants exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which liue oppressed by Tyrannie; since the one, by doing their best in fight, haue hope to acquire somewhat beneficiall to themselves; whereas the other doe fight (as it were) to assure their owne seruitude: so the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his prosperity, haue good cause to maintaine his quarrell as their own; whereas they that serue vnder a free State, haue no other motive to doe manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the victory: many companies (if not all) of forrein Auxiliaries are presently cast

and

* Excerpt. d.
Polyb. l. 2.
Plut. in vita
Philopem.

Polyb. ibid.

and therefore such good fellows will not take much paines to bring the warre to an end. But the victory of a Tyrant makes him stand in need of more such helpers: because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more subiects; and therefore stands in feare of more, that should seeke to take reuenge vpon him. The stipendiaries therefore of the Achæans, being forced to giue ground, were vrged so violently in their retreat by those of *Machinidas*, that shortly they betooke themselves to flight; and could not be staied by any persuasions of *Philopemen*, but ran away quite beyond the battaile of the Achæans. This disaster had bene sufficient to take from *Philopemen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely obserued the demeanour of *Machinidas*, and found in him that error which might restore the victory. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gaue chase vnto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battail his Lacedæmonians, whom he thought sufficient to deale with the Achæans, that were already disheartened by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashnesse had carried him out of sight, *Philopemen* aduanced towards the Lacedæmonians that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the Countrey a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passible (as it seemed) without much difficultie, especially for Foot. The Lacedæmonians aduentured ouer it, as thinking themselves better souldiers than the Achæans; who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their owne Battaille; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further banke, than they were stoutly charged by the Achæans, who draue them headlong into the ditch againe. Their first ranks being broken, all the rest beganne to shrink: so as *Philopemen* getting ouer the ditch, easily chased them out of the Field. *Philopemen* knew better how to vse his aduantage, than *Machinidas* had done: He suffered not all his Armie to disband and follow the chase: but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custodie of a bridge that was ouer the ditch, by which he knew that the tyrant must come backe. The tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chase, looked very heauily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet with a lusty troupe of Horse about him, he made towards the bridge: hoping to finde the Achæans in disorder; and to set vpon their backs, as they were carelessly pursuing their victory. But when hee and his company saw *Philopemen* ready to make good the bridge against them; then began euery one to look, which way he might shift for himselfe. The tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch side, and searched for an easie passage ouer. He was easily discovered by his purple Cassock, & the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopemen* therefore leaving the charge of the bridge to another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling vpon him at length in the ditch it selfe, as he was getting ouer it, slew him there with his owne hand. There dyed in this Battaille of the Lacedæmonians side about foure thousand: and more than foure thousand were taken Prisoners. Of the Achæan Mercenaries, probable it is that the losse was not greatly cared for; since that Warre was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they should haue need.

§. VI.

Philip having peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bythinia, and their Linages. Of the Galatians.

BY this victory the Achæans learned to thinke well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (such was their discipline, and continuall exercise) to account themselves in matter of warre inferiour to any, that should haue brought against them no great ods of number. As for the Macedonian, He made no great vse of them: but when he had once concluded peace with the Romans and Ætolians, he studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the Carthaginians declined in the West. He tooke in hand many matters together, or very secretly together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the Achæans would haue done him seruice, they must, by helping him to oppress others that neuer had wronged him, haue taught him the way how to deale with themselves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of Pergamus, who had ioyned with the Romans and Ætolians in warre against him.

This

This *Attalus*, though a king, was scarce yet a Noble-man, otherwise than as hee was ennobled by his owne, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune beganne in *Phileterus* his Vncle: who being gueldded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a child; grew afterwards thereby to be the more esteemed: as great men in those times reposed much confidence in Eunuches, whose affections could not be obliged vnto wiuers or children. He was entertained into the family of *Docimus*, a Captaine following *Antigonus the first*, and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Master, that betooke him selfe to *Lyfimachus* King of Thrace. *Lyfimachus* had a good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his money and accompts. But when at length he stood in feare of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant: He fled into Asia, where he seized vpon the Towne of Pergamus, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lyfimachus*. The Towne and money, together with his owne seruice, hee offered vnto *Seleuchus the first*, that then was ready to giue *Lyfimachus* battell. His offer was kindly accepted, but neuer performed; for that *Seleuchus* hauing slaine *Lyfimachus*, dyed shortly after himselfe, before he made vse of *Phileterus* or his money. So this Eunuch still retained Pergamus with the Countrey round about it; and reigned therein twenty yeeres as an absolute King. He had two brethren: of which the elder is said to haue bene a poore Carter; and the younger perhaps not much better, before such time they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Phileterus* left his Kingdome to the elder of these, or to the sonne of the elder called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his kingdome; making his aduantage of the dissention, betwene *Seleuchus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Tetrav*, the sonnes of the second *Antiochus*. He fought a battell with *Hierax*, neere vnto Sardes, and won the victory. At which time, to animate his men against the Gaules that serued vnder his Enemy, he used a pretty deuice. He wrote the word *Victory vpon the hand of his Soothsayer, in such colours as would easily come off; and when the hot liner of the beast that was sacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He published this vnto his Armie as a Miracle, plainly foreshewing that the gods would be assistant in that Battaille.

After this victory, he grew a dreadfull enemy to *Seleucus*: who neuer durst attempt to recouer from him, by Warre, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty yeeres, he died by a surfeit of ouer-much drinke, and left his kingdome to *Attalus*, of whom we now entreat, that was sonne vnto *Attalus* the yongest brother of *Phileterus*. *Attalus* was an vndertaking Prince, very bountifull, and no lesse valiant. By his owne proper forces He restored his friend *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian into his kingdome, whence he had been expelled. He was grievously molested by *Acheus*, who setting vp himselfe as king against *Antiochus the great*, reigned in the lesser Asia. He was besieged in his owne City of Pergamus: but by the helpe of the Teosage, a nation of the Gaules, whom he called ouer out of Thrace, He recouered all that he had lost. When these Gaules had once gotten footing in Asia, they neuer wanted employment: but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters, or interposed themselves, without inuitation, and found themselves worke in quarrels of their owne making. They caused *Prusias* King of Bithynia to cease from his war against Byzantium. Whereunto when he had condescended; they neuertheless within a while after invaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained against them a great victory; and used it with great crueltie, sparing neither age nor sexe. But the swarme of them increasing, they occupied the Region about Hellespont: where in seating themselves, they were much beholding vnto *Attalus*. Neuertheless, presuming afterwards vpon their strength, they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute: In the sharpe exaction whereof, they had no more respect vnto *Attalus*, than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themselves within the bounds of that Prouince, which tooke name from them in time following, and was called Galatia. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their neighbours; and to fill vp the Armies of those, that could best hyre them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posterity of such, as had saued themselves and their Prouinces, in the shortfull reigne of the Persians; or in the busie times of *Alexander*, and his Macedonian followers. The Cappadocians were very ancient. For the first of their line had married with *Atossa*, sister vnto the great king Cyrus. Their Countrey was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the son of that king, whom

Perdiccas.

Predicus crucified, espying his time while the Macedonians were at ciuill warres among themselves; recovered his dominion, and passed it ouer to his off-spring. The Kings of Pontus had also their beginning from the Persian Empire; & are said to haue issued from the royall house of *Achamenes*. The Paphlagonians deriued themselves from *Pylamenes*, a king that assisted *Priamus* at the warre of Troy. These, applying themselves vnto the times, were alwaies conformable vnto the strongest. The Ancestors of *Prusias* had begun to reigne in Bythynia, some few generations before that of *the great Alexander*. They lay somewhat out of the Macedonians way: by whom therefore, hauing other employment, they were the lesse molested. *Calanus*, one of *Alexanders* Captaines, made an Expedition into their Country; where hee was vanquished. They had afterwards to doe with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that madethem somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, vntill the reigne of *Prusias*, whom we haue already sometimes mentioned.

§. VII.

The Towne of Cios taken by Philip, at the instance of Prusias, King of Bithynia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions, Philip grows hatefull to many of the Greekes: and is warred vpon by Attalus King of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.

P*rusias* as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whose greatness he suspected. He therefore strengthened himselfe, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*, as *Attalus*, on the contrary side, entered into a strict Confederacie with the *Etolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the Greekes. But when *Philip* had ended his *Etolian* warre, and was deuising with *Antiochus* about sharing betweene them two the Kingdom of Egypt, wherein *Ptolomie Philopater* a friend vnto them both was newly dead, and had left his sonne *Ptol. Epiphanes* a young childe his heire, the Bithynian entreated this his Father-in-law to come ouer into Asia, there to winne the Towne of the *Ciani*, and bestow it vpon him. *Prusias* had no right vnto the Towne, nor iust matter of quarrell against it: but it was fitly seated for him; and therewithall rich. *Philip* came, as one that could not well deny to helpe his Sonne-in-law. But hereby he mightily offended no small part of Greece. Embassadors came to him whilest he lay at the siege, from the *Rhodians*, and diuers other States: intreating him to forsake the enterprise. He gaue dilatorie, but otherwise gentle answers: making shew as if he would condescend to their request, when he intended nothing lesse. At length he got the Towne: where, euen in presence of the Embassadors, of whose sollicitation he had seemed so regardfull, hee omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby hee rendred himselfe odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruell Prince. Especially his fact was detested of the *Rhodians*, who had made vehement intercession for the poore *Ciani*; and were aduertised by Embassadors of purpose sent vnto them from *Philip*, That, howsoeuer it were in his power to winne the Towne as soone as he listed: yet in regard of his loue to the *Rhodians*, He was contented to giue it ouer. And by this his clemency, the Embassadors said, that he would manifest vnto the world, what slanderous tongues they were; which noysed abroad such reports, as went of his falshood and oppression. Whilest the Embassadors were declaring at Rhodes in the Theater to this effect; there came some that made a true relation of what had hapned: shewing that *Philip* had sacked & destroyed the Town of Cios, and, after a cruell slaughter of the Inhabitants, had made slaues of all that escaped the sword. If the *Rhodians* tooke this in great despite, no lesse were the *Etolians* inflamed against him: since they had sent a Captaine to take charge of the Towne; being warned before by his doings at *Lysimachia* & *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacie to his owne) what little trust was to be reposed in the faith of this king. But most of all others was *Attalus* moued with consideration of the Macedonians violent ambition, & of his own estate. He had much to lose; and was not without hope of getting much if he could make a strong Partie in Greece. He had already, as a new king, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captaines, in purchasing with much liberality the loue of the *Ath-nians*, which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, hauing lost their owne. On the friendship of the *Etolians* hee had cause to presume; hauing bound them vnto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were

were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the Egyptians, Syrians, and many other Princes and States he easily drew into a streight alliance with him; by their hatred newly contained against *Philip*.

Vpon confidence in these his friends; but most of all, in the ready assistance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deal with the Macedonian by open warre. It had beene vnseasonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemy tended; since his desire to fasten vpon Asia was manifest, and his falshood no lesse manifest, than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not farre from Chios, and fought with him a battaile at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driuen to runne his owne shippe on ground, hardly escaping to land: though the Admirall of the *Rhodians* took his death wound: and though *Philip* after the battaile tooke harbour vnder a Promontorie; by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the wracks vpon the shoare: Yet forasmuch as he had suffered far greater losse of ships and men, than had the Enemy: and since he durst not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to braue him in his Port; the honour of the victory was adjudged to his Enemies. This notwithstanding, *Philip* afterwards besieged and wonne some Townes in Caria: whether only in a brauery, and to despight his opposites; or whether vpon any hopefull desire of conquest, it is vncertain. The stratageme, by which he wonne *Prinassus*, is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a Myne: and finding the earth so stony, that it resisted his worke; he neuertheless commanded the Pioners to make a noyse vnder ground; and secretly in the night-time he raised great Mounts about the entrance of the Myne, to breed an opinion in the besieged, that the work went maruellously forward. At length he sent word to the Town-men, that by his vnder-mining, two acres of their wall stood onely vpon wooden proppes, to which if he gaue fire, and entered by a breach, they should expect no mercy. The *Prinassians* little thought, that he had fetcht all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off, to raise vp those heapes which they saw; but rather that all had beene extracted out of the Myne. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be out-faced, and gaue vp the Towne as lost, which the Enemy had no hope to winne by force. But *Philip* could not stay to settle himselfe in those parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too strong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haste back into Macedon, whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

§. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian warre, seeke matter of quarrell against Philip. The Athenians vpon slight cause, proclaime warre against Philip; moued thereto by Attalus; whom they slitter. Philip winnes diuers Townes: and makes peremptory answer to the Roman Ambassadors. The furious resolution of the Abydeni.

These Asiaticque matters, which no way concerned the Romans, yet serued well to make a noyse in Rome; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a desire of making warre in Macedon, at least with a conceit that it were expedient so to doe. The Roman Senate was perfectly informed of the state of those Eastern Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the Greeks, which lay between them and the Lordship of Asia. These Greeks were factious, and seldome or neuer at peace. As for the Macedonian, though length of time, and continuall dealings in Greece euer since the reignes of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference betweene him and the Naturalls; yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because he was originally forsooth a Barbarian: many of them hated him vpon ancient quarrels: and they that had beene most beholding vnto him, were neuertheless weary of him, by reason of his personall faults. All this gaue hope, that the affaires of Greece would not long detain the Roman Armies: especially since the diuisions of the Country were such, that every petty Estate was apt to take counsaile apart for it selfe, without much regarding the generality. But the poore Commonalty of Rome had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were already quite exhausted, by that grieuous war with *Hannibal*: where in they had giuen by Loane to the Republike, all their money: neither had they as yet receiued, neither did they receiue vntill fifteene or sixteene yeeres after this, their whole summe backe againe. That part of payment also which was already made, being not in present mony, but much of it in Land: it behoued them to rest a while; and bestow the

more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the lesse able to bestow cost. Wherefore they took no pleasure to heare, that *Attalus* and the Rhodians had sent Embassadours to sollicite them against *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in Asia: or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in Greece, had sent letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that solicited not onely the Townes vpon the Continent, but all the Islands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadours, as one that meant shortly to hold warre with the Romans vpon their owne ground. *Philip* had indeed no such intent: neither was he much too strong either of himself, or by his alliance in Greece, to be resisted by *Attalus* and the Rhodians, especially with the helpe of the *Ætolians* their good friends, (and in a manner) his owne protested enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if onely to predispose men vnto the warre, and giue it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrue by intermedling in the affaires of those that were more mighty than himselfe. He was too vnskillfull, or otherwise too vnapt, to retaine his old friends: yet would he needs be seeking new enemies. And hee found them such, as hee deserued to haue them: for he offered his helpe to their destruction, when they were in misery, and had done him no harme. It behooued him therefore, either to haue strained his forces to the vtmost in making warre vpon them; or in desisting from that iniurious course, to haue made amends for the wrongs so past, by doing friendly offices of his owne accord. But He, hauing broken that League of peace which is of all other the most naturall, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, vnlesse they thinke themselves iustly prouoked; was afterwards too fondly persuaded, that he might well be secure of the Romans, because of the written Covenants of peace betweene him and them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby such articles of peace can be held inuiolable, saue onely * *by the water of Styx*, that is, by *Necessitie*: which whilest it binds one partie, or both vnto performance, making it apparant, that he shall be a loser who starts from the Conditions; it may so long (and so long onely) be presumed, that there shall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquished, the Romans neuer hearkened after *Philip*: for necessity made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with Carthage, then was the Riuer of *Stryx* dyed vp: and then could they sweare as * *Mercurie* did in the Comedie, by their owne felues, euen by their good swords, that they had good reason to make warre vpon him. The Voyage of *Sepater* into Africke, and the present warre against *Attalus*, were matter of quarrell as much as needed: or if this were not enough, the Athenians helped to furnish them with more.

The Athenians, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territory, tooke state vpon them neuertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two yong Gentlemen of Acarnania entring into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of Initiation, (wherein were deliuered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous superstition, vainly said to bee auailable vnto felicitie after this life) discovered themselves by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparant, that they came into the place by meere error, not thinking to haue there in done amisse; yet, as it had beene for some haynous crime, they were put to death. All their Country-men at home took this in ill part; and fought to reuenge it as a publike iniurie, by warre vpon the Athenians. Procuring therefore of *Philip* some Macedonians to help them, they entred into Attica: who wasted it with fire and sword; and carried thence a great booty. This indignitie stirred vp the high-minded Athenians, and made them thinke vpon doing more, than they had ability to performe. All which at the present they could doe, was to send Embassadours to king *Attalus*, gratulating his happy successe against *Philip*, and intreating him to visit their Citie. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing; because he vnderstood that the Roman Embassadors, hauing about Greece for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to be there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers, with some of the Rhodians. Landing in the Piræus, he found the Romans there, with whom hee had much friendly conference: they reioycing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; & he being no lesse glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the war. The Athenians came out of their Citie, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their wiues and children; in as solemne a pompe as they could deuise, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the

* Sir Fr. Bacon de Sap. Veterum.

* Plant. Amphitr.

the Romans that were with him, in very louing manner: but towards *Attalus* himselfe they omitted no point of obsequance, which their flattery could suggest. At his first comming into the Citie they called the people to Assembly: where they desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them heare him speake. But he excused himselfe, saying, That with an euill grace he should recount vnto them those many benefits, by which hee studied to make them know what loue he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that hee should deliuer in writing, what he would haue to be propounded. He did so. The points of his Declaration were; first, what he had willingly done for their sake: then, what had lately passed betweene him and *Philip*; lastly, an exhortation vnto them, to declare themselves against the Macedonian, whilest he with the Rhodians, and the Romans, were willing & ready to take their part: which if they now refused to doe, he protested, that afterwards it would be vaine to craue his helpe. There needed little intreatie: for they were as willing to proclaim the warre, as he to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours: and obtained, That vnto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the Rhodians they also decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the Rhodians free Citizens of Athens.

Thus began a great noyse of warre, wherein little was left vnto the Romans for their part, *Attalus* and the Rhodians taking all vpon them. But while these were vainely mispending the time, in seeking to draw the *Ætolians* to their partie: that contrary to their old manner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* wonne the Townes of Maronea and *Aenus*, with many other strong places about the Hellespont. Likewise passing ouer the Hellespont, he laid siege vnto Abydus; and wonne it, though he was faine to stay there long. The towne held out, rather vpon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from *Attalus* and the Rhodians, than any great ability to defend it selfe against so mighty an Enemy. But the Rhodians sent thither onely one *Quadrirème* Gallie: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men; farre too weake an aide to make good the place. The Roman Embassadours wondred much at this great negligence, of them that had taken to much vpon them.

These Embassadours *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmilius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent vnto *Ptolomie Eusphanes* king of Egypt, to acquaint him with their victory against *Hannibal* and the Carthaginians, as also to thank him for his fauour vnto them shewed in that war; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against *Philip*. This Egyptian king was now in the third or fourth yeere of his Reigne, which (as his Father *Philopater* had done before him) he beganne a very yong boy. The courtesie for which the Romans were to thanke him, was, that out of Egypt they had lately beene supplied with Corne, in a time of Extreame Dearth; when the miseries of War had made all their own Prouinces vnable to relieue them. This message could not but be welcome to the Egyptian: since it was well knowne, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themselves against him, conspiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his Councell for him, should offer to supply the Romans with Corne: since this their Macedonian Expedition concerned his Estate no lesse than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementall: so had the Embassadours both leisure and direction from the Senate, to looke vnto the things of Greece by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmilius* the yongest of them should steppe aside, & visite *Philip*, to try if he could make him leaue the siege of Abydus; which else he was like to carry. *Æmilius*, comming to *Philip*, tels him, that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the Romans. For *Attalus* and the Rhodians, vpon whom he made warre, were Confederate with Rome: and the towne of Abydus, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependance vpon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the Rhodians had made warre vpon him: and that he did only requite them with the like. Doe you also (said *Æmilius*) requite these poore *Abydians* with such terrible warre, for any like Inuasion by them first made vpon you? The King was angry to heare himselfe thus taken short: and therefore hee roundly made answer to *Æmilius*; It is your youth, Sir, and your beautie, and (above all) your being a Roman, that maketh you thus presumptuous. But I would wish you

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to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keepe it, if ye doe otherwise, I will make ye understand, that the Kingdome, and Name of Macedon is in matter of Warre, no lesse noble than the Roman. So he dismissed the Embassador; and had the Towne immediately yeelded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to haue died euery one of them, and set their Towne on fire; binding themselves hereto by a fearefull oath, when Philip denied to accept them vpon reasonable Conditions. But hauing in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Gouvernours and Ancients of the Citie to change this resolution, and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Siluer to Philip: about which whilest they were busie, the memory of their oath wrought so effectually in the yonger sort; that, by exhortation of their Priests, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that He said, he would grant the *Abydeni* three dayes leisure to die: and to that end forbad his men to enter the town; or hazard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fooles.

§. IX.

The Romans decree warre against Philip, and send one of their Consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederates. How poore the Athenians were at this time both in quality and estate.

THis calamity of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the Romans vnto that of the Saguntines: which indeed it neerely resembled; though Rome was not alike interested in the quarrell. But to helpe themselves with pretence for the warre, they had found out another Saguntum, euen the Citie of Athens: which if the Macedonian should winne, then rested there no more to doe, than that hee should presently embarke himselfe for Italie; whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from Saguntum in five moneths, but in the short space of five dayes sayling. Thus *P. Sulpitius* the Consul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre vpon Philip; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alledged; to shew, what Philip, with the power of a greater kingdome, might dare to undertake: as also the fortunate Voyage of *Scipio* into Africk; to shew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Country. By such arguments was the Commonalty of Rome induced to beleue, that this war with the Macedonian was both iust and necessary. So it was decreed: and immediately the same Consul hastened away towards Macedon, hauing that Prouince allotted vnto him before, & all things in a readinesse, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motiues, than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were giuen to the Athenian Embassadors, of their constancie (as was said) in not changing their faith at such time as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not vpon the same occasion. For the people of Rome had no cause to thinke it a benefit vnto themselves, that any Greeke Town, refusing to sue vnto the Macedonian for peace, requested their helpe against him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Eastern parts, had reason to giue thanks vnto those, that ministred the occasion. Since therefore it was an vntrue suggestion, That Philip was making readie for Italy: and since neither *Attalus*, the Rhodians, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the Romans to giue them protection: these busie-headed Athenians, who falling out with the Acarnanians, and consequently with Philip, a matter of *May-game*, (as was shewed before) sent Embassadors into all parts of the World, euen to *Ptolemy* of Egypt, and to the Romans, as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbors; must be accepted as cause of the warre, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Neuertheless as it loues to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of *P. Sulpitius* the Consul were such, as might haue argued Athens to be the least part of his care. He failed not about Peloponnesus, but tooke the ready way to Macedon, and landing about the Riuer of Apfus, betweene Dyrrachium & Apollonia, there beganne the Warre. Soone vpon his comming, the Athenian Embassadors were with him, and craved his helpe: whereof they could make no benefit whilest hee was farre from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and intreated him to deliuer them.

them. For which cause he sent vnto them *C. Claudius* with twenty gallies, and a competent number of men: but the maine of his forces hee retained with him, for the prosecution of a greater designe. The Athenians were not indeed besieged: onely some Rauiers from Chalcis, in the Ile of Euboea, and some bands of aduenturers out of Corinth, vsed to take their shippes and spoyle their fields, because they had declared themselves against King Philip, that was Lord of these two townes. The robberies done by these Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than war-like Athenians, in this declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From such detriment the arriual of *Claudius*, and shortly after of three Rhodian Gallies, easily preserued them. As for the Athenians themselves, they that had been wont, in ancient times, to undertake the conquests of Egypt, Cyprus, and Cicil; to make war vpon the great Persian King, and to hold so much of Greece in subiection, as made them redoubtable vnto all the rest; had now no more than three shippes, and those open ones, not much better than long boates. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men, but stood as highly vpon the glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had been still their owne.

§. X.

The Towne of Chalcis in Euboea, taken and sacked by the Romans and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at Athens. Philip attempteth to take Athens by surprize: wasteth the Country about, and makes a iourney into Peloponnesus. Of Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedemon, and his wife. Philip offers to make warre against Nabis for the Achaeans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoyleth againe: and provides against the Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Diuers Princes ioyne with them. Great labouring to draw the *Aetolians* into the Warre.

Philip returning home from Abydus, heard newes of the Roman Consul his being about Apollonia. But ere he stirred forth to giue him entertainment, or perhaps before hee had well resolved, whether it were best a while to sit still, and trie what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Inuaders with all his forces: he receiued aduertisement from Chalcis of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the Athenians. For *C. Claudius* with his Romans, finding no such worke at Athens as they had expected, or was answerable to the fame that went abroad, purposed to doe somewhat that might quicken the warre, and make his owne employment better. Hee grew soone weary of sitting as a Scarre-crow, to saue the Athenians grounds from spoyle; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a businesse of more importance. The town of Chalcis was very negligently guarded by the Macedonian Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand; and more negligently by the Towne-men, who reposed themselves vpon their Garrison. Hereof *Claudius* hauing aduertisement, sailed thither by night, for feare of being descryed: and arriuing there a little before breake of day, tooke it by Scalado. Hee voyled no mercy, but slew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keepe it, (vnlesse he should haue left the heartlesse Athenians to their owne defence) Hee set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all provisions for Warre, which were plentifully filled. Neither were He and his Associates contented with the great abundance of spoyle which they carried about their shippes, & with inlarging all those, whom Philip, as in a place of most securitie, kept there imprisoned; but, to shew their despight and hatred vnto the King, they ouerthrew and brake in pieces the Statuaries to him there erected. This done, they hastened away towards Athens: where the newes of their exploit was like to be ioyfully welcomed. The king lay then at Demetrias about some twenty miles thence; whether when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedie the matter, yet he made all haile to take reuenge. He thought to haue taken the Athenians, with their trusty friends, busie at worke in ransacking the town, and loading themselves with spoyle: but they were gone before his comming. Five thousand light-armed foot hee had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leauing at Chalcis onely a few to bury the dead, Hee marched from thence away speedily toward Athens; thinking it not vnpossible to take his enemies, in the joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken Chalcis. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-post had stood Scout for the Citie vpon the borders, had not descryed him a farre off, and swiftly carried word of his approach.

to Athens. It was mid-night when this Post came thither: who found all the Towne asleepe, as fearelesse of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their Cittadell to sound the Alarme, and with all speede made ready for defence. Within a few houres *Philip* was there: who seeing the many lights, and other signes of busie preparation vsuall in such a case, vnderstood that they had newes of his coming; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucitie of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compass about by sea, and had no cause of haste) yet hauing in the towne some mercenary Souldiers, which they kept, of their owne, besides the great multitude of citizens; they aduentured to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The king was glad of this; reckoning all those his owne, that were thus hardie. Hee therefore onely willed his men to follow his example; and presently gaue charge vpon them. In that sight hee gaue singular prooffe of his valour: and beating downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, draue them with great slaughter backe into the citie. The heat of his courage transported him further, than discretion would haue allowed, euen to the very gate. But he retired without harme taking; for that they which were vpon the Towers ouer the gate, could not vse their casting weapons against him, without much indangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the city. There was a Temple of *Hercules*, a place of exercise, with a Groue, and many goodly Monuments besides, neere adioyning vnto Athens: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, euen vnto the sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the Romans, and some Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Aegina*; too late in regard of what was already past: but in good time to preuent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed from thence to *Corinth*, and hearing that the Achæans held a Parliament at *Argos*, Hee came thither to them vnto expected.

The Achæans were deuising vpon warre: which they intended to make against *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*: who being started vp in the room of *Machanidas*, did greater mischiefe than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly vpon his mercenaries: and of his subiects had no regard. He was a cruell oppressor; a greedy extortioner vpon those that liued vnder him; and one that in his naturall condition smelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Apege* was very fitly matched with him, since his dexteritie was no greater in spoiling the men, than hers in fleeing their wiuers, whom she would neuer suffer to bee at quiet, till they had presented her with all their *Jewels and apparell*. Her husband was so delighted with her propertie, that hee caused an Image to be made, liuely representing her; & apparelled it with such costly garments as she vsed to weare. But it was indeed an Engine, seruing to torment men. Heereof hee made vse, when he meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling vnto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous; hee would bring him into the roome where this Counterfait *Apege* stood, and there vse all his art of perswasion, to get what he desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speed, but was answered with excuses; then tooke he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apege* (who sat by in a Chaire) could perswade more effectually. So he ledde him to the Image, that rose vp and opened the armes; as it were for imbracement. Those armes were full of sharpe yron nayles, the like whereof was also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her clothes; and herewith she griped the poore wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his Gouvernement. In his dealings abroad hee combined with the *Ætoliens*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycargus* had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the Romans; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former warre. Of *Philopemenus* vertue he stood in feare; and therefore durst not prouoke the Achæans, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a furrer worse Captaine, was their Prætor; and all, or the greatest part of their Mercenaries were discharged; *Philopemenus* being also gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloued occupation of Warre; then did *Nabis* fall vpon their Territory; and wasting all the fields, made them distrust their own safety in the Townes.

Against

Against this Tyrant the Achæans were preparing for warre, when *Philip* came among them; and had set downe, what proportion of Souldiers euery Citie of their Corporation should furnish out. But *Philip* willed them, not to trouble themselves with the care of this businesse; forasmuch as he along would ease them of this warre, and take the burden vpon himselfe. With exceeding ioy and thanks they accepted of this kinde offer. But then he told them, That, whilst he made warre vpon *Lacedæmon*, He ought not to leaue his owne Townes vnguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased, to send a few men to *Corinth*, & some Companies into the Ile of *Eubœa*; that so he might securely pursue the warre against *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his deuice; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his warre against the Romans: Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliades* made him answer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was assembled. So passing the Decree, vpon which they had agreed before, for preparing warre against *Nabis*, he brake vp the Assembly, with euery mans good liking; whereas in former times, he had bene thought no better than one of the Kings Parasites.

It grieved the King to haue thus failed in his purpose with the Achæans. Neuertheless he gathered vp among them a few Voluntaries; and so returned by *Corinth* backe into *Attica*. There he met with *Philocles* one of his Captaines, that with two thousand men had bene doing what harme he might vnto the Countrey. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Castle of *Eleusine*, the Hauen of *Pyreus*, and euen the citie of *Athens*. But the Romans made such haste after him by Sea, thrusting themselves into euery of these places; that he could no more than wreake his anger vpon those goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time singularly beautified. So hee destroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty, of their owne; or, hauing long agoe bene masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choyce was found. Neither did he onely pull all downe: but caused his men to breake the very stones, that they might be vsuall to their reparation. His losse at *Chalcis* being thus reuenged vpon *Athens*, Hee went home into *Macedon*: & there made prouision, both against the Roman Consul that lay about *Apollonia*; and against the *Dardanians*, with other his bad neighbors, which were likely to infect him. Among his other cares he forgot not the *Ætoliens*: to whose Parliament, shortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he sent an Embassage, requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpicius the Roman Consul encamped vpon the Riuer of *Apfus*. Thence hee sent forth *Apusius*, his Lieutenant, with part of the Army, to waste the borders of *Macedon*: *Apusius* tooke sundry Castles and Townes; vsing such extremity of sword and fire at *Antipatria*, the first good Towne which he wonne by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, vntill they knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the Consul with his spoyle, he was charged in *Rere*, vpon the passage of a brooke, by *Ashe-nagoras* a Macedonian captaine: but the Romans had the better, & killing many of these enemies, tooke prisoners many more, to the increase of their booty, with which they arrived in safety at their camp. The successe of this Expedition, though it were not great, yet serued to draw into the Roman friendship, those that had formerly no good inclination to the Macedonian. These were *Pleuratus*, the son of *Serdilaidas* the Illyrian; *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians*, and *Bato* the sonne of *Longarus*, a Prince of the *Dardanians*. They offered their assistance vnto the Consul, who thanked them: and said, That he would shortly make vse of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when hee entred into *Macedon*: but that the friendship of *Aminander*, whose Countrey lay betweene the *Ætoliens* and *Thessalie*, might be perhaps auailable with the *Ætoliens*, to stirre them vp against *Philip*.

So the present care was wholly set vpon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embassadors from the Macedonian, Romans, & Athenians. Of which, the Macedonian spake first, and said: That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of peace betweene his master and the *Ætoliens*: so was it to be hoped, that they would not suffer themselves, without good cause, to be caried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to consider, how the Romans heretofore had made shew, as if their warre in Greece tended only to the defence of the *Ætoliens*, and yet notwithstanding had been angry, that the *Ætoliens*, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer

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need

need of such their Patronage. What might it be that made them so buſie, in obſcuring their protection vpon thoſe that needed it not? Surely it was euen the generall hatred, which theſe Barbarians bore vnto the Greeks. For euen after the ſame ſort had they lent their help to the Mamertines; and afterwards deliuered Syracuſe, when it was oppreſſed by Carthaginian tyrants, but now both Syracuſe & Meſſana, were ſubiect vnto the Rods and Axes of the Romans. To the ſame effect he alledged many examples; adding, That in like ſort it would happen to the Aitolians: who if they drew ſuch maſters into Greece, muſt not looke hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to conſult about Warre and Peace: the Romans would caſe them of this care, & ſend them ſuch a Moderator, as went euery yeere from Rome to Syracuſe. Wherefore he concluded, that it was beſt for them, whileſt as yet they might, and whiſt one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, vpon light occaſion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three yeers agoe made the peace which ſtill continued; although that the very ſame Romans be euen againſt it, who fought to breake it now. It would haue troubled the Romans, to frame a good anſwer to theſe obiections. For the Macedonian had ſpoken the very truth, in ſhewing whereunto this their Patronage, which they offered with ſuch importunitie, did tend. Wherefore the Athenians were ſet on by them to ſpeake next: who had ſtore of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. Theſe affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the Macedonian Embaſſadour, to cal the Romans by the name of Barbarians: knowing in what barbarous manner his owne king had, in few daies paſt, made Warre vpon the gods themſelues, by deſtroying all their Temples in Attica. Herewithall they made a pittifull rehearſall of their owne calamities: and ſaid, that if *Philip* might haue his will, Aitolians, and all the reſt of Greece, ſhould feele the ſame that Attica had felt; yea that Athens it ſelfe, together with *Atimeneſa*, *Iupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were liketo haue felt, if the walles and the Roman armes had not defended them.

Then spake the Romans: who excusing, as well as they could, their owne oppression of all those, in whose defence they had heretofore taken Armes, went roundly to the point, in hand. They said, that they had of late made Warre in the *Ætoli*ans behalfe, and that the *Ætoli*ans had without their consent made peace: whereof since the *Ætoli*ans must excuse themselves, by alledging that the Romans, being busied with Carthage, wanted leisure to give them aide convenient: so this excuse being now taken away, and the Romans wholly bent against their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætoli*ans to take part with them in their war and victory, vnlesse they had rather perish with *Philip*.

It might easily be perceived, that they which were so vehement, in offering their help ere it was desired, were themselves carried vnto the warre by more earnest motives, than a simple desire to helpe those friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may haue bene the cause, why *Dorymachus* the Aetolian Prator shifted them off a while with a dilatorie answer: though he told his Country-men, That by referring themselves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer was, first, in generall termes; That ouer-much haste was an enemy to good counsaile: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming neerer to the matter in hand, Hee passed a Decree, That the Prator might at anytime call an Assembly of the States, and therein conclude upon this business; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding: whereas otherwise it was unlawfull to treat of such affaires, excepting two of their great Parliaments, that were holden at set times.

6. XI.

The meeting of Philip with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders: The Aetolians invade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of Attalus and the Roman fleet.

Philip was glad to heare, that the Romans had sped no better in their sollicitation of the Aetolians. Hee thought them heereby disappointed in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himselfe to disappoint them of another. His sonne *Persens*, a very boy, was sent to keepe the Streights of Pelagonia against the Dardanians;

Dardanians; hauing with him some of the Kings Councell, to gouerne both him and his Army. It was iudged, as may seeme, that the presence of the Kings sonne, how yong-fower, would both encourage his followers, and terrifie the enemies, by making them at least beleecue, that hee was not weakely attended. And this may haue bene the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few yeeres before this, was in like manner left vpon the borders of *Æolia* by his father, whom earnest businesse called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the Macedonian Fleet vnder *Heracleides*, would serue to keepe *Attalus*, with the Rhodians and Romans, from doing harme by Sea, when the Kings backe was turned; whotooke his iourney Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

10 The Armies met in the Countrey of the *Deffaretij*, a people in the vtmost borders of Macedon towards Illyria, about the mountaines of Candavia; that running along from Hæmus in the North vntill they ioynē in the South with Pindus, inclose the Westerne parts of Macedon. Two or three dayes they lay in fight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Consul was the first that issued forth of his Campe into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which hee had then about him; and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed Mercenaries, and some part of his horse, to entertaine them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the Romans, and driuen backe into their Campe. Now although it was so that the king was vnwilling to hazzard all at first vpon a Cast, and therefore sent for *Fer-*
10 *seus* with his Companies, to increasē his owne forces: yet being no lesse vnwilling to losē too much in reputation; He made shew a day after, as if he would haue fought. Hee had found the aduantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein hee bestowed as many as hee thought meet of his Targettiers: and so gaue charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains to prouoke out the Romans to fight, instructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behaue themselves respectiue, as oportunitie should fall out. The Romans had no mistrust of any ambush, hauing fought vpon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might haue sustained some notable detriment, if the kings directions had bene well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall backe, they charged him so hotly, that they draue him to an hasty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not staying to let them runne into the danger, dis-
30 couered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Consul hereby gathered, that the king had some desire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which he therfore presented the second time; leading forth his Army, and setting it in order, with Elephants in the front: a kinde of help which the Romans had neuer vsed before, but had taken these of late from the Carthaginians. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce about fourescore yeeres ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of Greece into Italy, to asslight the Romans, who had neuer scene any of those beasts before. But now the same Romans (whilest possibly some were yet aliue, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) come into Macedon, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the Macedonians and Greeks haue none. *Philip* had
40 patience to let the Consul braue him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely: for the Roman had greater need to fight, than hee. *Sulpicius* was vnwilling to losē time: neither could he, without great danger, lying so neere the Enemy, that was strong in Horse, send his men to fetch in corne out of the fields. Wherefore he remoued eight miles off: presuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on euē ground; and so the more boldly hee suffered his Forragers to ouer-runne the Countrey. The king was nothing sorry of this; but permitted the Romans to take their good pleasure: euē till their presumption, and his owne supposed feare, should make them carelesse. When this was come to passe, hee tooke all his horse, and light-armed foot, with which hee occupied
50 a place in the mid-way, betweene the Forragers and their Campe. There hee stayed in Couert with part of his forces; to keepe the passages that none should escape. The rest he sent abroad the Countrey, to fall vpon the straglers: willing them to put all to the sword, and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The slaughter was great: and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scowre the fields, lighted all or most of them vpon the king and his companies in their flight: so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Campe had newes of this. But in the end there escaped some: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went:

went: yet by telling what had happened to themselves, raised a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon sends forth all his horse, and bids them helpe their fellowes where they saw it needfull: He himselfe with the Legions followed. The companies of Horse diuided themselves, accordingly as they met with aduertisements vpon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted vpon *Philips* Troupes, that were canuassing the field, tooke their raske where they found it: But the maine bulke of them fell vpon the King himselfe. They had the disaduantage, as coming fewer, and vnprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away: as their fellowes also might haue bene, if the King had well bethought himselfe, and giuen ouer in time. But while, not contented with such an haruest, he was too greedily about a poore gleaning: the Roman Legions appeared in sight: which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparant, enforced the Macedonians to looke to their owne safetie. They ran which way they could: and (as men that lie in waite for others, are seldom heedfull of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemy, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in *Mari-thes* and *Bogges*, wherein many of them were lost. The Kings horse was slaine vnder him: and there had hee bene cast away, if a louing subject of his had not alighted; mounted him vpon his owne horse; and deliuered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foot was ouertaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improuident rashnes; and the Consul, with as much dulnesse, for his dayes seruice. A little longer stay would haue deliuered the king from these enemies without any blow: since when all the fields about them were wasted, they must needs haue retired backe to the Sea. On the other side, it was not thought vnlikely, That if the Romans following the king, had set vpon his Campe, at such time as hee fled thither, halfe amazed with feare of being either slaine or taken, they might haue wonne it. But that Noble Historian, *Linie*, (as is commonly his manner) hath iudiciously obserued, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this dayes worke. For the maine body of the Kings Armie lay safe in his Campe; and could not be so astonished with the losse of two or three hundred Horse, that it should therefore haue abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himselfe, he was aduertised, that *Pleuratus* the Illyrian, and the Dardanians, were fallen vpon his Countrey; when they found the passage thereinto open, after *Persus* was called away from custody of the Streights. This was it which made him aduenture to doe somewhat betimes; that he might set the Romans going the sooner, and afterwards looke vnto his troublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, *Philip* was desirous to cleere himselfe of the Romans, as soone as he might. And to that purpose hee sent vnto the Consul; requesting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But in stead of so doing, he marched away by night, and left fires in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not slow to follow him. He ouertook the Macedonians in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the Macedonian Phalanx was of little vse; being a square battell of pikes, not fit for euery ground. The Archers of Crete were iudged, and were indeed, more seruiceable in that case. But they were few; and their arrows were of small force against the Roman shields. The Macedonians therefore helped them by slingeing of stones. But to no purpose. For the Romans got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (such as it was) layd open vnto the Consull some poore Townes thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yeelded for feare. But the spoyle of these, and of the fields adioyning, was not sufficient to maintaine his Army; and therefore he returned backe to *Apollonia*.

The Dardanians, hearing that *Philip* was come backe, withdrew themselves apace out of the Countrey. The King sent *Athenagoras* to waite vpon them home; whilest he himselfe went against the *Ætoliens*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Ætoliens*, who had refused himselfe and his Nation vnto the cunct of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once & againe: as also that *Pleuratus* & the Dardanians were fallen vpon Macedonia; grew no lesse busie on the sudden, than before he had bene wife. He perswaded his Nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaime warre, ioyned his forces with *Aminander* the Athamanian; and made inuasion vpon Thessaly. They tooke and

cruelly

cruelly sacked a few Townes: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might doe what they listed. But *Philip* came vpon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay disperfed, was like to haue taken their Camp; if *Aminander*, more warie than the *Ætoliens*, had not helped at need, and made the Retreat through his owne mountainous Countrey.

About the same time; the Roman Fleet, assisted by *Assalus* and the Rhodians, had taken some small Islands in the *Ægean* Sea. They tooke likewise the Towne of *Oreum* in the Isle of *Eubœa*; and some other places thereabout. The Townes were giuen vnto *Assalus*, after the same Compact that had formerly bene made with the *Ætoliens*: the goods therein found were giuen vnto the Romans; and the people, for slaues. Other attempts on that side were hindred; either by foule weather at Sea; or by want of daring, and of meanes.

S. XII.

Villius the Roman Consul wastes a yeere to no effect. warre of the Gaules in Italy. An Embassy of the Romans to Carthage, Masaniissa, and Vermina. The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdome: and T. Quintius Flaminius is sent against him.

Thus the time ranne away: and *P. Villius* a new Consul, tooke charge of the warre in Macedonia. He was troubled with a Mutinie of his oldest Souldiers: whereof two thousand; hauing serued long in Sicil and Africk, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not bee suffered to looke vnto their owne estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had serued at *Cannæ*: as may seeme by their complaint, of hauing bene long absent from Italy; whither faine they would haue returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for Macedonia. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is vncertaine. For the History of his yeere is lost: whereof the misse is not great, since he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antias*, as we finde in *Linie*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit against *Philip*. Yet since *Linie* himselfe, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could finde no such thing recorded in any good Author; we may reasonably beleuee, that *Villius* his yeere was idle.

In the beginning of this Macedonian War, the Romans found more trouble than could haue bene expected with the Gaules. Their Colonie of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong Towne, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had bene able to force; was taken by these Barbarians, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort *Cremona* was attempted; but saved her selfe, taking warning by her neighbours calamitie. *Amilcar* a Carthaginian, that staid behinde *Asdrubal*, or *Mago*, in those parts; was now become Captaine of the Gaules, in these their enterprises. This when the Romans heard, they sent Embassadors to the Carthaginians: giuing them to vnderstand, That, if they were not wearie of the peace, it behooued them to call home, and deliuer vp, this their Citizen *Amilcar*, who made war in Italy. Hereunto it was added (perhaps lest the message might seeme otherwise to haue sauoured a little of some feare) That of the Fugitiue Slaues belonging to the Romans, there were some reported to walke vp and downe in Carthage: which if it were so, then ought they to be restored back to their Masters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadors that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Masaniissa*, as also with *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*. Vnto *Masaniissa*, besides matter of complement, they were to signifie what pleasure Hee might doe them, by lending them some of his Numidian Horse, to serue in their Warre against the Macedonian. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe vnto him the name of King: and promised thereafter to deserue it, by his readinesse in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter: and said, That hauing bene, and being still (as they tooke it) their Enemy, He ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they vsed not to conferre vpon any, saue onely vpon such as had royally deserued it at their hands. The authoritie to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto these Embassadors, vpon such termes as they should thinke fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The Carthaginians made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banishing him, and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitiues: they had restored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requisite;

requisite, giue satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they sent a great proportion of Corn to Rome; and the like vnto the Armie that was in Macedon. King *Masanissa* would haue lent vnto the Romans two thousand of his Numidian Horse: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embassadors, to giue them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdome; and without any disputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the Romans buied in taking order for their Macedonian Warre, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his Gaules: they laid siege vnto Cremona; where *L. Furius* a Roman Prætor came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. *Amilcar* the Carthaginian died in this battaile: and the fruit of the victorie was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwards should haue the managing of warre among those Gaules. So was there good leisure to thinke vpon the businesse of Macedon: where *Philip* was carefully prouiding to giue contentment vnto his Subiects, by punishing a bad Counsaillour whom they hated; as also to assure vnto himselfe the Achæans, by rendring vnto them some Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exercising and trayning his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of Epirus. This was in doing, when *Villius*, hauing vnprofitably laboured to finde way into Macedon, taking a iourney (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came aduertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Consul, and had Macedon allotted him for his Prouince; whose coming was expected; and he very shortly arriued at the Armie.

§. XIII.

The Romans begin to make warre by negotiation. T. Quintius winnes a passage against Philip. Thessaly wrested by Philip, the Romans, and Etolians. The Achæans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treatie of peace, that was vaine. Philip deliues Argos to Nabis the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.

THe Romans had not bene wont in former times, to make Warre after such a trifling manner. It was their vse, to giue battaile to the Enemy, as soone as they met with him. If he refused it, they besieged his Townes: and so forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborne it (as it would be interpreted) vpon knowledge of his owne weaknesse. But in this their Warre with *Philip*, they began to learne of the subtle Greekes, the art of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not growne so fine, as within a little while they proued. Their Treasury was poore, and stood indebted,* many yeeres after this, vnto priuat men, for part of those moneys that had bene borrowed in the second Punicke Warre. This had made the Commonaltie auerse from the Macedonian warre; and had thereby driuen the Senators, greedily of the enterprize, to make vse of their cunning. Yet being weary of the slow pace wherewith their businesse went forward, they determined to increase their Armie, that they might haue the lesse need to relie vpon their Confederates. So they leuied eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the Latines) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Consul into Macedon. Their Nauie, and other meanes could well haue serued, for the setting forth and transportation of a greater Armie: but by straining themselues to the most of their ability, they should (besides other difficulties incident vnto the sustenance of those that are too many and too farre from home) haue bred some iealousie in their friends of Greece, and thereby haue lost some friends, yea, perhaps haue increased the number of their enemies more than of their owne Souldiers. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite; for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himselfe vnto them, by his Embassadors; requesting that either they would vndertake the defence of his Kingdome against *Antiochus*, who invaded it; or else that they would not take it vn-courteously, that hee quitted the Warre with *Philip*, and returned home, to looke vnto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarquable. They said, That it was not their manner to vse the ayde of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunitie, and could also bee well contented to afford it; That

That they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend though he were, against *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deale with *Antiochus* by Embassadors, and (as common friends vnto both of the Kings) doe their best to perswade an attonement betwene them. In such louing fashion did they now carry themselues, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the kingdome of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded these termes of friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very soone appeare.

T. Quintius hasting away from Rome, came betimes into his Prouince, with the supply decreed vnto him; which consisted, for the most part, of old Souldiers, that had serued in Spaine and Africk. He found *Villius* the old Consul, (whom at his coming hee presently discharged) & king *Philip* of Macedon, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of Epirus; by the riuer of Apsus or Aous. It was manifest, that either the Romans must fetch a compasse about, and seek their way into Macedon, through the poore Countrey of the Dassaretians; or else winne, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two yeeres together mis-spent their time, and bene forced to retorne backe without profit, for want of victuals: whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor finde it on the way. But if they could once get ouer these Mountaines, which diuided the South of Epirus from Thessaly, then should they enter into a plentifull Countrey; and, which by long dependance on the Macedonian, was become (in a maner) part of his kingdome, whereof it made the South border. Neuerthelesse, the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the Riuer of Apsus, running along through that valley which alone was open betwene the Mountaines, made it all a deep Marish and vnpassable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* assayed to climbe in the Mountaines: but finding himselfe disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemy, who neglected not the guard of them that was very easie; he was compelled to sit stil, without doing any thing for the space of forty daies.

This long time of rest gaue hope vnto *Philip*, that the war might bee ended by composition, vpon some reasonable termes. He therefore so dealt with some of the Epirots, (among whom hee had many friends) that hee and the Consul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Consul would haue him to set all Townes of Greece at libertie; and to make amends for the iniuries, which he had done to many people in his late warres. *Philip* was contented to giue libertie to those whom hee had subdued of late: but vnto such, as had bene long subiect vnto him and his Ancestors, hee thought it against all reason, that hee should relinquish his clayme and dominion ouer them. He also said, That as farre forth as it should appeare that hee had done wrong vnto any Towne or people whatsoever, hee could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seeme conuenient in the iudgement of some free State, that had not bene interested in those quarrells. But herewithall *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no iudgement or compromise; forasmuch as it was apparant, that *Philip* had alwaies been the Inuader; and had not made warre, as one prouoked, in his owne defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars: and when the Consul was required to name those Towns, that he would haue to be set at libertie; the first that he named were the Thessalians: These had bene subiects (though conditionally) vnto the Macedonian Kings, euer since the daies of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as soone as *Flaminius* had named the Thessalians, the king in a rage demanded what sharper condition hee would haue laid vpon him, had hee bene but vanquished. And herewithall abruptly hee flang away; refusing to heare any more of such discourse.

After this the Consul stroue in vaine two or three dayes together, to haue preuailed against the difficulties of that passage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himselfe, and could not resolue what course to take: there came to him an Heards-man sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the Epirots that fauoured the Romans, who hauing long kept beasts in those Mountaines; was thoroughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore vndertooke to guide the Romans, without any danger, to a place where they should haue aduantage of the Enemy. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was fast bound:

bound : and being promised a great reward, in case hee made good his word, had such Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They traualled by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and rested in the day-time, for feare of being discouered. When they had recouered the hill-tops, and were about the Macedonians, (though vndiscouered by them, because at their backs) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gaue notice of their successe vnto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilest these were on their iourney, *T. Quintius* had held with the Macedonian; thereby to auert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained vnto the place whither they were sent, hee pressed as neere as he could vnto the Enemies Campe, and assailed them in their strength. He preuailed as little as in former times, vntill the shoutings of those that ran downe the hill, and charged *Philip* on the backe, astonished so the Macedonians, that they betooke themselves to flight. The King, vpon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to saue himselfe. Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the Romans from pursuing him : hee made a stand at the end of fiew miles, and gathered there together his broken troups, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest losse was of his Campe and prouisions : if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the Macedonians began to stand in feare, lest being driuen from a place of such aduantage, they should hardly make good their party against the Enemy, vpon equall ground. Neither was *Philip* himselfe much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the Thessalians, as many of them as in his hastie retreat hee could visit, to forsake their Townes and Countrie, carying away with them as much as they were able, and spoyling all the rest. But all of them could not be perswaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their king) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better doe, for that he could not stay to vse any great compulsion. He also himselfe tooke it very grieuously, that he was driuen to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitfull Countrie, which had euer been well affected vnto him : so that a little hinderance did serue, to make him breake off his purpose, and withdraw himselfe home into his kingdome of Macedon.

The *Ætolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were euen in a readinesse to invade Thessaly; whereinto the wayes lay more open, out of their severall Countries. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the Romans : they foreslowed not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold vpon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while : but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their haruest, could not finde enough to maintaine his Army. Thus were the poore Thessalians, of whose liberty the Romans a few dayes since had made shew to be very desirous, wasted by the same Romans and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turne themselves, or whom to auoyde. *T. Quintius* wonne Phaleria by assault : Metropolis and Piera yeelded vnto him. Rhage⁴⁹ he besieged : and hauing made a faire breach, yet was vnable to force it; so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a Macedonian garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, hauing somewhat recollected his spirits, honored about Tempe with his Army, thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, hauing well-neere spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to preuaile at Rhage; brake vp his siege, and departed out of Thessaly. He had appointed his ships of burden to meete him at Anticyra, an Italian Towne of Phocis, on the Gulph of Corinth : which Country being friend to the Macedonian, he presently invaded; not so much for hatred vnto the people, as because it lay conueniently seated between Thessaly and other regions, wherein he had businesse, or was shortly like to haue. Many Townes in Phocis he wonne by assault : many were yeelded vp vnto him for feare; and within short space hee had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the meane time *L. Quintius* the Consuls brother, being then Admirall for the Romans in this warre, ioyned with King *Attalus* and the Rhodian Fleet. They wonne two Cities in Eubrea; and afterward laid siege vnto Cenchree, an Haven and Arcenall of the Corinthians on their Easterne Sea. This enterprize did somewhat helpe forward the Achæans, in their desire to leaue the part of *Philip* : since it might come to passe, that Corinth it selfe, ere long time were spent; & that Cenchree, with other places appertaining

to Corinth, now very shortly should be readred vnto their Nation, by fauour of the Romans.

But there were other Motiues, inducing the Achæans to preferre the friendship of the Romans, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had beene long accustomed. For this King had so many wayes offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best course to rid their hands of him; whilest being intangled in a dangerous warre, hee wanted meanes to hinder the execution of such counsaile, as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practices to make himselfe their absolute Lord : His poysoning of *Aratus* their old Gouvernour : His false dealing with the Messenians, Epirots, and other people their Confederates, and his owne dependants : together with many particular outrages by him committed; had caused them long since to hold him as a *necessarie euill*, euen whilest they were vnable to be without his assistance. But since by the vertue of *Philopemen*, they were growne somewhat confident in their owne strength, so as without the Macedonians helpe they could as well subsist, as hauing him to friend : then did they only thinke how euill he was; and thereupon reioyce the more, in that hee was become no longer necessary. It angered him to perceiue how they stood affected : and therefore hee sent murderers, to take away the life of *Philopemen*. But failing in this enterprise; and being detected, hee did thereby only set fire to the Wood, which was thoroughly drie before, and prepared to burne. *Philopemen* wrought so with the Achæans, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the Macedonian. *Cycliades*, a principall man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for shewing himselfe passionate in the cause of *Philip*; and *Aristarchus* chosen Prætor, who laboured to ioyne them in societie with the Romans.

These newes were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embassadors were sent from the Romans, and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the Rhodians, and Athenians, to treat with the Achæans, making promise, that they should haue Corinth restored vnto them, if they would forsake the Macedonian. A Parliament of the Achæans was held at Sycion, to deliberate and resolute in this weightie case. Therein the Romans and their adherents desired the Achæans, to ioyne with them in making warre vpon *Philip*. Contrariwise, the Embassadors of *Philip*, whom hee had also sent for this busines, admonishing the Achæans of their Alliance with the king, & of their faith due vnto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate request of *Philips* Embassador, did no way aduance his Masters cause. Rather it gaue the Achæans to vnderstand, That hee, who could bee satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himselfe vnable to gratifie them in any reciprocall demand. Yet were there many in that great Councell, who remembring the benefites of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sense of late iniuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future; preuailed against the memorie of those old good turnes, which hee, (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly sold vnto them, and partly had vsed as baits, whereby to allure them into absolute subiection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance; That the Romans were strong, and likely to preuaile in the end. So after much altercation, the Decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the Macedonian, and take part with his enemies in this warre. With *Attalus* and the Rhodians, they forthwith entred into societie : with the Romans (because no League would bee of force, vntill the Senate and people had approoued it) they forbore to decree any societie at the present, vntill the returne of those Embassadors from Rome, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The Megalopolitans, Dymeans, and Argiues, hauing done their best for the Macedonian, as by many respects they were bound; rose vp out of the Councell, and departed before the passing of the Decree, which they could not resist, nor yet with honesty thereto giue assent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the Argiues had so little thanke, that all the rest of the Achæans may be the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soone after this, vpon a solemne day at Argos, the affection of the Citizens discomredit selfe so plainly, in the behalfe of *Philip*, that they which were his Partisans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Citie into his hands, if they might haue any small assistance. *Philoctes*, a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in Corinth, which hee had manfully defended against the Romans and *Attalus*. Him the Conspirators drew to

Argos; whither coming on a sudden, and finding the Multitude ready to follow him, He easily compelled the Achaean Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of Argos, together with the good defence of Corinth and some other Townes, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation; so they gave him hope to obtaine some good end by Treatie, windest as yet with his honour he might seeke it; and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Consul would shortly be chosen, who should take the worke out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. *Titus* had the like respect vnto himselfe; and therefore thought best, since more could not be done, to pre-dispose things vnto a Conclusion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the Bay then called the Malian, or Larian Bay, now (as is supposed) the *Gulfe of Saron*, in the Aegean Sea, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus*, with *Aminander* the Athamian; an Ambassador of *Attalus*, the Admirall of Rhodes, and some Agents for the Aetolians and Achaeans. *Philip* had with him some few of his own Captaines, and *Cycladius*, lately banished for his sake out of Achaia. Here refused to come on shore: though fearing (as he said) none but the immortal Gods; yet misdoubting some treacherie in the Aetolians. The demands of *Titus* in behalfe of the Romans, were, That he should set all Cities of Greece at libertie; deliuer vp to the Romans and their Confederates, all prisoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewise whatsoeuer he held of theirs in Illyria; and whatsoeuer about Greece or Asia he had gotten from *Ptolemie* then King of Egypt, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded restitution to be made, entire of Ships, Townes, and Temples, by him taken and spoyled in the late warre betweene them: The Rhodians would haue againe the Countrie of *Peraz*, lying ouer against their Iland, as also that he should withdraw his Garrisons, out of diuers Townes about the Hellespont, and other Hauens of their friends. The Achaeans desired restitution of Argos and Corinth: about the one of which they might, not vniustly, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their consents. The Aetolians took vpon them angrily, as Patrons of Greece: willing him to depart out of it, euen out of the whole Countrie, leauing it free; and withall to deliuer vp vnto them, whatsoeuer he held that had at any time bene theirs. Neither would they herewithall content; but insolently declaimed against him, for that which he had lately done in Thessaly; corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the Victors, by bestowing, when hee was vanquished, those Townes which else they might haue gotten. To answer these malapert Aetolians, *Philip* commanded his Gallies to be rowed neerer the shore. But they began to plie him afresh: telling him, that hee must obey his betters, vnlesse hee were able to defend himselfe by force of Armes. He answered them, (as he was much giuen to gybing) with sundry scoffes; and especially with one, which made the Roman Consul vnderstand, what manner of companions these Aetolians were. For hee said, That he had often dealt with them; as likewise the best of the Greeks; desiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which permitted them to take spoyle from spoyle: yet could he get no better an answer, than that they would sooner take *Aetolia* out of *Aetolia*. *Titus* wondered what might be the meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custome, as often as warre happened betweene their friends, to hold vp the quarrell by sending voluntaries to serue on both sides; that should spoyle both the one and the other. As for the libertie of Greece, He said it was strange that the Aetolians should bee so carefull thereof, since diuers Tribes of their owne, which hee there named, were indeed no Grecians: wherefore hee would faine know, whether the Romans would giue him leaue to make slaues of those Aetolians, which were no Greeks. *Titus* hereat smiled, and was no whit offended, to heare the Aetolians well railed vp; touching whom hee began to vnderstand, how odious they were in all the Countrie. As for that generall demand of setting all Greece at libertie, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well become the greatnesse of the Romans; though hee would also consider, what might be seeme his owne dignitie. But that the Aetolians, Rhodians, and other pettie Estâtes, should thus presume, vnder countenance of the Romans, to take vpon them, as if by their great might hee should be thereunto compelled: it was, hee said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The Achaeans hee charged with much ingratitude; receiving against them some Decrees of their owne, wherein they had laden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honours. Neuerthelesse he said, that he would render Argos vnto them; but, as touching Corinth, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himselfe.

Thus

Thus he addressed himselfe wholly to the Roman Generall, vnto whom if he could giue satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With *Attalus* and the Rhodians, his late war, (hee said) was onely defensue; they hauing bene the offerers; or if he gaue them any occasion, it was onely in helping *Prusias*, his sonne-in-law; neither did he see why they should rather seeke amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that, spoyling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut downe the Grove, and pleasant walks thereabouts: what could he doe more, than send Gardners thither with young plants; if one King of another would stand to aske such recompence? Thus he iested the matter out; but offered neuerthelesse, in honour of the Romans, to giue back the Region of *Peraz* to the Rhodians; as likewise to *Attalus*, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that dayes conference, because it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leisure to thinke vpon the Articles, which were many, and hee ill provided of Counsaile, wherewith to aduise about them. For your being so ill provided of Counsaile, said *Titus*, you may euen thanke your selfe; as hauing murdered all your friends, that were wont to aduise you faithfully. The next day *Philip* came not, vntill it was late at night; excusing his long stay by the weightinesse of the things propounded, whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolue. But it was beleueed, that hee thereby sought to abridge the Aetolians of leisure to raile at him. And this was the more likely, for that he desired conference in priuate with the Roman Generall. The summe of his discourse, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would giue the Achaeans both Argos and Corinth; as also that he would render vnto *Attalus* and the Rhodians, what he had promised the day before; likewise to the Aetolians, that hee would grant some part of their demands; and to the Romans, whatsoeuer they did challenge. This when *Titus* his associates heard, they exclaimed against it, saying, That if the king were suffered to retaine any thing in Greece, he would shortly get possession of all which he now rendred vp. The noise that they made came to *Philips* eare: who thereupon desired a third day of meeting; and protested, that if he could not perswade them, he would suffer himselfe to be perswaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the king intreated them all, that they would with sincere affection hearken vnto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of those Conditions, which he had already tendred; or otherwise, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send Embassadors to Rome, where he would referre himselfe to the courtesie of the Senate.

This was euen as *Quintus* would haue it: who stood in doubt, lest a new Consull might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the warre. So he easily preuailed with the rest, to assent hereunto: forasmuch as it was Winter, a time vnfit for seruice in the warre; and since, without authoritie of the Senate, he should be vnable to proceed resolutely either in warre or peace. Further hee willed them to send their severall Embassadors to Rome, which intimating vnto the Senate, what each of them required, should easily hinder *Philip*, from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the rest he perswaded King *Aminander*, to make a journey to Rome in person: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadors, would serue to make his owne actions more glorious in the Citie. All this tended to procure, that his own Command of the Armie in Greece might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at Rome: who had already (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authoritie, partly by good reasons which they alleaged vnto the Senate.

The Embassadour of the Greekes, when they had audience at Rome, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more desirous of victorie, than of satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the Romans, in vnder-taking to set Greece at libertie. But this (they said) could neuer be effected, vnlesse especiall care were taken, that the King should be dispossessed of Corinth, Chalcis, & Demetrias. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Countrey, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in seruilitie, that the Senate agreed to haue it euen so as they desired. When therfore the Embassadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to haue made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the midst of their Preface, with this one demand: whether their Master would yeeld up Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. Hereto they made answer, That concerning those places, the

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King

King had giuen them no direction or Commission what to say, or doe. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* desire of peace; wherein they said hee did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embassadors haue truly said, That neither the Aetolians, Achæans, nor any of their fellows, had in the late Treaty required by name, that Chalcis & Demetrias should be yeelded vp. For which of them indeed could make any claime to either of these Townes? As for Coriath, whereto the Achæans had some right; (though their right were no better, than that, hauing stolne it from One Macedonian King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargain vnto an Other.) *Philip* had already condescended to giue it backe vnto them. And this perhaps would haue bene alleged, euen against the Greekes, in excuse of the King, by some of *T. Quintus* his friends; that so he might haue had the honour to conclude the warre, if a successeur had bene decreed vnto him. But since he was appointed to continue Generall: neither his friends at Rome, nor he himselfe, after the returne of the Embassadors into Greece, cared to giue care vnto any talke of peace.

Philip, seeing that his Achæans had forsaken him, and ioyned with their common Enemies; thought euen to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling himselfe vnto *Nabis*, whom they hated most. There were not many yeeres past, since the Lacedæmonians vnder *Cleomenes*, with little other helpe than their owne strength, had bene almost strong enough both for the Macedonians & Achæans together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force consisted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though stiling himselfe King. Yet he sorely vexed the Achæans: and therefore seemed to *Philip* one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be wonne. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Towne of Argos, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be consigned ouer into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serue to tye him fast vnto the Macedonian. *Philocles* the kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deale with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a straight alliance with the Lacedæmonian, by giuing some daughters of his owne in marriage vnto *Nabis* his sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some scruple in accepting the Towne of Argos; vntill by decree of the Citizens themselves he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philocles* dealt with the Argiues: but found them so averse, that, in open assembly of the people, they detested the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought hee had thereby a good occasion to robbe and fleece them. So hee willed *Philocles*, without more adoe, to make ouer the Towne which he was ready to receiue. *Philocles* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by night; and gaue him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the Argiues: who for very loue had forsaken the Achæans, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himselfe Master of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, vnderstanding how things went, fled out of the Citie at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chiefe Citizens that staid behinde, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Siluer. Also a great imposition of money was laid vpon all those, that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more adoe. But if any stood long vpon the matter: or played the theecus, in purloining their owne goods; they were put to the whip, and, besides losse of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely such, as might serue to make him gracious with the rascall multitude; atrogating all debts, and diuiding the Lands of the rich among the poore. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it hath bene an old custome of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As soone as *Nabis* had gotten Argos, He sent the newes to *T. Quintus*, and offered to ioine with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: so as he tooke the paines to crosse ouer the Streights into Peloponnesus, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had soone agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was present with the Consul, made some cauil touching Argos) and the Tyrant lent vnto the Roman six hundred of his Mercenaries of Crete: as also he agreed with the Achæans, vpon a Truce for foure moneths, reseruing the finall conclusion of peace betwene them vntill the Warre of *Philip* should be ended; which after this continued not long.

6. XIII.

The battaile at Cyncephala, wherein Philip was vanquished by T. Quintus.

Thus *Quintus*, as soone as hee vnderstood that hee was appointed to haue Command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent pursuit of the Warre. The like did *Philip*: who hauing failed in his negotiation of peace, and no lesse failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that Warre; meant afterwards wholly to relieue himselfe.

Titus had in his Army about sixe and twenty thousand; and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemy intended to doe. Onely *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in Thessaly, and thereupon addressed himselfe to seek him out. Things had like to haue met vnauayes, neere vnto the Citie of Phere: where the vane-curriers on both sides discouered each other; and sent word thereof vnto their severall Captaines. But neither of them were ouer hasty, to commit all to hazard vpon so short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred horse, with as many light armed foot, to make a better discouerie. These met, and fought a long while: returning finally backe into their severall Campes, with little advantage vnto either side. The Country about Phere was thicke set with Trees; and otherwise full of Gardens and mud-walles, which made it vnproper for serue of the Macedonian *Rhaden*. Wherefore the King dislodged, intending to remove backe into Scopula in the Frontier of Macedon, where he might be plentifully serued with all necessaries. *Titus* conceiued aright his meaning; and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards; were hee loonly to waste the Country. There lay betwene them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other tooke. Neither the less they encamped not farre asunder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them vnderstood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous; and forced each of them to take vp his lodging, where hee found it, by chance. Then sent they forth discouersers againe, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the Macedonians had the worse. But *Philip* soon set in such strong supply, that the resistance of the Aetolians had not bene desperate, the Romans being followed had bene driven backe into their Campes. Yet, all resistance notwithstanding, the Macedonians preuailed: so that *Titus* himselfe was faine to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their horse, to animate those which were in fight. It was altogether besides the kings purpose, to put the fortune of a battaile in trust that day, with so much of his Estate as might thereon depend. But the newes came to him quick and suddenly, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his owne. If hee could vse an occasion, the like whereof he should not often finde. This caused him to alter his purpose: in so much as he embayled his men, and climbed up those hills, which, for that the knops thereon had some resemblance vnto Dogs heads, were called by a word signifying as much, *Cyncephala*. As soone as he was on the hill-top; hee did him good to see that they of his owne light armature were backe in fight, almost at the very Camp of the Enemies, whom they had repelled so farre. Hee had also libertie to choose his ground, as might serue best his advantage; for as much as the Romans were quick driven from all parts of the hill. But of this commoditie hee could make no great vse: the roughnesse of the place among those Dog heads, as they were called, leauing nothing asly for his *Philip*. Nevertheless hee found conuenient room, wherein to march a little on part of his Army, and gaue order vnto his Captaines, to follow with the rest, vntill hee should see the day might. While hee was doing this: Hee perceived that his Horsemen and light armature began to drinke; as being faine vpon the Roman Legions, by four hundred of them were driven to recoyle. He sent forward to helpe them, and they no lesse hastily drew vnto him for a succour, hauing the Romans not farre behind them. Hee sent forth a great number of his light armature, to charge the Romans, and to charge the Romans. Here they found an extremely difficult piece of

of worke. For this *Phalanx*, being a great square battaile of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now vsed in our moderne Warres: and being in like manner vsed, as are ours; was not to be resisted by the Roman Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it selfe held together vndissolued. The Macedonians were embattailed in very close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the Romans; as also the pikes of the first ranke, had their points aduanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if the Romans gaue back: euery one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come neerer to the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedie it, was greatly troubled: for that still the *Phalanx* bare downe all which came in the way. But in the meane while hee obserued, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much vneuenness of the ground, to put themselves in order: so as either they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or else (which was worse) vpon desire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in the worke, ran foolishly along by the side of their fellowes, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder Hee made great and present vse. Hee caused the right wing of his Battaile to march vp the hill, against these ill-ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The Macedonians were readier to dispute what should be done in such a case, than well aduised what to doe; as hauing no one man appointed, to command that part in chiefe. Indeed if they should haue done their best, it could not haue serued; since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons vnuessfull. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* hauing fixe and twenty thousand in his Armie (as hee is said to haue bene equall to the Enemy in number) had foure thousand Horse, foure thousand Targettiers, and foure thousand light-armed: so shall there remaine foureteen thousand Pikes, whereof he himselfe had embattailed the one halfe in a *Phalanx*; the other halfe in the left wing, at they whom *Quintius* is readie now to charge. The *Phalanx* hauing vsually sixtene in File, must, when it consisted of seven thousand, haue well-neere foure hundred and fortie in ranke: but foure hundred would serue, to make a Front long enough; the other fortie or seuen and thirtie Files might bee cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to euery man of them three foote of ground: this Front must haue occupied twelue hundred Foote, or two hundred and fortie paces; that is, very neere a quarter of a myle in length. Such a space of open Champaine, free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessitie disioyne this close battaile of the *Phalanx*; was not euery where to bee found. Here at Cynoscephalæ *Philip* had so much roome, as would only suffice for the one halfe of his men; the rest were faine to stand still and looke about them, being hindered from putting themselves in order, by the roughnesse of the *Dogges heads*. But the Romans, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from comming vp vnto them; nor found any difficulty in murthering those enemies, whose feete were in a manner bound by the discommodity of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused them to giue backe; and the comming on of the Legions, to berake themselves to flight. A Roman Tribune or Colonell, seeing the victory on that part assured, left the prosecution of it vnto others: and being followed by twenty Ensignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, tooke in hand a notable piece of worke; and mainly helpfull to making of the victory complete. He considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the Romans, was runne on so farre: as that himselfe with his fellowes, in mounting the hill to charge the left wing of the Macedonians, was already gotten above the Kings head. Wherefore hee turned to the left hand: and making downe the hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell vpon it in the Rere. The hindermost ranks of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeed, since the first fight, were accustomed, when the battells came to ioyning, to carry their pikes vpright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their fore-men: and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconuenience in the Macedonian *Phalanx*. That it serued neither for offence nor defence, except onely in front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when hee was to fight with *Darius* in Melopotamia, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the fore sides of it were as to many fronts looking sundrie wayes,

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wayes, because he expected that he should be encompassed round: yet is it to be vnderstood, that herein he altered the vsual forme; as also at the same time hee embattailed his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turne their weapons, which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, That *Alexander's* men being thus disposed, were fit onely to keepe their owne ground, not being able to follow vpon the Enemy, vnlesse their hindmost ranks could haue marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such prouision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise vnable to helpe themselves, threw downe their weapons, and fled. The king himselfe had thought vntill now, that the fortune of the battaile was euery where alike; and the day his owne. But hearing the noyse behind him, and turning a little aside with a troupe of Horse, to see how all went: when hee beheld his men casting downe their weapons, and the Romans at his backe on the higher ground; He presently betook himselfe to flight. Neither staid he afterwards in any place (except only a small while about Tempe, there to collect such as were dispersed in this ouerthrow) vntill he was gotten into his owne Kingdome of Macedon.

There died of the Roman Armie in this battaile, about seuen hundred: of the Macedonians about eight thousand were slaine; and five thousand taken prisoners.

§. XV.

T. Quintius falleth out with the Aetolians, and grants truce vnto Philip, with conditions, vpon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed vnto the Greekes. The Romans quarrell with Antiochus.

The Aetolians wonderfully vaunted themselves; and desired to haue it noysed through all Greece, that the victory at Cynoscephalæ was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the bootie; by sacking the Macedonian Campe, whilest the Romans were buied in the chase. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glorie, and at their rauencous condition; purposed to teach them better manners; by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceiued, That by vsing them with any extraordinary fauour, he should greatly offend the rest of his Confederates in Greece; who detested the Aetolians much more vehemently, than euery they had done the Macedonians. But this displeasure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battaile *Titus* made hast vnto Larissa, a citie of Thessalie: which he presently tooke. Before his comming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and passages whatsoeuer in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much aduersitie, he forgot not to provide for the safety of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of Larissa might well perceiue, that he gaue them as already lost. Wherefore we finde not that they, or any of their Neighbors, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the same time, the town of Leucas bordering vpon Acarnania, was taken by the Roman Fleet: and very soone after, all the Acarnanians, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the Aetolians euer true to *Philip*, gaue vp themselves vnto the Romans, hearing of the victory at Cynoscephalæ. The Rhodians also were then in hand with the conquest of *Perce*, a Region of the Continent ouer against the Iland; whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late Treaty of Peace. They did beerein more manly, than any other of the Greeks: forasmuch as they awaited not the good leisure of the Romans; but with an Army of their own, & some helpe which they borrowed of the Achæans & other their friends gaue battell to *Dinocrates* the kings Lieutenant, wherein they had the victory, & consequently recovered the whole Prouince. It angered *Philip* worse than all this, that the Rhodians gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdome, wasting and spoiling, as if all had been abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Army in all hast of sixe thousand foot and five hundred horse: wherewith comming vpon them, he draue them, with little or no losse of his owne, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the Kingdome. Which done, He returned to Thessalonica.

In this one enterprise He had successe answerable to his desire: but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisdom to yeeld vnto necessity; and therefore sent in all haste *Lamachus* and *Demosthenes*, with

with *Cleodemus* the banished Athenian, in whom he reposed much confidence, and advisors vnto *Titus*. These had conference a long while in priuie, with *Titus* and some of his Roman Colonels; by whom they were gently entertained; and in very friendly wise dismissed. It seemes that they had Commission, to referre all vnto *Titus* his owne discretion; as *Philip* himselfe in few daies after did. There was granted vnto him a Truce for fiftene dayes: in which time, the king himselfe might come and speake with the Roman General. In the mean season many suspicious rumours went of *Titus*, as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the king, to betray the Greeks his Confederates. Of these bruits the *Ætolians* were chiefe authors; who being wont to regard neither friendship nor honestie, where profited them a wrong way, judged alike of all men to elfe. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had sent letters vnto his Associates; willing them to haue their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Fempe*, where the Treaty should bee held. There when they were assembled, they entred into consultation before the kings arrival; what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, & for euery state in particular. The speaking *Aminander* besought them all, & especially the Romans, that they would thinke vpon him; and considering his weakenesse which he confessed, make such provision, that after the Romans had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreake his anger vpon him who was not able to resist. Then spake *Alexander* one of the *Ætolians*: who commending *Titus* for so much as he had thus assembled the Confederates to aduise vpon their own good, and had willed them to deliuer their minds freely; added; That in the matter of the purpose which he had in hand, he was utterly deterred: for that by making peace with *Philip*, hee could neither assure the Romans of their quiet, nor the Greeks of their liberty. There was, he said, none other end to be had of the warre, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate & people of Rome, or with the faire promises made by *Titus* himselfe vnto the Greeks; than the chasing of *Philip* quite out of his kingdom. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But *Titus* answered; That this *Ætolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the Senate and people of Rome, or with the laudable customes which they generally held; for that it was not the manner of the Romans, to seek the utter destruction of any king, or Nation; at such times as they first made warre with them; vntill by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessity, to take such a rigorous course. And hereof he alledged the Carthaginians as a notable example: adding, That victory, to generous minds, was onely an inuolvement to moderation. As concerning the publick benefit of Greece: it was (he said) expedient, that the kingdom of Macedonia should be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it should be utterly destroyed: forasmuch as it ferued as a barre, to the Thracians, Gauls, and a multitude of other salvage Nations, which would soon ouerflow the whole continent of Greece, if this kingdom were not interposed. Wherefore, he concluded, that if *Philip* would yeeld vnto those demands, hee had with him had pressed him in the former Treaty, then was there no reason to denie him peace. As for the *Ætolians*: if they thought otherwise, it should be at their owne pleasure; to take counsaile apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began *Phanias*, another of the *Ætolians*, to say, that all was come to nothing; for that once long, *Philip* would trouble all the Greeks, no lesse than he had done in the before. But *Titus* interrupted him, & bid him leaue his babbling; saying, That himselfe would take such order, as that *Philip* were hee neuer so desirous, should thenceforth not haue it in his power to molest the Greeks; as he had done in the before.

The next day King *Philip* came thither, whom *Titus* receiued friendly; and suffering him to repose himselfe that night in the Countesse the day following; wherein the King yeelded vnto all that had bene required at his hands; offering yet further to waite the good pleasure of the Senate; if they would haue more added to the Conditions. *Phanias* the *Ætolian*, insulting ouer him; said it was to bee hoped, that he would then let length giue up to the *Ætolians*, a number of townes, which hee had named, bidding *Titus* speake whether he would, or no. His answer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interposing himselfe, said it should bee otherwise; There were *Ætolian* townes, and should be all free of them duly excepted, which hee had long agoe had referred to committe selfe to the faith of the Romans; & therefore should now be giuen to the *Ætolians*. Hereat *Phanias* cried out, that it was a great iniury, vnto the *Ætolians*, that the

Townes

Townes that had sometime belonged vnto their Common-weale. Rather he willed *Titus* to consider, that by an ancient Couenant betwene them and the Romans, all the Townes taken ought to be their owne, and the Romans to haue nothing saue the pillage and captiues. It is true, that there had bene such a condition in the former warre: but it ceased to be of any validitie, as soone as the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gaue them to vnderstand; asking them whether they thought it reasonable, that all the towne in Greece, which had let in the Romans by composition, should be deliuered into subiection of the *Ætolians*. The rest of the Confederates were very much delighted, with these angry passages between the Roman and the *Ætolians*: neither had they great reason to feare any hard measure; since *Titus* was so earnest in behalf of those Thessalians, to giue them liberty, though they had stood out against him, euen till very feare made them open their gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves; but gaue their consent willingly vnto a Truce for foure Moneths.

The chiefe cause that moued *Titus* to grant peace so readily to the Macedonian, besides that laudable custome by him before alleaged; was, the same of *Antiochus* his coming with an Armie from Syria, and drawing neere toward Europe. Hee had also perhaps yet a greater motiue; euen the consideration that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the warre should happen to be protracted. And he was in the right: For when his letters, together with Embassadors from the Macedonian, and sundry States of Greece, came vnto Rome, new Consuls were chosen: who, (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the peace; alleging frivolous matter of their owne suspicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the warre. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, betwene the Embassadors of *Philip*, offering to stand to what soeuer was demanded, and the letters of *Titus* pressing them to accept this offer, on the one side, and the importunitie of the Consul on the other; who said, that all these goodly shewes were fraudulent, and that the king would rebell, as soone as the Armie was called out of Greece. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Assembly of the People, by whose soueraigne authority it was concluded, that Peace should be granted vnto the king. So tenne Embassadors were sent from Rome ouer into Greece: in which number were they, that had bene Consuls before *Titus*; and it was ordained by their aduice, that *Titus* should goe through with the businesse of Peace. These would very faine haue retained those three important Cities, of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, vntill the state of Greece were somewhat better settled. But finally *Titus* prevailed so, that Corinth was (though not immediately) rendred vnto the Achæans; and all the other Greeke towne which *Philip* held, as well in Asia as in Greece, restored vnto libertie.

The Conditions of the Peace granted vnto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next *Isthmian Games*, He should withdraw his garrisons out of all the Greeke towne which he held, and consigne them ouer to the Romans: That he should deliuer vnto them all Captiues that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewise all his shippes of warre, reseruing to himselfe onely fise of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinary greatnesse, wherein sixteene men laboured at euery oare: Further, that he should pay a thousand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres following, by euen portions. Hereto *Linie* adds, That he was forbidden to make warre out of Macedonia, without permission of the Senate. But I finde not that he obserued this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already deliuered to *Titus*, together with his yonger son *Demetrius*, to remaine as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at such time as he lately sent his Embassadors to Rome: when it was promised, that the money, and his sonne, should be restored backe vnto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thousand talents, I cannot finde: and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch as yong *Demetrius*, who, together with those foure hundred talents, was giuen for hostage, remained still in custody of the Romans, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by *Titus* vnto *Prusias* king of Bythynia: giuing him to vnderstand what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalfe of the Greeks; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the *Ciani*, most miserably spoyled and oppressed by *Philip* to gratifie this Bythynian his son-in-law, should be restored to liberty, & permitted to enioy the same benefit of the Romans, which other of their nation did. What effect

effect these letters wrought, it was not greatly materiall; since the Romans were shortly busied with *Antiochus*, in such wise that they had not leisure to examine the conformity of *Prusias* to their will.

All Greece reioyced at the good bargain which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Only the Aetolians found themselves agreed that they were utterly neglected; which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The Boeotians continued to fauour the Macedonian; and thereby occasioned much trouble vnto themselves. There were some among them well-affected to the Romans: who seeing how things were like to goe, made their complaint vnto *Titus*; saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good will which they had borne vnto him; vnlesse at this time, when he lay close by them with his Armie, their Prætor, which was head of the opposite Faction, might be made away. *Titus* refused to haue a hand in the execution, yet neuertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to haue kept themselves vndiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those which were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the Romans; in such wise, that howsoeuer they durst not take Armes against them, yet such of them as they found stragling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Country. This was detected within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the Boeotians, to haue the murderers deliuered into his hands; and for five hundred soldiers, which he had lost by them, to haue paid vnto him five hundred Talents. In stead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses; which hee would not take as good satisfaction. He sends Embassadors to the Achæans and Athenians, informing them what had hapned: and requested them not to take it amisse, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserued. Herewithall he falls to wasting their Country; and besiegeth two such townes of theirs, as did seeme to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadors of the Achæans and Athenians, (especially of the Achæans, who offered, if he needed them, to helpe him in this warre; yet besought him rather to grant peace vnto the Boeotians) preuailed so far with him; that he was pacified with thirty Talents, and the punishment of such as were knowne offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of Greece distracted: some among them reioycing that they were free from the Macedonian, others greatly doubting that the Roman would proue a worse neighbour. The Aetolian would haue been glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumours abroad, That it was the purpose of the Romans, to keepe in their owne hands all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the Greeks, conceiue, that this Macedonian Warre serued as an introduction to the Warre to bee made in Asia against King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to bee reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progresse of bad rumours, when the *Isthmian games* were held, which in time of peace were neuer without great solemnity and concourse: *Titus* in that great assembly of all Greece, caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect. That the Senate and people of Rome, & *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the General, hauing vanquished king *Philip* and the Macedonians, did will to be at libertie, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and liuing at their own Lawes, the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Eubœans, Achæans of Phthiotis, Magnetians, Thessalians, & Perrhæbians. The suddenness of this Proclamation astonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout; yet presently they cried out to heare it againe, as if they durst scarce credit their owne eares. The Greeks were Crafts-masters in the Art of giuing thanks; which they rendered now to *T. Quintius* with so great affection, as that they had well-neer smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of the Greeks, was like to be much more auailable vnto the Romans in their warre against *Antiochus*, than could haue beene the possession of a few Townes, yea or of all those Provinces which were named in the Proclamation. Vpon confidence hereof, no sooner were the *Isthmian games* at an end, than *Titus*, with the Romans that were of his Councell, gaue audience to *Hagesanax* and *Lyfias*, king *Antiochus* his Embassadors: whom they willed to signifie vnto their Lord, That he should doe well to abstaine from the free Cities in Asia, and not vex them with warre: as also to restore whatsoeuer he had occupied, belonging to the kings, *Ptolomie* or *Philip*. Moreouer they willed him by these his Embassadors, that he should not passe ouer his Army into Europe;

adding, That some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to talke with him further concerning those points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises vnto the Greeks; to the rest they gaue what they had promised. But the Phocians and Locrians they gaue vnto the Aetolians, whom they thought it no wisdom to offend ouermuch, being shortly to take a greater worke in hand. The Achæans of Phthiotis they annexed vnto the Thessalians, all saue the town of Thebes in Phthiotis, the same which had beene abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the Aetolians in the last Treaty with *Philip*. The Aetolians contended very earnestly about Pharfalus and Leucas. But they were put off with a dilatory answer, and reiected vnto the Senate: for howsoeuer somewhat the Councell might fauour them; yet was it not meet that they should haue their will, as it were in despite of *Titus*. So the Achæans were restored Corinth, Triphylia, and Herea; so the Corinthians were made free and iudged (though the Romans yet a while kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the Achæan Common wealth, enjoyed their liberty in as absolute manner, as they could desire. To *Pleuratus* the Illyrian were given one or two places taken by the Romans from *Philip*: and vpon *Antiochus* were bestowed those Castles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this warre; to reigne in them & the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his Athamanians. The Rhodians had bene their owne Caruers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councell, would haue giuen the Townes of Oream and Eretria, in the Ile of Eubœa, to his sonne and successor King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the Subiects, should be suffered to enioy their libertie. Orestis, a little Prouiue of the kingdom of Macedonia, bordering on Epirus, and lying towards the Ionian Sea, had yeelded vnto the Romans long ere this, and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at libertie, and made a free estate by it selfe.

These busineses being dispatched: it remained, that all care should be vsed, not how to auoid the warre with King *Antiochus*, but how to accomplish it with most ease and propriety. Wherefore Embassadors were sent both to *Antiochus* himselfe, to picke matter of quarrel, and about vnto others, to prae-dispose them vnto the assisting of the Romans therein. What ground and matter of Warre against this king the Romans now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents dealt and sped abroad; I referre vnto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Warres of the Romans with ANTI OCHVS the Great, and his Adherents.

S. I.

What Kings of the races of *Seleucus* and *Ptolomie*, reigned in Asia and Egypt before *Antiochus the Great*.

Seleucus Nicator, the first of his race, king of Asia and Syria, dyed in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth Olympiad. He was treacherously slaine by *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, at an Altar called *Argos*; hauing (as is said) beett warned before by an Oracle, to beware of Argos; as the fatall place of his death. But I neuer haue read that any mans life hath bene preserued, or any mischief auoyded, by the predictions of such Diuellish Oracles. Rather I beleene, That many such predictions of the Heathen Gods, haue beene antedated by their Priests or by others, which deuised them after the event.

Antiochus Soter, the sonne and heire of this *Seleucus*, was dearly beloued of his Father; who surrendred vnto him his owne wife *Stratonica*, when hee vnderstood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had great cause to feare, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be vniuengeled by this his Successor. But

But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with faire words, containing himselfe within Asia, and letting *Ceramus* enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in Europe with the blood of *Selenus*. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queene *Stratonice* in his Fathers life; yet out of modesty he forbore to imbrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous loue was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not prosecuting that reuenge; whereunto Nature should haue vrged him. Afterwards hee had warres with *Antigonius Gonatus*, and with *Nicomedes* King of Bithynia. Also *Lutarius* and *Leontinus*; Kings or Captaines of the Gauls, were set vpon him by the same *Nicomedes*. With these hee fought a great battaile: wherein though otherwife the Enemies had all aduantage against him, yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their Horses and them, he won the Victory. He tooke in hand an enterprize against *Ptolomie Philadelphus*: but finding ill success in the beginning, he soon gaue it ouer. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Strabus* the Chaldean dedicated his History of Assyria; the same, which hath since been excellently falsified by the Frier *Annus*. Hee left behinde him one sonne, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married vnto the king of Cyrene. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie and ninth Olympiad, or the beginning of the Olympiad following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth yeer of the kingdom of the *Greekes*, when he had reigned nineteene yeeres.

Antiochus, surnamed *Theos*, or the god, had this vaine and impious title giuen to him, by flattery of the Milesians; whom he deliuered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppressed them. Hee held long and difficult, but fruitlesse, warre with *Ptolomie Philadelphus* King of Egypt; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomie*.

Of these two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, *S. Hierome* and other Interpreters haue vnderstood that Prophecie of *Daniel*: The Kings daughter of the South, shall come to the king of the North, to make an agreement; and that which followeth.

Ptolomie Philadelphus was a great loue of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his owne sister *Arifnoe*) a very excellent Prince: howsoeuer, the worst of all that race. It was He, that built and furnished with Bookes, that famous Librarie in Alexandria: which to adorne, and to honour the more, He sent vnto *Eleazar* then high Priest of the Iewes, for the Bookes of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King vnto the Iewes, had formerly bene very great: for he had set at libertie as many of them, as his Father held in slavery throughout all Egypt; and hee had sent vnto the Temple of God in Ierusalem very rich Presents. Wherefore *Eleazar* yeelding to the Kings desire, presented him with an Hebrew coppie: which *Ptolomie* caused to be translated into Greek, by seuentie two of the most graue & learned persons that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seuentie*, *Iesus* the sonne of *Syrach*, is thought by *Genbrard* to haue bene one: who that he liued in this Age, it seemes to me very sufficiently proued by *Iansenius*, in his Preface vnto Ecclesiasticus. The whole passage of this businessse between *Philadelphus* and the High Priest, was written (as *Iosephus* affirms) by *Aristaus* that was employed therein. Fortie yeeres *Ptolomie Philadelphus* was king; reckoning the time wherein he ioyntly reigned with his Father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had bene in his former yeeres: in which time he boasted, that he alone had found out the way how to liue for euer. If this had bin referred vnto his honourable deeds, it might haue stood with reason: otherwife, the Gowne, with which he was oftentroubled, was enough to teach him his owne error. Hee was the first of the Kings, deriued from *Alexanders* Successors, that entred into League with the Romans: as also of his Off-spring was the last among those Royall Families, which by them was rooted vp.

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called *Laodice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolomie*. After his second marriage, he vsed his first wife with no better regard, than if she had bene his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet aduencured not to seeke reuenge, vntill her owne sonne *Selenus Callinicus* was of ability to be king. This was two or three yeeres after the death of *Ptolomie Philadelphus*: at what time she poysoned her husband *Theos*; and by permission of *Selenus* her son, murdered

Berenice,

together with a sonne whom she had borne to *Antiochus*, in the same manner, than *Antiochus* had done with the young Prince her child; a while after the said Librarie at *Daphne*; and that our owne sonne *Callinicus*, of this name, prepared to succceede her brother *Antiochus* King of Egypt, came to the world with an *Antiochus*, though too late, for the world had bene full of *Antiochus* before. As for *Antiochus*, hee was a wicked man, and a wicked nature; which they did couer in his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Estate would haue bene as much endangered, if *Ptolomie Philadelphus*, who came against him, had not bene drawne backe into his owne Countrey, by some Commotions there in hand. For that he wrote nothing that would haue bin against *Ptolomie*, in defence of their wrongs; but rather they sided with the Egyptian, who took *Laodice* and her kings women, then and rewarded her with death as she had well deserved. Wherefore *Antiochus*, being freed from this iussion, by occasion of those domesticall troubles which recalled *Antiochus* into Egypt; went about a dangerous peece of worke, euen to make warre vpon his owne subjects, because of their bad affection towards him; when as in had bin much better, by well-deferuing, to haue changed their hatred into loue. A great Fleet he prepared: in furnishing and manning whereof he was at such charges, that he scarce left himselfe any other hope, if that should miscarrie. After this hee embarked himselfe, and putting to Sea, did meete with such a tempest, as decoured all his shippe, and a very few of his friends, that hardly escaped. This calamity, hauing left him nothing left in a manner than his naked body, turned neuertheless to his great good, as upon after it seemed. For when his Subjects vnderstood, what for the gods (as they conceiued) it had punished him for his offences; they had commiseration of his Estate, and, presuming that hee would therefore become a pious man, offered vnto him their seruice with great alacrity. This reuersed him, and filled him with such spirit, as thinking himselfe well enough able to deale with the Egyptian, he made ready a mighty Armie for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had bene at Sea. Hee was vanquished by *Ptolomie* in a great battaile; whence hee escaped hardly, no better attended, than after his late shipwrecke. Halting therefore backe to *Antiochus*, and fearing that the enemy would soon be at his heeles, he wrote vnto his brother *Antiochus*, who lay then in Asia, praying him to bring succour with all speed, and promising in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of Asia. *Antiochus* was then but fourteene yeeres old, but extremely ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himselfe great. Hee leuied a mighty Armie of the Gauls; wherewith he set forward to helpe his brother, or rather to get what he could for him. Hereof *Ptolomie* being advertised, and finding no defect but himselfe in a matter more than he needed, took *Antiochus* for tenne yeeres. No sooner was *Antiochus* freed from this care of Pittie, than hee was at hand. But his Brother *Antiochus* came vpon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himselfe to haue the better Armie. So *Antiochus* was vanquished againe, and fled himselfe with few about him, that he was verily supposed to haue perished in the battaile. Thus did Gods iudice take reuenge of those murders by which the Crowne was purchased; and reuelled (as might haue bene thought) on the head of this bloody King. *Antiochus* was very glad to heare of his brothers death, as if thereby hee had purchased his hearts desire. But the Gauls, his Mercenaries, were gladder than he. For when hee led them against *Eumenes* King of Pergamus, being in hope to get honour by making a Conquest, in the beginning of his Reigne, those perfidious Barbarians took counsaile against him, and desired how to strippe him of all that hee had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royall house to make head against them, it would be in their power, to doe what should be best pleasing to themselves, in the lower Asia. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*, and enforced him to raise out himselfe with money, as if he had bene their lawful Prisoner. Neither were they so contented; but made him enter into such Communion with them, as ended but little to his honour. In the meane while *Selenus* had gathered another Armie, and prepared once more, to trie his fortune against his brother. *Antiochus* hearing of this, thought the season fit for himselfe, to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten; which is no great marvel, since hee had gathered so many of the Gauls his own soldiers, than

than of the enemy with whom he had to deale. After this, *Antiochus* wonne much in Asia; whilest *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battell, fought between the brethren, *Seleucus* had the upper hand. And *Antiochus* fled to the *Indus*; (which surname was giuen him, because he sought his prey vpon every one; without care whether he were prouoked or not) soared away as farre as hee could, both from his brother, and from his owne Gaules. Having fetcht a great compassse through Mesopotamia and Armenia, He fell at length in Cappadocia, where his father-in-law King, *Antiochus* took him vp. He was entertained very lovingly in outward shew, but with a meaning to betray him. This he soone perceived: and therefore, betooke him to his wings againe; though he knew not well, which way to beat his flight. At length he resolved to bestow himselfe vpon *Ptolemy*; his owne conscience telling him; what euill he had meant vnto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. In fidelitie can finde no sure harbour. *Ptolemy* well vnderstood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he layd him vp in close prison: whence though by means of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, hee fell into the hands of the eues, by whom he was murdered. Neere about the same time died *Seleucus*. The Parthians and Bactrians had rebelled against him, during his wars with his brother. He therefore made a iourney against *Aspas* founder of the Parthian kingdom: where in his euill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered so closely to him; that he was taken prisoner. *Aspas* dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, hauing euery way giuen him royall entertainment: but in returning home, he bracke his necke by a fall from his horse, and so ended his vnhappy reigne of twenty yeeres. He had to wife *Laudia*, the sister of *Antiochus*, one of his most trusty Captaiues; which was father vnto that *Achæus*, who making his aduantage of this affliction, became shortly after (as hee styled himselfe) a king; though rather indeede, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By *Laudia* he had two sonnes; *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Euergetes*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards *The Great*.

Seleucus Cerdanus reigned onely three yeeres, in which time he made warre vpon *Antiochus* the first, that was King of Pergamos. Being weake of body through sicknesse and in want of mony, he could not keepe his men of warre in good order: and finally hee was slaine by treason of *Nicanor*, and *Apaturus* a Gaule. His death was reuenged by *Antiochus*, who slue the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Armie; which he ruled very wisely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus*, the brother of *Seleucus*, being then a Child.

II.

The beginning of the Great Antiochus his reigne. Of Ptolemy Euergetes, and Philopator Kings of Egypt, warre betwene Antiochus and Philopator. The rebellion of Molo; an expedition of Antiochus against him. The continuance of Antiochus his Egyptian warre: with the passages betwene the two Kings: the victory of Ptolemy, and Peace concluded. Of Achæus, and his rebellion; his greatnesse, and his fall. Antiochus his expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians; Somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great Alexander.

Antiochus was scarcely fifteene yeeres old, when hee began his reigne, which lasted sixe and thirty yeeres. In his Minoritie, He was wholly gouerned by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which inlined all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithful seruants. This vild quality in a Counsellour of such great place, how harmful it was vnto his Lord, and finally vnto himselfe; the successe of things will shortly discover.

Soone after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reigne, *Ptolemy Euergetes* King of Egypt died; and left his heire *Ptolemy Philopator*, a young Boy likewise, as hath else where been remembered. This was that *Euergetes*, who reuenged *Antiochus* and the Achæans: who afterwards tooke part with *Cleomenes*; and lovingly entertained him, when hee was chased out of Greece by *Antiochus* *Ghazar*. He annexed vnto his Dominion the Kingdom of Cyrene; by taking to wife *Berenice*, the daughter of King *Nagid*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies*; and the last good King of the race. The name of *Euergetes*, or the doer of good, was giuen to him by the Egyptians; not so much for the great spoiles which he brought home, after his victories in Syria; as for that hee reuenged some of those

those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when hee conquered Egypt, had carried into Persia. He was ready to haue made warre vpon the Iewes, for that *Antiochus* their high Priest, out of meeke conuincence of mony refused to pay vnto him his yearly tribute of 200 talents: but he was pacified by the wisdom of *Iosephus* a Iew, to whom afterwards hee let in farme the Tributes and Customes that belonged vnto him, in those parts of Syria which he held. For Coele Syria, with Palestina and all those parts of the Countrey that lay neere vnto Egypt, were held by the Egyptian; either as hauing salne to the share of *Ptolemy* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slaine in the battell at Ipsus; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the trouble some and vnhappy reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in Syria, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages betwene the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucids*, were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecie before cited, which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. This *Ptolemy Euergetes* reigned sixe and twenty yeeres; and dyed towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may seeme by that, which we finde in the Prologue vnto *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* his booke, that he should haue reigned a much longer time. For *Sirachides* there saith that he came into Egypt in the eight and thirtieth yeere, when *Euergetes* was king. It may therefore be, That either this king reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirty yeeres, were the yeeres of *Iesus* his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the Iewes did other whikes reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counsaier, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord vnto warre against the Egyptian; for the recouerie of Coele Syria, and the Countreys adioyning. This counsaile was very vnseasonably giuen, when *Molo*, the kings Lieutenant in Media, was broken out into rebellion, and sought to make himselfe absolute Lord of that rich Countrey. Neuerthelesse *Hermias*, being more froward than wise, maintained stiffly, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captaine, other Capitaines that were faithfully, whilst He in person made warre vpon one, that was like himselfe, a king. No man durst gaine say the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenatas* an Achæan, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebell; whilst in the meane season an Armie was preparing for the kings expedition into Coele Syria. The king hauing marched from Apamea to Laodicea, and so ouer the Deserts into the Vallie of Masfias, betwene the Mountaines of Libanus and Anti-libanus, found his way there stopped by *Theodorus* an Ætolian, that serued vnder *Ptolemy*. So he consumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came newes, that *Xenatas*, his Captaine, was destroyed with his whole Armie, and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Countrey, as farre as vnto Babylon.

Xenatas, whilst he was yet on his iourney, and drew neere to the Riuer of Tygris; received many aduertisements by such as fled ouer vnto him from the Enemy, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wils, drawne by their Commander to beare armes against their king. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himselfe stood in some doubt lest his followers would leaue him in time of necessity. *Xenatas* therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to passe the Riuer by Boats in face of his Enemy; left in the night time such as he thought meete to defend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Armie went ouer Tygris, in a place tenne miles lower than *Molo* his Campe. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to giue impediment: but hearing that *Xenatas* could not so bee stopped, Hee himselfe dislodged, and tooke his iourney towards Media; leauing all his baggage behinde him in his Campe. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his owne souldiers: or whether thereby to deceiue his enemy; the great follie of *Xenatas* made his stratagem prosperous. For *Xenatas*, hauing borne himselfe proudly before, vpon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was advanced vnto this charge; did now presume, that all should giue way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of vsing the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast, with the prouisions which they found ready in the forsaken Campe: or rather he commanded them so to doe, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish vp themselves against the iourney, which he intended to take next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himselfe, in transporting the remainder of his Armie, which hee had left on the other side of Tygris. But *Molo* went

no further that day, than he could easily returne the same night. Wherefore vnderstanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made such haste backe vnto them, that he came vpon them early in the morning; whilst they were yet heavy with the wine and other good cheere, that they had spent at supper. So *Xenetas* and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the Campe: the rest were slaughtered, without making resistance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Campe on the other side of Tygris, was easily taken by *Molo*: the Captaines flying thence, to save their owne liues. In the heat of this victorie, the Rebells marched vnto Seleucia, which he presently tooke: and, mastering within a little while the Prouince of Babylonia, and all the Countrey downe to the Red-Sea, or Bay of Persia, Hee hastened vnto Susa; where at his first comming, he won the City: but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned backe to Seleucia, there to giue order concerning this businesse.

The report of these things comming to *Antiochus*, whilst he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of Marlyas; filled him with great sorrow, and his Campe with trouble. He tooke counsaile what to doe in this needfull case; and was well aduised by *Epigenes* the best man of warre he had about him, to let alone this enterprize of Coelosyria; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This counsaile was put in execution with all conuenient haste. Yet was *Epigenes* dismissed by the way, and soone after slaine, by the practice of *Hermias*, who could not endure to heare good counsaile giuen, contrary to his owne good liking and allowance. In the iourney against *Molo*, the name and presence of the King was more auailable, than any oddes which he had of the Rebells in strength. *Molo* distrusted his owne followers: and thought, that neither his late good successe, nor any other consideration, would serue to hold them from returning to the kings obedience; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him to assaile the Kings Campe in the night time. But going in hand with this, Hee was discovered by some that fled ouer from him to the King. This caused him to returne backe to his Campe: which, by some error, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly quiered, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The King was thus forward in giuing battaile to *Molo*, vpon confidence which he had that many would reuolt vnto him. Neither was he decelued in this his belief. For not a few men, or Ensignes: but all the left wing of the enemy, which was opposite vnto the King, changed side forthwith as soone as euer they had sight of the kings person; and were ready to doe him seruice against *Molo*. This was enough to haue wonne the Victorie: but *Molo* shortned the worke, by killing himselfe, as did also diuers of his friends, who for feare of torments preuented the Hang-man with their owne swords.

After this Victorie came ioyfull newes, that the Queene *Laodice*, daughter of *Mithridates* king of Pontus, which was married vnto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a sonne. Fortune seemed bountifull vnto the King: and therefore he purposed to make what vse he could, of her friendly disposition while it lasted: Being now in the Easterne parts of his kingdome, He iudged it conuenient to visit his Frontiers, were it only to terrifie the Barbarians, that bordered vpon him. Hereunto his Counsailler *Hermias* gaue assent: not so much respecting the Kings honour, as considering what good might thereby happen to himselfe. For if it should come to passe, that the King were taken out of the world by any casualtie: then made he no doubt of becoming Protector to the yong Prince; and thereby of lengthening his owne Gouvernement. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabazanes*, who reigned among the Atropatians; hauing the greatest part of his kingdome, situate betwene the Caspian & Euxine Sea. This barbarous King was very old and feareful; and therefore yielded vnto whatsoeuer conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay vpon him. So in this iourney *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Vpon the way, a Physician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*, informing him truly how odious he was to the people; and how dangerous he would be shortly vnto the kings owne life. *Antiochus* beleued this, hauing long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring for feare of him to vtter his suspicions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a sleight, a good way out of the Campe, and there killed without warning or disparation. The King needed not to haue vsed so much art, in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howsoeuer he seemed gracious whilst he was aliue: yet they that for feare had becne most obsequious to him

him, whilst he were in case to do them hurt, was as ready as the foremost, to speake of him as he had deserved, when once they were secure of him: Yea, his wife and children lying then at *Apamie*, were stoned to death by the wiues and children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outragiously, the longer that they had becne concealed.

About these times, *Achens* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of these Expeditions which he tooke in hand; was bold to set a Diademe vpon his owne head, and take vpon him as a king. His purpose was to haue invaded Syria: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprize; and studied to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange, that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achens*; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken, of these his traiterous purposes: but wrote vnto him, signifying that he knew all; and vpbraiding him with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be vnparadonable. By these meanes he emboldned the Traytor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintaine his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recouer Coelosyria, or what else he could; of the Dominions of *Ptolemie Philopater* in those parts. Hee began with Seleucia a very strong City neere to the mouth of the Riuer Orontes; which ere long hee wonne, partly by force, partly by corrupting with brybes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that Seleucia, where to *Antigonus the great*, who founded it, gaue the name of Antigonion: but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it Seleucia; and *Ptolemie Evergetes* hauing lately won it, might if it had so pleased him, haue changed the name into Ptolemis. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endlesse memoriall vnto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greatnesse, than from their vertue, which therefore no longer are their own; than the same greatnesse hath continuance. *Theodotus* the Aetolian, he that before had opposed himselfe to *Antiochus*, and defended Coelosyria in the behalfe of *Ptolemie*; was now grown sorry, that he had vsed so much faith & diligence, in seruice of an vnthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore as a Mercenarie, he began to haue regard to his owne profit: which thinking to finde greater, by applying himselfe vnto him that was (questionlesse) the more worthy of these two kings; He offered to deliuer vp vnto *Antiochus* the Cities of Tyrus & Ptolemis. Whilst he was deuising about this treason, and had already sent messengers to king *Antiochus*: his practice was detected & he besieged in Ptolemis by one of *Ptolemies* Captaines, that was more faithfull than himselfe. But *Antiochus* hastning to his rescue, vanquished this Captaine who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession, not onely of Tyrus and Ptolemis, with a good flecte of the Egyptian kings that was in those Hamens: but of so many other Townes in that Countrey, as emboldned him to thinke vpon making a iourney into Egypt it selfe. *Agathocles* and *Socibius* bore all the sway in Egypt at that time: *Ptolemie* himselfe being loth to haue his pleasures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the safety of his kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make prouision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be, for the war: and neuerthelesse, at the same time, to presse *Antiochus* with daily Embassadours to some good agreement. There came in the heate of this businesse, Embassadours from Rhodes, Byzantium, & Cyzicus, as likewise from the Aetolians; according to the vsuall courtesie of the Greekes, desiring to take vp the quarrell.

These were all entertained in Memphis, by *Agathocles* and *Socibius*: who intreated them to deale effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilst this treaty lasted, great preparations were made at Alexandria for the warre: wherein these two Counsaillers perswaded themselves reasonably, that the victory would be their own; if they could get, for money, a sufficient number of the greeks to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at Memphis, and how desirous the Gouvernours of Egypt were to be at quiet: whereunto he gaue the readier belief, not onely for that he knew the disposition of *Ptolemie*, but because the Rhodians, & other Embassadours, comming from Memphis, discoursed vnto him all after one manner, as being at decelued, by the cunning of *Agathocles* & his fellows: *Antiochus* therefore hauing wearied himselfe, at the long siege of a Towne called Dura, which he could not winne: & being desirous to refresh himselfe & his Armie in Seleucia, during the winter which then came on, granted to the Egyptian a truce for foure

moneths, with promise that hee would be ready to hearken vnto equall Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as hee would faine haue seemed, but onely to lull his enemies asleep, whilest heooke time to refresh himselfe; and to bring *Achus* to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the Egyptian would haue vsed, He vsed himselfe, as presuming that when time of the yeere better serued, little force would be needfull; for that the Townes would voluntarily yeeld vnto him, since *Ptolemie* provided not for their defence. Neuerthelesse, he gaue audience to the Embassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of Egypt: pleasing himselfe well, to dispute about the iustice of his quarrell, which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were iust or no. He said, that it was agreed betwene *Seleucus* his Ancestor, and *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, That all Syria, if they could winne it from *Antigonius*, should bee giuen in possession to *Seleucus*: and that this bargaine was afterwards ratified, by generall consent of all the Confederates, after the battaile at Ipsus. But *Ptolemies* men would acknowledge no such bargaine. They said, that *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, had wonne Coelosyria, and the Prouinces adioyning for himselfe: as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recouer his Prouince of Babylon, and the Countreies about the Riuer of Euphrates. Thus whilest neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were, in the end of their disputation, as farre from concluding as at the beginning. *Ptolemie* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Also *Ptolemie* would needs haue *Achus* comprehended in the League betwene them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming against it as a shamefull thing, that one King should offer to deale so with another, as to take his Rebell into protection, and seek to ioyn him in Confederacie with his own Soueraigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field again: contrary to his expectation he was informed, That *Ptolemie*, with a very puissant Armie, was comming vp against him out of Egypt. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountered on the way by those Captaines of *Ptolemie*, that had resisted him the yeere before. They held against him the passages of Libanus, whence neuerthelesse hee draue them: and, proceeding onward in his journey, wonne so many places, that he greatly increased his reputation; and thereby drew the Arabians, with diuers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew neere together: many Captaines of *Ptolemie* forsooke his pay, and fled ouer to *Antiochus*. This notwithstanding, the Egyptian had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battell was fought at Raphia: where it was not to be decided, whether the Egyptians or Asiatiques were the better Souldiers (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the Greeks, Thracians, and Gauls) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemie*, with *Arfinoe* his Sister and Wife, rode vp and downe encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other side: each of them rehearsing the braue deeds of his Ancestors; as not hauing of their owne, whereby to value themselves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants: as also his, being of Asia, had they been fewer would haue beaten those of Africke. Therefore by the aduantage of those beasts, hee draue the Enemies before him, in that part of the battaile wherein he fought himselfe. But *Ptolemie* had the better men: by whose valour he brake the Grosse of his Enemies battaile, and won the victory; whilest *Antiochus* was heedlesly following vpon those, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field about seuentie thousand foot, and sixe thousand horse; whereof though he lost scarceten thousand foot, and not foure hundred horse; yet the same of his overthrow tooke from him all those places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to Antioch: He began to stand in feare, lest *Ptolemie* and *Achus*, setting vpon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors to the Egyptian to treat of peace: which was readily granted; it being much against the nature of *Ptolemie* to vex himselfe thus with the tedious businesse of warre. So *Ptolemie*, hauing staid three moneths in Syria, returned home into Egypt, clad with the reputation of a Conqueror, to the great admiration of his subiects, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothfull condition.

Achus was not comprised in the league betwene these two Kings: or if hee had beene

been included therein, yet would not the Egyptian haue taken the paines, of making a second expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himselfe strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deale with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reason: For besides his many victories, whereby hee had gotten all that belonged vnto *Antiochus* on this side of *Taurus*, hee had also good successe against *Attalus* King of Pergamus; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a strong Armie. Neither was hee, as *Molo* the Rebell had beene, one of meane regard otherwise, and carried beyond himselfe by apprehending the vantage of some opportunitie: but Cousin germain to the King, as hath beene shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the same *Mithridates* King of Pontus, which was also called *Laodice*, as was her sister the Queene, *Antiochus* his wife. These things had added maiestie vnto him; and had made his followers greatly to respect him, euen as one to whom a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King *Ptolemie* of Egypt held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquished in the battaile at Raphia; and had thereby lost all his gettings in Syria. But all these hopes and likely-hoods came to nothing: For the King of Pontus, if hee would meddle in that quarrell betwene sonnes-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the Egyptian: He was not onely slothfull; but hindered by a rebellion of his owne subiects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of Egypt, of whom *Ptolemie*, contrarie to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to serue in the late expedition; beganne to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferiour to the Macedonian. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done: since they lesse esteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings Mercenarie Greekes; which had hitherto kept them in streight subiection. Thus brake out a warre betwene the king and his subiects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolemie* thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might haue beene spent, as he thought, much better in reuelling; or, as others thought, in succouring *Achus*. As for *Antiochus*, hee had no sooner made his peace with the Egyptian, than he turned all his care to the preparation of warre against *Achus*. To this purpose he entred into League with *Attalus*; that so he might distract the forces of his Rebell, and finde him worke on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had pent vp *Achus* into the Citie of Sardes; where he held him about two yeeres besieged. The Citie was very strong, and well victualled: so as there appeared not, when the second yeere came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first yeeres siege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a Cretan found meanes how to enter the Towne. The Castle it selfe was vpon a very high Rocke, and in a manner impregnable, as also the Towne-wall adioyning to the Castle, in that part which was called the *Sawr*, was in like manner situate vpon steepe Rockes, and almost inaccessible; that hung ouer a deepe bottome, whereinto the dead carcases of Horses, and other beasts, yea, and sometimes of men, vsed to be throwne. Now it was obserued by *Lagoras*, that the Rauens and other birds of prey, which hunted that place by reason of their food which was there neuer wanting, vsed to flie vp vnto the top of the Rockes, and to pitch vpon the walles, where they rested without any disturbance. Observing this often, he reasoned with himselfe, and concluded, that those parts of the Wall were left vnguarded, as being thought vnapproachable. Hereof he informed the king: who approued his iudgement, & gaue vnto him the leading of such men, as hee desired for the accomplishing of the enterprize. The successe was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceiued: and though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those rocks, and whilest a generall assault was made, entred the towne in that part; which was at other times vnguarded, then vnthought vpon. In the same place had the Persians, vnder *Cyrus*, gotten into Sardes; when *Craesus* thought himselfe secure on that side. But the Citizens tooke not warning, by the example of a losse manie ages past; and therefore out of memorie, *Achus* held still the Castle: which not onely seemed by nature impregnable, but was verie well stored with all necessaries; & manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well assured. *Antiochus* therefore was constrained to waste much time about it; hauing none other hope to preuaile, than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the vnsallrediousnesse of expectation, his businesse called him thence away into the higher Asia, where the Bactrians

trians, and Parthians with the Hyrcanians, had erected kingdoms taken out of his Dominions, vpon which they still inchoed. But hee thought it not safe, to let *Achaus* breake loose againe. On the other side there were some Agents of *Ptolemie* the Egyptian, and good friends vnto *Achaus*; that made it their whole studie, how to deliuer this besieged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more: but presumed that when he should appeare in the Countreyes vnder *Taurus*, he would soone haue an Armie at command, and bee strong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to worke as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a Cretan, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Countrey, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rockes, whereon the Castle of Sardes stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receiue at the hands of *Ptolemie*, as well as of *Antiochus*; to doe his best for performance of their desire. He vnderooke the businesse: and gaue such likely reasons of bringing all to effect, that they wrote vnto *Achaus*, by one *Arianus*, a trustie messenger, whom *Bolis* found meane to conueigh into the Castle. The faith of these Negotiators *Achaus* held most assured. They also wrote vnto him in priuie Characters, or Chiphers, where with none saue he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained deuce of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the messenger; hee was a trustie fellow, and one whom *Achaus* found, by examination, heartily affected vnto their side. But the Contents of the Epistle, which were, That he should be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* 20 whom *Bolis* had wonne vnto the businesse, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him vnknowne: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; vnder whom he had the command of those Cretans, which held one of the Forts that blocked vp the Castle of Sardes. Neuerthelesse other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himselfe to some aduenture. When the messenger had therefore passed to and fro: it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himselfe should come speake with *Achaus*, & conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, saue onely by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were Cretans, and as all their Countrymen, some few excepted, haue beene, and still are) false knaues. These two held a consultation together, that was, as *Polybius* obserues it, rightly Cretical: neither concerning the safety of him whose deli- 30 uery they vnderooke, nor touching the discharge of their owne faith; but onely how to get most with least adoe and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first of all they would equally share betwene them ten Talents, which they had already receiued in hand: and then, That they would reueale the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliuer *Achaus* vnto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present money, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatnesse of such a seruice, when it should be dispatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promise of *Cambylus*, was no lesse glad, than were the friends of *Achaus* well pleased with the comfortable promises of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readinesse on both sides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* 40 was to get vp into the Castle, and conueigh *Achaus* thence: Hee first went with *Cambylus* to speake with the King, who gaue him very priuate audience; and confirmed vnto him by word of mouth the assurance of his liberall promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithfull vnto *Ptolemie* whom he had long serued; He accompanied *Arianus* vp into the Castle. At his comming thither, Hee was louingly entertained; yet questioned at large by *Achaus*, touching all the weight of the businesse in hand. But hee discoursed so well, and with such grauity; that there appeared no reason of distrusting either his faith or iudgement. Hee was an olde Souldiour, had long beene a Captaine vnder *Ptolemie*, and did not thrust himselfe into this businesse; but was inuited by honourable and faithfull men. Hee had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other countryman of his, 50 who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had already sundry times giuen a safe passage and repassage vnto *Arianus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an aduenture stirred vp some diffidence. *Achaus* therefore dealt wisely, and sayde, That he would yet stay in the Castle a little longer: but that hee meant to send away with *Bolis* three or foure of his friends; from whom when he receiued better aduertisement, concerning the likelyhood of the enterprise, then would he issue forth himselfe. Hereby he tooke order; not to comit himselfe wholly vnto the faith of a man vnknowne. But as *Polybius* well notes, he did not consider that

* Among these few I doe not except one, calling himselfe *Eudemus*, son to *Andrews* a Cretan who in one of his late shamessele lies, wherein he introduced our King, Religion, and Country, with all the good & worthy men of whom he could learne the names, hath, by inserting my name twice, belied me in calling me a Puritan, and one that haue beene dangerous vnto my Soueraigne. It is an honour to be ill spoken of by so diligent a supporter of Treasons, and Archtreason of Lies: in regard whereof I may not denie him the commendation of Cretisme no lesse voluminous, than he in multiplicity of name is beyond any the Cretians in elder times, that were alwaies Tyes, emill brasts, and slow bellies. *As Polybius* 54, 5.

he playd the Cretian with a man of Crete: which is to say, That he had to doe with one, whose knavery could not be avoided by circumspection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had layd their plots thus, That if *Achaus* came forth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft; & *Bolis* following behinde, should haue an eye vpon *Achaus* to prevent him not onely from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwise killing himselfe: to the end that being taken alive, Hee might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present. And in such order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide; the rest following, as the way serued, and *Bolis* in the Rete. *Achaus* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his Wife *Ladice*; and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed foure of his special friends to beare him companie. They were all disguised: and one of them alone tooke vpon him to haue knowledge of the Greek tongue, speaking & answering as need should require, for all, as if the rest had beene Barbarians. *Bolis* followed them, craftily deuising vpon his businesse, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) Though he were of Crete, and prone to surmise any thing to be mischief of another: yet could hee not see in the darke, nor know which of them was *Achaus*, or whether *Achaus* himselfe were there. The way was very vncertaine, and in some places dangerous, especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to stay in diuers places: and helpe one another vp or downe. But vpon euery occasion they were all of them very officious towards *Achaus*; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gaue *Bolis* to vnderstand, that he was the man: and so by their vnseasonable duty, they vndid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whistled, & presently clasped *Achaus* about the middle, holding him fast that he could not stirre. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*: who sat vp watching in his Pavilion, expecting the euent. The sight of *Achaus*, brought in bound vnto him, did so astonish the king, that he was vnable to speake a word; and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might haue kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes assembling his friends together, Hee condemned *Achaus* to a cruell death; which argues, that hee was not moued with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident vnto great fortunes, that wrung from him these teares: as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischieuous knaues against one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed well; according to that Spanish Proverbe, *Am traydor dos alleaños*. The death of *Achaus* brought such astonishment vpon those which held the Castle, that after a while they gaue vp the place and themselves vnto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser Asia.

40 Some yeeres passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his Expedition against the Parthians and Hyrcanians. The Parthians were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subiect vnto those that ruled in Media. In the great shuffling for Prouinces, after the death of *Alexander*; the Gouernement ouer them was committed by *Antipater* to one *Philip*, a man of small regard; shortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonus*; and from him, together with the Medes, to *Seleucus*: vnder whose posterity they continued vntill the Reigne of *Seleucus Calinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the Syrian kings: The lustfull insolencie of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Calinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to be slaine by the Gauls; did stirre vp *Arfaces*, a Noble man of the Countrey, to seeke reuenge of iniuries done, and animate them to rebell. So he slue the kings Lieutenant; made himselfe king of the Parthians and Lord of Hyrcania; sought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings; and tooke *Seleucus Calinicus* prisoner in battaile, whom hee royally entertained, and dismissed. Hereby he wonne reputation as a lawfull king: and by good gouernement of his Countrey, procured vnto himselfe such loue of his Subjects, that his name was continued vnto his successors; like as that of the *Ptolemies* in Egypt, & that of the *Cesars* afterwards in Rome. Much about the same time the Bactrians rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging vnto the Seleucidae beyond Euphrates, increased the Parthians dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an army, that

that they durst not meete him in plaine field; but kept themselves in woods, or places of strength, and defended the Streights and passages of Mountaines. The resistance they made auailed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him so great a multitude, and so well fortified, as he needed not to turne out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods & Streights betwene their mountaines; it being easie to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compasse about, might eyther get about the enemies heads; or come behinde, and charge them on the backe. Thus did hee often employ against them his light armature: wherewith he caused them to dislodge, and glide way vnto his Phalanx, vpon which they durst not aduenture themselves in open ground. *Asfages*, the second of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of Parthia: who though hee was confident in the fidelity of his owne subiects; yet feared to encounter with so mighty an invader. His hope was, that the bad wayes, and Deserts, would haue caused *Antiochus*, when he was at Ecbatane in Media, to giue ouer the journey, without proceeding much further. This not so falling out: Hee caused the Wells and Springs in the Wildernesse, through which his enemy must passe, to bee dammed vp and spoiled. By which means, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not preuaile, He withdrew himselfe out of the way, suffering the Enemy to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Countrey: wherein without some victorie obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Asfages* was nothing strongly provided for the war. Wherefore hee marched through the heart of Parthia: and then forward into Hyrcania where hee wanne Tambrace, the chiefe City of that Prouince. This indignitie, and many other losses, caused *Asfages* at length, when he had gathered an Armie that seemed strong enough, to aduenture a battaile. The issue thereof was such as gaue to neither of the kings hope of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficultie. Wherefore *Asfages* craued Peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amisse, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a subiect.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Bathydemus* King of the Baſtrians; one that indeede had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors: but hauing gotten the kingdom from those that had rebelled, kept it to himselfe. With *Enthydemus* hee fought a battaile by the Riuier Arius, where he had the victory. But the victory was not so greatly to his honour; as was the testimonie which he gaue of his owne priuate valour, in obtaining it. Hee was thought that day to haue demeaned him more couragiously, than did any one man in all his Armie. His horse was slaine vnder him; and he himselfe receiued a wound in his mouth, whereby he lost some of his teeth. As for *Enthydemus*, He withdrew himselfe backe vnto the furthermost parts of his kingdom, and afterwards protracted the warre, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadors passed betwene the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Countrey of his was vniuſly vsurped from him: *Enthydemus* answering, That he had wonne it from the children of the Vsurers: and further, That the Baſtrians, a wilde Nation, could hardly be retained in order, saue by a King of their owne; for that they bordered vpon the Scythians, with whom if they should ioyne, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Prouinces that lay behinde them. These allegations, together with his owne wearinesse, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, vpon reasonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Enthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his father, as Embassadour in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little auailable vnto a good conclusion: for *Antiochus* liked him so well, that he promised to giue him in marriage, one of his owne daughters; and therewithall permitted *Enthydemus* to retaine the kingdom, causing him neuertheless to deliuer vp all his Elephants; as also to binde himselfe by oath, to such Couenants as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus* leauing the Baſtrian in quiet, made a journey ouer Caucasus, and came to the borders of India, where he renewed with *Sophaganeus*, king of the Indians, the society that had bene betwene their Ancestors. The Indians had remained subiect vnto the Macedonians, for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his warre against *Antigonus*, raised part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when *Antigonus* (after his victory) turned Westward, and was ouer-busied in a great ciuill warre: then did one *Sandrocastus*, an Indian, stirre vp his Countrey-men to Rebellion; making himselfe their Captaine, and taking vpon him, as Protector of their libertie. This Office

and Title hee soone changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Maiestic of a king. Finally hee got vnto himselfe (hauing an Armie of sixe hundred thousand men) if not all India, yet as much of it as had bene *Alexanders*. In this Estate he had well confirmed himselfe, ere *Seleucus Nicator* could finde leisure to call him to account. Neither did He faint, or humble himselfe, at the comming of *Seleucus*: but met him in the field, as ready to defend his owne; so strongly and well appointed, that the Macedonian was contented, to make both peace and affinity with him, taking chiefly a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the Indian and Syrian kingdoms, was continued by some Offices of loue betwene their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whose number of Elephants were increased therupon, by the Indian king, to an hundred and fiftie: as also he was promised, to haue some treasure sent after him; which he left one to receiue. Thus parted these two great kings. Neither had the Indians, from this time forwards, in many generations, any businesse worthy of remembrance with the Westerne Countreyes. The posteritie of *Sandrocastus*, is thought to haue retained that kingdom vnto the dayes of *Augustus Caesar*: to whom *Pompey*, then reigning in India, sent Embassadors with Presents, and an Epistle written in Greeke: wherein, among other things, He said, That He had command ouer sixe hundred kings. There is also found, scattered in sundrie Authors, the mention of some which held that kingdom, in diuers Ages, euen vnto the time of *Constantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the same race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treatie with *Sophaganeus* carried himselfe as the worthier person, receiuing Presents; and after marching home through Drangiana and Carmania, with such reputation, that all the Potentates not onely in the higher Asia, but on the higher side of Taurus, humbled themselves vnto him, and called him *The Great*: saw an end of his owne Greatnesse within few yeeres ensuing, by presuming to stand vpon points with the Romans, whose Greatnesse was the same indeed, that his was onely in seeming.

S. III.

The lowd reigne of Ptolemie Philopator in Egypt: with the tragical end of his sonne, where he was dead. *Antiochus* prepares to warre on the young child Ptolemie Epiphane, the son of Philopator. His irrefolution in preparing for diuers warres at once. His voyage towards the Hellespont. Hee seeks to hold amitie with the Romans, who make friendly shew to him; intending neuertheless to haue warre with him. His doings against the Hellespont, which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrell to him.

THIS expedition being finished, *Antiochus* had leisure to repose himselfe a while; and studie which way to conuert the retrour of his puissance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three yeeres *Ptolemie Philopator* died: leauing his son *Ptolemie Epiphane*, a young Boy, his successor in the kingdom, vnlike by him to bee well defended, against a neighbour so mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolemie* furnished *Philopator*, that is to say, a lover of his Father, is thought to haue had that surname given him in meere derision; as hauing made away both his Father and Mother. His young yeeres, being newly past, his childhood when he began to reigne, may seeme to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Father's death: yet the beastlinesse of all his following life, makes him not vnlike to haue done any mischiefe, whereof hee could bee accused. Hauing woone the battaile at Raphiah, He gaue himselfe ouer to sensuality; and was wholly governed by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. At her instigation Hee murdered his owne wife and sister; which had aduentured her selfe with him, in that onely dangerous Action by him vndertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenant shipes off his Prouinces, with all Commands in his Armie, & Offices whatsoever, were wholly referred vnto the disposition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and *Demetrius* a filthy Bawd that was mother vnto them both. So these three gouerned the Realme at their pleasure, to the great griefe of all the Countrey, till *Philopator* died: who hauing reigned seuentee yeeres, left none other sonne than *Ptolemie Epiphane*, a child of five yeeres old, begotten on *Aspasia* that was his sister and wife. After the kings death, *Agathoclea* began to take vpon him; as Protector of young *Epiphane*, and Gouernour of the Land. He assembled the Macedonians (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not all borne in Macedonia, but the race of those that abode in Egypt with *Ptolemie the first*, and

and would not be accounted Egyptians; as neither would the Kings themselves; and bringing forth vnto them his sister *Agathocles*, with the yong King in her armes, began a solemne Oration. He told them, That the deceased father of this yong King, had committed the childe into the armes of his sister, but vnto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the kingdome did now relye. He besought them therefore that they would be faithfull, and, as great neede was, defend their king against the treason of one *Tlepolemus*, an ambitious man, who traiterously went about to set the Diademe vpon his own head, being a meere stranger to the Royall blood. Herewith all he produced before them a witness, that should iustifie his accusation against *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were so, that he deliuered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterfeiting teares; yet the Macedons that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake, but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shamelesse dissembler he was, to take so much vpon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake vp the Assembly: He that had called it, being scarce aware how *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old kings fauour had made mighty, but neither wife nor well qualified, thought to goe to worke, as had formerly been his manner, by vsing his authority, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He haled out of a Temple the mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*, and cast her into prison. This filled Alexandria with rumors, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilst they were committed in the old kings name) to meete in knots together and vtter one to another their mindes, where in they had conceived extreame hate, against these three pernicious misgouernours of the old king. Besides their consideration of the present iniurie done to *Tlepolemus*, they were some what also moued with feare of harme, which, in way of requital, *Tlepolemus* was likely to doe vnto the Citie. For He was, though a man most vnapt for Gouernement, as afterwards he proued; yet no bad Souldier, and well beloved of the Armie. It was also then in his power, to stop the prouision of victuals which wasto come into Alexandria. As these moriues wrought with the people: so by the remedy which *Agathocles* vsed, were the Macedons more hastily, and more violently stirred vnto vprere. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom hee suspected of conspiracie against him, and deliuered him vnto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poore Souldier was carried into an incher roome of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparrell to be tormentted. But whilst the whippes were brought forth, and all things euen in a readinesse for that purpose, there was brought vnto the minister of *Agathocles*, a sad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the roome; leaving *Maeragenes* the Souldier alone by himselfe, and the doores open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conueighed himselfe out of the Palace, and got vnto the Macedonians, of whom he found some in a Temple therby at dinner. The Macedonians were as fierce in maintenance of their Priuiledges, as are the Turkes Ianizars. Being assured therefore that one of their fellows had thus bene vsed; they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to forge the Palace: crying out, That they would see the king, and not leaue him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citie, with lowd clamours, made no lesse ado than the Souldiours, though to lesse effect. So the old Bayd *Ocanus* fled into a Temple: her sonne and Daughter stayed in the Court, vntill the king was taken from them; and they, by his permission which he easily gaue, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, deliuered vp to the furie of the people. *Agathocles* himselfe was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office, as friends; though in manner of enemies. His sister was dragged naked vp and downe the streets; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging; the enraged multitude committed vpon them a barbarous execution of iustice, beating them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in Egypt, serued well to stirre vp King *Antiochus*, who had very good leisure, though he wanted all pretence, to make warre vpon yong *Ptolemie*. *Philip* of Macedon had the same desire to get what part he could of the chilles estate. But it happened well, that *Ptolemie Philopater* in the Punicke Warre, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices vnto the Romans. Vnto them therefore the Egyptians addressed themselves, and crayed helpe against these two kings, who though they secretly maligned one the other, yet had entered into cōuynant to diuide betweene them all

all that belonged vnto this Orphan, whose Father had bene Confederate with them both. So *M. Lepidus* was sent from Rome, to protect from all violence the king of Egypt, especially against *Antiochus*. As for the Macedonian; He was very soone found backed, with warre at his owne doores. Also *Scopas* the Aitolian, being a Pensioner to the Egyptian, was sent into Greece to raise an Armie of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in Egypt, I doe not finde: and therefore thinke it not improbable, that he was sent thither onely one of the three Embassadors, in the beginning of the Warre with *Philip*, as hath bene shewed before. As for *Scopas*: He shortly after went vp into Syria with his Armie; where winning many places, among the rest of his Acts, he subdued the Iewes; who seeme to haue yeilded themselves a little before vnto *Antiochus*, at such time as they law him prepare for his Warre, and despaired of receiuing helpe from Egypt. But it was not long, ere all these victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next yeere following, which was (according to *Eusebius*) the same yeere that *Philip* was beaten at Cy-nosephale; *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* in battaile, and recovered all that had bin lost. Among the rest, the Iewes with great willingnesse returned vnder his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

The Land of Egypt this great King did forbear to inuade; and gaue it out, that hee meant to bestow a daughter of his owne in marriage vpon *Ptolemie*: either, hoping, as may seeme, that the Countie would willingly submit it selfe vnto him, if this yong child should happen to miscarry; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Western parts of Asia, whilst *Philip* was held ouer-laboured by the Romans. It appears that hee was very much distracted; hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels betweene *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the Greekes, promised to afford him great aduantage, if he should bring his Armie to the Hellespont. On the other side, the state of Egypt being such as hath bene declared, seemed easily to be swallowed vp at once. One while therefore he tooke what he could get in Syria: where all were willing (and the Iewes among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the Egyptian) to yeeld him obedience. Another while, letting Egypt alone, he was about to make inuasion vpon *Attalus* his kingdome; yet suffered himselfe easily to be perswaded by the Roman Embassadors, and desisted from that enterprise. Having thus farre gratified the Romans; He sends Embassadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amity betweene him and them. It is not lightly to be overpassed, That these his Embassadors were louingly entertained at Rome; and dismissed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of king *Antiochus*. But this answer of the Romans was not sincere; being rather framed according to regard of the kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly bee troubled with two great warres at once. Wherefore, not standing much vpon the nice examination of what belonged vnto their honour, they were content to giue good words for the present. In the meane time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in Syria, and shortly prepares to winne some Towns elsewhere, belonging vnto *Ptolemie*; yet withall hee sends in Armie Westward, intending to make what profit hee can of the distractions in Greece. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irresolution, How notwithstanding his attempts vpon both of their kingdomes, hee offered one of his daughters to *Ptolemie*, and another to *Eumenes* the sonne of *Attalus*, newly King of Pergamus: seeking each of their friendshippes, at one and the same time, when hee sought to make each of them a spoyle. Thus was hee acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplicable desire of repugnancies, which is a disease of great, and ouer-swelling fortunes. Howsoeuer it was, Hee sent an Armie to Sardes by Land, vnder two of his owne sonnes: willing them there to stay for him; whilst he himselfe with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other vessels, intended to passe along by the Coasts of Cilicia and Caria, taking in such places as held for the Egyptian. It was a notable Act of the Rhodians, that, whilst the warre of *Philip* lay yet vpon their hands, they aduentured vpon this great *Antiochus*. They sent vnto him a proud Embassage: whereby they gaue him to vnderstand, That if he passed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in Cilicia, they would meet him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs vnto him; but because he should not ioine with *Philip* their enemy, and helpe him against the Romans. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits vnto the King: yet he tempered himselfe, and without

any shew of indignation gaue a gentle answer; partly himselfe to their Embassadours; partly vnto their whole Citie, by Embassadours which he thither sent. He shewed his desire, to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Ancestors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, lest his comming should tend vnto any hurt, either of them, or of their confederates. As touching the Romans whom they thought that he would molest: they were (he said) his very good friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better prooffe, than the entertainment and answer by them newly giuen to his Embassadours.

The Rhodians appeare to haue been a cunning people, and such as could foresee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the King, and the relation of what had passed between his Embassadours and the Senate, moued them not a whit; when they were informed shortly after, that the Macedonian warre was ended at the battaile of Cynoscephala. They knew that *Antiochus* his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still; vnlesse the Townes on the South Coast of Asia, belonging to *Ptolomie* their friend and Confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well, for that they had euer bene greatly beholding to all the race of the *Ptolomies*. They therefore, in this time of necessity, gaue what aide they could vnto all the subjects of the Egyptian in those parts. In like manner did king *Eumenes*, the sonne of *Attalus*, prognosticate as concerning the war that followed, between *Antiochus* and the Romans. For when king *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to bestow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage: He excused himselfe, and would not haue her. *Attalus* and *Phileterus*, his brethren, wondred at this. But he told them, that the Romans would surely make war vpon *Antiochus*; and therein finally preuaile. Wherefore he said, That by abstaining from this affinitie, it should be in his power to ioyne with the Romans, and strengthen himselfe greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if he leaned to *Antiochus*: as hee must be partaker in his overthrow, so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an ouer-mighty neighbour, if he happened to win the victory.

Antiochus himselfe wintered about Ephesus: where he took such order as he thought conuenient, for the reducing of Smyrna and Lampfacus to obedience; that had vsurped their liberty, and obstinately strove to maintaine it, in hope that the Romans would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he sailed vnto the Hellespont: where hauing won some Townes that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he passed ouer into Europe side, and in short space mastered the Chersonesus. Thence went he to Lyfismachia: which the Thracians had gotten & destroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his garrison thence, to imploy it in the Roman war. The *Aetolians* objected as a crime vnto *Philip*, in the conference before *T. Quintius*, that he had oppressed Lyfismachia, by thrusting therinto a garrison. Hereupon *Philip* made answer, that his garrison did not oppresse the town, but saue it from the Barbarians: who tooke and sackt it, as soone as the Macedonians were gone. That this answer was good & substantiall, though it were not acceptable as such, might appeare by the miserable case, in which *Antiochus* found Lyfismachia at his comming thither. For the town was vtterly razed by the Barbarians; and the people carried away into slavery. Wherefore the king tooke order to haue it re-edified: as also to redeeme those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were dispersed in the Country thereabout. Likewise he was carefull to allure thither, by hopefull promises, new inhabitants, and to replenish the Citie with the wonted frequentie. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from comming thither to dwell, by any feare of the neighbour Thracians: he tooke a iourney in hand against those barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Army, leauing the other halfe to repair the Citie. These paines he tooke; partly in regard of the conuenient situation, & former glory of Lyfismachia; partly for that he thought it highly redounding vnto his owne honour, to recouer & establish the dominion in those parts which his fore-father *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lysimachus*, and thereby made his kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he shall dearely pay: and as after that victory against *Lysimachus*, the death of king *Seleucus* followed shortly, so shall a deadly wound of the kingdome founded by *Seleucus* ensue very speedily, after the reconquest of the same Countie, which was the last of *Seleucus* his purchases.

§. IIII.

The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus, during their warre with Philip: after which they quarrell with him. The doings of Hannibal at Carthage: whence he is chased by his enemies, and by the Romans: His flight vnto the King Antiochus. The Aetolians murmure against the Romans in Greece. The warre of the Romans and Acheans, with Nabis the Tyrant of Laedemon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T. Quintius his Triumph. Peace denied to Antiochus by the Romans.

FOR the Romans, though they were vnable to smother their desire of warre with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keepe the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended warre, so long as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprife of the Kings about Lyfismachia. It was not long, since King *Attalus*, a friend and helper of the Romans in their warre with *Philip*, could obtaine of them none other helpe against *Antiochus*, than Embassadours to speak for him, because the one of these kings was held no lesse a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards passe between them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus* at the request of their Embassadours, withdrew his Inuasion from the kingdome of Pergamus: also very shortly after he sent Embassadours to them, to make a perfect League of amitie betweene them. This was whilst as yet they were busied with *Philip*, and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptance: as they did in outward shew. But when the Macedonian war was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in Greece, were become little better than Clients vnto the Romans; then was all this good correspondence changed, into termes of worse, but more plaine meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counsaillors sent from Rome, requested (as hath bin shewed before) with a commination of war, this kings gratulation of their victory; as also his long-professed amitie, and desire to continue in the same.

These ten Counsaillors were able to informe *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seemes that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable vnto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they diuided themselves to make progresse through diuers quarters of Greece for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them should visit King *Antiochus*; and the rest, where occasion serued, vse diligence to make a partie strong against him. Neither was the Senate at Rome vnmindfull of the businesse: wherein lest *T. Quintius*, with his ten Assistants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging, *L. Cornelius* was sent from Rome, of purpose to deale with the king about those controuersies, that were between him and *Ptolomie*. What other priuate instructions *Cornelius* had; we may coniecture by the manning of this his Embassage. For coming to Selymbria: and there vnderstanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, hauing bin sent by *Titus*, were at Lyfismachia, He hastened thither; whither also came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counsaillors) from Bargilla, to be present at the Conference. *Hegesianus* and *Lysias* were also there; the same, who had lately brought from *Titus* those peremptorie Conditions, which the Embassadours present shall expound vnto their Master. After a few daies *Antiochus* returned from his Thracian Expedition. The meeting and entertainment between him and these Romans, was in appearance full of loue. But when they came to treat of the businesse in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly deliuered his errand from Rome: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliuer backe vnto *Ptolomie* those Townes of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Heereunto he added, and that very earnestly, That hee must also giue vp the Townes of late belonging vnto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the Romans, as to let *Antiochus* enioy the profit of that warre, wherein they had laboured so much, and hee done nothing? Further he warned the king, that he should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally He demanded of him, vpon what reason he was come ouer with so great an Armie into Europe; for that other cause of his iourney there was none probable, than a purpose to make warre vpon the Romans. To this the King made answer, That hee wondred why the Romans should so trouble themselves, with thinking

upon the matters of Asia: wherewith hee prayed them to let him alone; euen as hee, without such curiositie, suffered them to doe in Italie what they thought good. As for his coming ouer into Europe: they saw well enough what businesse had drawne him thither; namely, the warre against the barbarous Thracians: the rebuilding of Lyfimachia, & the recovery of Townes to him belonging, in Thrace & Chersonesus. Now concerning his title vnto that countrie, He deriued it from *Seleucus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victory against *Lyfimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controuersie betweene him and the other Kings, had beene still of old belonging to the Macedonians or Egyptians; but had beene seized on by them, or by others from whom they receiued them, at such time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countries, were hindred by multiplicitie of businesse, from looking vnto all that was their own. Finally he willed them, neither to stand in feare of him, as if he intended ought against them from Lyfimachia; since it was his purpose to bestow this citie vpon one of his sons, that should reigne therein: nor yet to be grieued with his proceedings in Asia; either against the free cities, or against the king of Egypt; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding vnto himselfe, and to ioyne ere long with *Ptolomie*, not onely in friendship, but in a bond of neere affinitie. *Cornelius* hauing heard this, and being perhaps vnable to refuse it; would needs heare further, what the Embassadors of Smyrna and of Lampfacus, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Embassadors of Lampfacus being called in, beganne a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the king before the Romans, as it were before competent Iudges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bad them hold their peace, forasmuch as hee had not chosen the Romans, but would rather take the Citizens of Rhodes, to be Arbitrators betweene Him and them.

Thus the Treatie held some few dayes, without any likelihood of effect. The Romans, hauing not laid their complaints in such sort, as they might be a conuenient foundation of the warre by them intended: nor yet hauing purpose to depart well satisfied, & thereby to corroborate the present peace, were doubtful how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boistrous Gallo-Greeks, pretend onely the goodnesse of their swords; nor yet ouer-modestly, to retaine among the Greeks an opinion of their iustice, forbear the occasion of making themselves great. The king on the other side was wearie of these tedious guests; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came newes, without any certaine author, That *Ptolomie* was dead. Hereof neither the king, nor the Romans, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into Egypt: *Antiochus*, to take possession of the Kingdom, and *L. Cornelius*, to preuent him therof, and set the Countie in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from Rome Embassador, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolomie*: which gaue him occasion to take leaue, & prepare for his Egyptian voyage. Both He, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leaue to depart all together: and the king forthwith made ready, to be in Egypt with the first. To his sonne *Seleucus* he committed his Arme, and left him to ouersee the building of Lyfimachia: but all his Sea-forces hee tooke along with him, and sailed vnto Ephesus. Thence hee sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*: whom he requested to deale with him in this matter of peace, after such sort as might stand with honestie and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage, he was perfectly informed that *Ptolomie* was aliue. This made him beare another way from Egypt: and afterwards a tempest, with a grievous shipwracke, made him without any further attempt on the way, glad to haue safely recovered his Port of Seleucia. Thence went he to Antiochia, where he wintred: secure, as might appeare, of the Roman warre.

But the Romans had not so done with him. During the Treaty at Lyfimachia, (at leastwise not long before or after it) one of their Embassadors that had beene sent vnto the Macedonian, gaue him counsaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to rest contented with the Peace which was ganted vnto him by the Romans, but to desire society with them, whereby they should be bound to haue the same friends and enemies. And this he aduised him to doe quickly, before the Warre brake out with *Antiochus*; lest otherwise he might seeme, to haue awaited some fit occasion of taking Armes againe. They who dealt thus plainly, did not meane to be satisfied with weake excuses. In like manner some of the Greekes were sollicitied; and particularly the *Aetolians*, That

That constantly & faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the people of Rome. It was needlesse to say plainly whereto this entreatie tended: the firoward answer made by the *Aetolians*, declares them to haue well vnderstood the purpose. They complained; that they were not alike honoured by the Romans after the Victory, as they had beene during the Warre. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promised vnto them: vpbraiding withall the Romans, as men to them beholding; not only for their Victory ouer *Philip*, but euen for helping them to set foot in Greece, which else they neuer could haue done. Hereto the Roman gaue gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to doe, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and vtter their griefes; and then should all be well.

Such care tooke the Romans in Greece, for their Warre intended against *Antiochus*. The same hereof arriuing at Carthage, gaue matter vnto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to picke a thanke of the Roman Senate, and to chafe out of their citie this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his vertue against them in the Ciuill administration; and giuen them an ouerthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Iudges at that time bore all the sway in Carthage: holding their places during life; and hauing subiect vnto them, the liues, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they vse this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wise together, that who so offended any one of them, should haue them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne, He was sure to be soone accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the citie, *Hannibal* was chosen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though he was superiour vnto them during that yeere: yet had it not been their manner to beare much regard vnto such an annuall Magistrate, as at the yeeres end must bee accountable to them, if ought were laid vnto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the Quæstors, or officers of the Treasurie, to come and speake with him: the proud Quæstor set lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the aduerser Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to be chosen into the Order of Iudges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the spirit of future Greatnesse. But hee had not to doe with such a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a Pursuant; and hauing thus apprehended him, brought him into iudgement before a publike assembly of the people. There he not onely shewed, what the vndutifull stubbornnesse of this Quæstor had beene; but how vn-sufferable the insolencie of all the Iudges at the present was: whose vnbridled power made them to regard neither Lawes nor Magistrates. To this Oration when hee perceived that all the Citizens were attentiu and fauourable; hee forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the generall good liking; That the Iudges should be chosen from yeere to yeere, and no one man bee continued in that Office two yeeres together. If this Law had beene passed, before he passed ouer Iberus: it would not perhaps haue beene in the power of *Hanno*, to haue brought him vnto necessity of reforming another grievance, concerning the Roman Tribute. This Tribute the Carthaginians were faine to leuie by Taxation laid vpon the whole Commonaltie, as wanting money in their publike Treasurie, wherewith to defray either that, or diuers other needfull charges. *Hannibal* considering this, beganne to examine the publike Reuenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasurie, by wayes and meanes whatsoeuer; and in what sort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Treasurie: but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their owne vse, were thereby faine to load the people with needlesse burdens. Hereof hee made such plaine demonstration, that these Robbers of the common Treasurie were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knauerie: and so the Carthaginians were freed from the necessitie of making such poore shifts, as formerly they had vsed, when they knew not the value of their owne Estate. But as the vertue of *Hannibal*, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the Roman Faction, which had, since the making of the peace vntill now, little regarded him, beganne to rage extremely; as being by him stript of their ill-gotten goods, and ill-employed authoritie, both at once; euen when they thought themselves to haue been in full possession of the vanquished Carthage. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends

at Rome : wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong againe, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in armes. Questionlesse, if oppressing the Citie by iniustice, and robbing the Treasurie, were the onely way to hold Carthage in peace with Rome : these Enemies to the *Barchines* might well crie out, That hauing done their best already to keepe all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of Warre. But hauing none other matter to alledge, than their owne inuentions : they said, That *Hannibal* was like vnto a wilde beast, which would neuer be tamed : That secret messages past betweene him, and King *Antiochus* : and that he was wont to complaine of idlenesse, as if it were harmfulfull to Carthage ; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not vnto the Senate : but addressing their letters craftily, euery one to the best of his owne friends at Rome, and such as were Senators ; they wrought so well, that neither publike notice of their Conspiracie was taken at Carthage ; nor the authoritie of the Roman Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Onely *P. Scipio* is said to haue admonished the *Fathers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become Seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal* : as if they would oppresse, by suborning or countenancing false witness against him, the man, against whom in warre they had not of long time preuailed, nor vsed their Victory in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the Romans were not all so great-minded as *Scipio* : they wished for some such aduantage against *Hannibal* ; and were glad to haue found it. Three Embassadors they sent ouer to Carthage, *C. Serrilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius* 10 *Marcellus* : whose very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These hauing past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming ; and, being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gaue out, That they were sent to end some controuersies, betweene the Carthaginians and *Masaniissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espiall vpon the Romans, that he knew their meaning well enough : against which he was neuer vnprepared. It were enough to say, That he escaped them by flight : but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Hauing openly shewed himselfe, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, He went forth of the Towne when it began to waxe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination ; though such as he might well trust. He had appointed 30 Horses to be in a readinesse at a certaine place : whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his owne by the Sea-side. There had hee a Ship furnished with all things needfull ; as hauing long expected the necessitie of some such journey. So hee bade *Africke* farewell ; lamenting the misfortune of his Country, more than his owne. Passing ouer to the Ile of *Cercina* ; hee found there in the Hauen some Merchants shippes of Carthage. They saluted him respectiue : and the chiefe among them began to enquire, whither hee was bound. Hee said, Hee went Embassador to Tyre : and that he intended there in the Island to make a sacrifice ; whereto hee invited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Ships. It was hote weather : and therefore hee would needes hold his Feast vpon the shore ; where, because there wanted couert, Hee made 40 them bring thither all their sailes and yards to be vsed in stead of Tents. They did so ; and feasted with him till it was late at night : at which time he left them there asleepe ; and putting to Sea, held on his course to Tyre. All that night, and the day following, He was sure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make haste to send any newes of him to Carthage, as thinking him to be gone Embassador : neither could they, without some losse of time, such of them as made most speed homeward, get away from *Cercina* ; being busied awhile in fitting their tackle. At Carthage, the misse of so great a person was diuerly confuted. Some ghesed aright, That he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the Romans had made him away. At length came newes where he had bene seene : and then the Roman Embassadors, hauing none other errand 50 thither, accused him (with an euill grace) as a troubler of the Peace ; wherby they onely discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of their Senate ; mistaking the while their purpose, and causing men to vnderstand, that He fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal coming to Tyre, the Mother-Citie of Carthage, was there entertained Royally : as one, in whose great worth and honour the Tyrians, by reason of affinity betweene their Cities, thought themselves to haue interest. Thence went hee to *Antioch* ; and, hiding the King, departed, visited his son in *Daphne* : who friendly welcommed

med him, and sent him vnto his Father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly reioyced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal* : so had the Romans no great cause to be therefore sorrie ; otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discouerie of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Countrey. For it would not proue alike easie vnto this great Commander, to make stout Souldiers of base *Asiatiques* ; as it had bin by his trayning and discipline, to make very seruiceable and skilfull men of Warre of the Spaniards, Africans, Gaules, and other Nations, that were hardie, though vnexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of cowardly people : yet was it therewithall considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the basenesse of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would bee farre more powerfull in making vnprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal* ; now a desolate and banished man ; than had bin the villanie of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in those actions where-in he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great Carthaginian, would onely help to ennoble the Roman Victory : or if it further serued to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him lesse carefull to auoid the war, then should it further serue, to iustifie the Romans in their quarrell. And it seemes indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For *Antiochus*, as is said before, hauing newly sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept : it was not probable, that hee had any meaning to take Armes ; vnlesse by mere violence he were thereto enforced. Onely the *Aetolians* were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of innouation, and therefore practising with this Great King ; whom they wished to see among them in Greece. In this regard, and to appease them ; they had of late bene answered with gentle words by one of the ten Counsaillours, That the Senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should aske. But this promise was too large, and vnaduised. For when their Embassadors came to Rome, the Senate would grant them nothing ; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who fauoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to 30 right themselves : otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the Romans out of Greece for very shame ; who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talke at Rome was of war with *Antiochus* ; but in Greece, when the Romans would leaue the Countrey. For the *Aetolians* were wont to vpbraide the rest of the Greeks with the vain libertie which the Romans had proclaimed, saying, That these their Deliuerers had laid heavier fetters vpon them, than formerly they did weare ; but yet brighter and fairer, than those of the Macedonian : likewise, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the Greeks their chaine, and tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in Greece, if the Romans had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* made no delay, in accomplishment of that which 40 was laid vpon him : all the Townes of Greece were at libertie, and the whole Countrey at peace, both with the Romans, and within it selfe. As for *Antiochus* ; Hee made it his daily suit, That the Peace betweene him and Rome, such as it was, might bee confirmed, and strengthened by a League of more assurance. Neuertheless, *T. Quintius* would needs feare that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to seize vpon Greece, as soone as hee and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, hee retained still in his owne hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the *Acrocorinthus* : by benefit of which Townes, he might the better withstand the dangerous Inuasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suteable vnto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the ten Embassadors, that had bene sent ouer to assist him ; when they returned backe into the Citie. *Antiochus*, they said, would questionlesse fall vpon Greece : wherein he should find not onely the *Aetolians*, but *Nabis* the 50 Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*, ready to giue him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to doe somewhat against these their suspected enemies : especially against *Nabis*, who could worst make resistance ; whilest *Antiochus* was farre away in Syria, and not intentiue to his business. These reports went not onely current through the Citie, among the Vulgar ; but found such credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following yeere, against which time it was expected that *Antiochus* should be ready to take his great enterprise in hand ; *P. Cornelius Scipio* the African, desired, and obtained, a second Consulship, with intention to be Generall in the Warre, against the King and his

Hannibal.

Hannibal. For the present, the businesse with *Nabis* was referred vnto *Titus*; to deale with him as hee thought good. This would bee a faire colour of his longer tarrance in Greece. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof also hee knew that many of the Greekes would not be sorry; though for his owne part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendship with him, two or three yeeres before this, as is already shewed, whilst he had warre with *Philip*: and had further beene contented for the Romans sake to be at peace with the Achæans; neither since that time had he done any thing, whereby he should draw vpon himselfe this Warre. Hee was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the Achæans; as one, that besides his owne wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great mischief. *Titus* therefore had a plausible Theme, wheron to discourse before the Embassages of all the Confederate Cities; Which he caused to meet for that purpose at Corinth. He told them, That in the war with *Philip*, not only the Greekes, but the Romans themselves, had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearsed) that should stirre them vp, and cause them to be earnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the Romans had none other interest, than onely the making perfect of their honour, in setting all Greece at liberty: which noble Action was in some sort maimed, or incomplete, whilst the noble City of Argos was left in subiection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged vnto them, the Greekes, duely to consider, whether they thought the deliuerance of Argos a matter worthy to bee vndertaken; or whether otherwise to auoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leaue it as it was. This concerned them, and not the Romans: who in taking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the Greekes themselves. The Athenian Ambassador made answer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleasing as hee could deuise. Hee gaue thanks to the Romans for what was past; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Proposition: wherein vnrequested they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement request of their poore Associates, they had already of late extended vnto the Greekes. To this Hee added, That great pittie it was to heare, such notable vertue & high deserts ill spoken of by some: which tooke vpon them, out of their owne imagination, to foretell what harme these their Benefactors meant to doe hereafter: when as Thankfulness rather would haue required an acknowledgement of the benefits and pleasures already receiued. Every one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the *Ætoliens*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Ætolian* rose vp, and told the Athenians their owne: putting them in minde of their ancient glorie, in those times when their City had beene the Leader of all Greece, for defence and recovery of the liberty generall: from which honour they were now so farre fallne, that they became Parasites vnto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base assentation, would leade all the rest into seruitude. Then spake He against the Achæans, Clients that had beene a long time vnto the Macedonian; and souldiers of *Philip*, vntill they ranne away from his aduersitie. These, He said, had gotten Corinth, and must now haue warre be made for their sakes, to the end that they might also bee Lords of Argos: whereas the *Ætoliens*, that had first made warre with *Philip*, and alwayes beene friends vnto the Romans, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus containe himselfe, but objected vnto the Romans, fraudulent dealing: forasmuch as they kept their Garrisons in Demetrias, Chalcis, and the *Acrocorinth*, hauing beene alwayes wont to professe, That Greece could neuer be at libertie, whilst those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seeke by this discourse of warre with *Nabis*, than businesse wherewith to finde themselves occupied, that so they might haue some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Country? But they should doe well, if they meant as they spake, to carry their Legions home out of Greece: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*, the *Ætoliens* themselves did promise, & would vndertake, That they would either cause him to yeeld to reason, and relinquish Argos freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes, to submit himselfe to the good pleasure of all Greece; that was now at vnitie. These words had beene reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparant, that no regard of the common liberty wrought so much with these *Ætoliens*; as did their owne rauinous desire of oppressing others, and getting vnto themselves, that worse would vse it, the whole Dominion in Greece, which *Philip* had

had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this; making it no small part of their grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had beene covenanted, That the Romans should enioy the spoyle of all, but leaue the Townes and Lands in possession of the *Ætoliens*. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole assembly, especially the Achæans, erie out vpon them: entreating the Romans to take such order before they went, that not onely *Nabis* might be compelled to doe right; but the *Ætolian* theëues bee enforced to keepe home, and leaue their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*: who saw, that by discourtenancing the *Ætoliens*, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well that *Antiochus* his Embassadors did presently after lie hard vpon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may bee greatly doubted. Hee cast them off with a slight answer: telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counsaillours which had beene sent vnto him from Rome, to bee his assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude vpon any thing.

Now concerning the Lacedæmonian warre; it was very soone ended. For *Titus* vsed the helpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if hee should haue had to doe with *Philip*. Besides the Roman forces, King *Enmenes* with a Nauie, and the Rhodian Fleet, were invited to the seruice: as also *Philip* of Macedon sent aid by Land; doing therein poorely, whether it were to get fauor of the Romans, or whether to make one among the number, in seeking reuenge vpon *Nabis*, that had done him iniurie. But the most forward in this Expedition were the Achæans, who set out ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the *Ætoliens*: rather to hold good fashion, and sound their dispositions, than in hope to speed, their helpe was required; whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the Achæans now become the prime friends of the Romans in Greece; hauing removed the *Ætoliens* from that degree of fauour: like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted of the same Lacedæmonians, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the Argiues, more bold than wise, began a conspiracie against the Lacedæmonians that held their Towne, meaning to open their gates vnto the Roman. But ere *Titus* drew neere, they were all detected and slaine: excepting a very few, that escaped out of the Towne. The fame of this Commotion, caused the Armie to march apace toward Argos; with hope to be there, before things were quiet. But there was no stir within the Walls: the execution done vpon the first mouers, hauing terrified all the rest of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to assaile *Nabis* in the head of his strength at Lacedæmon, than to consume time about other places; especially at Argos: for the freedom whereof since the Warre was made, pittie it were, that the calamities of the warre should thereon fall most heauily.

Nabis had in readinesse an Army of fifteene thousand, wherewith to defend himselfe against these Inuaders. Five thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his owne Countreie; but such as were of all others the worst, as manumitted slaues, malefactors and base peasants, vnto whom his Tyranny was beneficiall. Of the good and worthy Citizens he stood in doubt; and since he could not hope to win their loue, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an assembly: and compassing them round in with his Armie, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, hee said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemy. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and worke dangerous treason: it seemed vnto him the safest, and (withall) the mildest course, to arrest before-hand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preferue not only the City and his owne person from danger, but them also for the punishment, which else they might haue incurred. Hereupon hee cites and apprehends about fourescore of them; whom hee leades away to prison, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was hee sure that they neither should offend, nor yet breake loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noysed abroad: what could it else doe than terrifie the people; who must thereby vnderstand, that it was a mortal crime to bee suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it selfe vnto some

some poore wretches : whom he accused of a meaning to flie to the Enemie. These were openly whipt through all the streets, and slaine. Having thus affrighted the Citizens : He turned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemie, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a fallie : wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Towne had the better at first ; but were at length repelled with losse. *Titus* abode not many daies before Sparta : but ouer-ranne the Countrey ; hoping belike to prouoke the Tyrant forth to battaile. The Roman Fleet at the same time, with king *Eumenes* and the Rhodians, laid siege vnto Gyttheum, the onely or principall Town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to haue taken it by force ; when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two Gouvernours within the Towne equall in authoritie : whereof the one, either for feare, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the Romans. But the other fin-ling what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithfull, slue the Traitor ; after whose death, he himselfe alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Armie came thither to Gyttheum : this Captaine of the Towne had not the heart to abide the vttermost, and await what either Time or his Master might doe for him, but was contented to giue vp the place ; yet vpon Condition, to depart in safety to Sparta with his Garrison. *Pythagoras*, the sonne in law of *Nabis*, and brother vnto his wife, was come from Argos, whereof he had the Gouernment, with a thousand Souldiours Mercenaries, and two thousand Argiues : it being (as may seeme) the Tyrants purpose, to relieue Gyttheum : which he thought would haue held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost, then began they to thinke vpon finishing the warre, by some reasonable Composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent his Embassadour to *Titus* : requesting onely that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speak with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake very reasonably for himselfe : prouing, that he suffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments ; whereof the summe was, That whatsoeuer they now did, or could object vnto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon hee inferred, That neither for his keeping the Towne of Argos, nor for any other cause by them alleged, they ought to make warre vpon him ; since Argos, and all other their allegations whatsoeuer, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from 30 entering into that League with him, which was neuer broken on his part, nor ought to bee on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith satisfied. He charged him with Tyrannie ; and gaue instance, as easily he might, of diuers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, forasmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him ; it was expedient, that some other cause of this Inuasion should be alleged. Wherefore he said further, That this Tyrant had occupied Messene, a Towne Confederate with the Romans : That he had bargained to ioyne with *Philip* ; when he was their enemy, not onely in League, but also in affinity : and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of Malea. Now touching this Pyracie, since in the Articles by *Titus* propounded vnto *Nabis*, there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships, by him taken from the Greeks his neighbours, with whom hee had long held warre : it may seeme to haue bene objected, onely by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very frivolous. As for Messene, and the bargaine of Alliance made with *Philip* : they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betweene the Romans and this Tyrant ; and therefore not to haue bene mentioned. All this it seemes that *Aristianus*, the Prætor of the Achæans, very well perceived : who therefore doubting lest the Romans, (that were wont to talke so much of their own iustice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbear to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had neuer done them wrong ; framed his discourse to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to consider well of his owne estate ; & to settle his fortunes, whilest he might do it without hazzard : alledging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages ; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their Estates, and liued in great securitie, honour, and happinesse, as priuate men. Thus they discoursed vntill night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquish Argos ; and requested them, to deliuer vnto him in writing their other demands, that hee might take counsaile with his friends. The issue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must bee, for maintenance of an Armie to lie in Leaguer all that

that Winter (as there was no hope of making short worke) before the City of Sparta : they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, vpon such Conditions as *Titus* should thinke meet. Besides the restitution of Argos, and all the places thereon depending, *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them very grievous. He would not suffer the Lacedæmonian to haue ought to doe in the Ile of Crete ; no, nor to make any Confederacies ; nor warre, either in that Island or else where ; not to build any Towne or Castle vpon his owne Lands ; not to keepe any other shipping, than two small Barkes ; besides many other troublesome iniunctions ; with imposition of an hundred talents in siluer to be paid out of hand, and fiftie talents yeerely, for eight 10 yeeres next ensuing. For obseruance of these Couenants hee demanded fise hostages, such as he himselfe should name ; and one of them to bee the Tyrants owne sonne. If it had bene the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the warre from *Nabis*, because it was not grounded vpon iustice : then had it bene enough, if not more than enough, to take Argos from him ; which he himselfe did offer, though it were for feare, to deliuer vp. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the Roman faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound vnto the state of their best friends in Greece, by the extirpation of this Tyrannie : then should this enterprife, when once it was taken in hand, haue bin prosecuted vnto the very vtmost. As for this middle course which the Romans held : as it was not honourable vnto them, to enrich themselves by the spoyle 20 of one that had not offended them ; nor pleasing to the Achæans, who iudged it euer after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Titus* : so did it minister vnto the Ætolians, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which tooke vpon them to be Patrons of Greece, no barren Subiect of malicious discourse. For since *Philip*, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Masterly Romans, to hold any one of those Countries or Towns in Greece, that had belonged vnto his Ancestors : it was thought very strange, that Lacedæmon ; once the most famous Citie among all the Greekes, was by the same Romans left in possession of a Tyrant, that had vsurped it but yesterday : and hee therein rooted by their authoritie, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other side thought himselfe vnmercifully dealt withall, by the selfe-same 30 Romans, whose amity he had preferred in time of a doubtfull warre, before the loue and affinitie of the Macedonian king, that had committed the Citie of Argos into his hands. But fallily had he dealt with the Macedonian : and fallily was hee dealt with by those, to whom he did betake himselfe. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him ; saue onely that for the banished Lacedæmonians, (of whom a great number were in the Roman Campe ; hauing among them *Agisipolis* the naturall King of Sparta, that being a young childe was driuen out by *Lycurgus*, the first of the Tyrants) there was made no prouision, to haue them restored vnto their Citie and Estates ; but onely leaue required for as many of their wiues, as would be so contented, to liue abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to giue consent vnto these demands : 40 and sustained an assault or two ; hoping belike that the enemies would soone bee wearie. But his fearfull nature shortly ouercame the resolution, which the sense of these iniuries had put into him. So yeelding vnto all that had bene propounded, hee deliuered the hostages ; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at Rome by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the Romans faire more wicked than himselfe ; and was ready vpon the first aduantage, to doe them all the mischief that he could.

The Argiues had heard news that Lacedæmon was euen at point of being taken. This erected them, and gaue them heart to thinke vpon their owne good. So they aduentured to set vpon the Garrison ; which was much weakened, by the remooue of the three 50 thousand carried thence by *Pythagoras* to helpe the Tyrant at Sparta. There needed vnto their libertie no more, than that all of them ioyntly should set their hands to the getting of it ; which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came *T. Quintius* to Argos, where hee was ioyfully welcomed. Hee was deferuedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had layed hold without staying for him : and that he might the better entitle himselfe thereto, he caused the liberty of the Argiues to be proclaimed at the Nemean games ; as ratifying it by his authority. The Citie was annexed againe to the Councell of Achæia ; whereby the Achæans were not more strengthened, than the Argiues themselves were secured from danger of relapse, into

into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, *Titus* found little businessse or none wherewith to set on worke his Army in Greece. *Antiochus* was about to send another Embassage to Rome, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly disposed vnto quiet, *Scipio* the African, that was chosen Consul at Rome, could not haue his desire, of being sent Commander into Greece. The vnynckere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the *Aetolians*, were held as considerations worthy of regard: yet not sufficient causes of making War. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of confuting the *Aetolians*, and of thoroughly perswading all the Greeks (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to assure vnto themselves the Patronage of Greece) that the good of the Countrey, was their sole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation vnto it selfe, till occasion should be ripe, and call them ouer againe. Wherefore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any neere distance appearing; hee called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of Greece to Corinth: where he meant to bid them farewell. There hee recounted vnto them all that had passed since his comming into those parts; and willed them to value the Roman friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the Romans found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsell; touching the moderate vse of their libertie, and the care which they ought to haue of liuing peaceably, and without faction. Lastly he gaue vp *Acrocorinthus* to the *Achaens*; withdrawing thence the Roman Garrison, & promising to do the like (which very soone he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that so it might be knowne, what lyers the *Aetolians* were, who had accused the Romans, of a purpose to retaine those places. With ioyfull acclamations did the Greekes testifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had said and done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to ransom and enlarge all Romans, that had bene sold into their Countrey by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in Greece with an happy end: and by leaving the Countrey before his departure was vrged, left therein behinde him the memory of his vertue and benefits, vntainted by ieaousie & suspition of any euill meaning. At his comming to the City, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodliest of all that Rome had vntill that day beheld. Three daies together the shew of his pomp continued: as being set out with the spoyle of a Countrey, more abundant in things worthy of such a spectacle, than any wherein the Romans had before made Warre. All sorts of Armes, with Statues and curious pieces of Brasle or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The second day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Siluer: some in the rude Masse vnwrought, some, in diuers sorts of Coine; and some, in Vessels of sundry kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were tenne shields, all of Siluer; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himselfe entred the Citie in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and foureteen Crownes of Gold, bestowed vpon him by diuers Cities. There were also led the beasts for Sacrifice, the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, *Pentrius* the sonne of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the sonne of *Nabis*, were principall. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking, to the shew) the Roman Captiues, by his procurement redeemed from slavery in Greece.

Not long after this Triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of Greece and Asia. They had all very fauourable answers, excepting those of king *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred ouer to *T. Quintius*, and the ten that had bin his Counsaillors; because their businessse was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadors wondred. They said vnto *Titus* & his Associates, That they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexity of their message. For all Treaties of peace and friendship, were either betwene the Victor and the vanquished; between those, that hauing warred together, were vpon equall termes of aduantage; or betwene those that had liued alwayes in good agreement, without any quarrell. Vnto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yeeld; and patiently endure the imposition of some Conenants, that else might seeme vnreasonable. Where Warre had bene made, and no aduantage gotten: there was it vsuall to demand, and make restitution of things and places claimed, gotten, or lost; accordingly as both parts could

could agree. But betwene those which had neuer fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to bee proposed: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their owne; and neither carry it selfe as superiour vnto the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kinde, was the league & friendship that had bene so long in conclusion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the Romans. Which being so: they held it strange, that the Romans should thus insist on points no way concerning them, and take vpon them to prescribe vnto the King, what Cities of Asia hee should set at libertie; from what Cities they would giue him leaue to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting, or not putting, his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should thinke fit. Hereto *Quintius* answered, that since they went so distinctly to worke, Hee would also doe the like. Wherefore he propounded vnto them two Conditions, and gaue them their choyce whether to accept: Eyther that it should be lawfull for the Romans, to take part in Asia with any that would seeke their friendship; Or if King *Antiochus* misliked this, and would haue them forbear to meddle in Asia, that then he should abandon whatsoeuer he had gotten in Europe. This was plaine dealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadors had propounded. For if the Romans might be hired to abstaine from Asia, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately wonne in Europe: then did not the affaires of *Smyrna*, *Lampascus*, or any other Asiaticques, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, binde them in honour to make warre with a King that sought their loue, and had neuer done them iniury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliuer vp vnto them the Citie of *Lyfimachia*, whereon of late he had bene at so much cost; in building it vp euen from the foundation, and reoppling it with Inhabitants, that had all bene dispersed, or captiue to the Barbarians. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alledged: saying, That *Antiochus* desired friendship of the Romans; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the Romans tooke vpon them as if their cause were farre the superiour. For it was, they said, their purpose, to set at liberty those Towns, which the King would oppresse and hold in subiection: especially since those Townes were of Greekish blood and language, and fell in that regard vnder the patronage, which Rome had afforded vnto all Greece besides. By this colour they might soon haue left *Antiochus* king of not many subiects on the hither side of *Euphrates*. Neither did they forbear to say, That, vnlesse hee would quit what he held in Europe, it was their meaning not onely to protect those which relied vpon them in Asia, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might bee vnderstood) with such as were his subiects. Wherefore they vrged his Embassadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleasing answer, which the Embassadors could not hereto make; little wanted of giuing presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to be entreated, and were contented once againe to send ouer *P. Villius*, and others that had bin already with the King at *Lyfimachia*; by whom they might receiue a finall answer, whether these demands made by *Quintius* and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitlesse Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two yeeres, or thereabouts, to prepare for warre; finding in the Romans all that while, no disposition to let him liue in peace.

§. V.

Of the long warres which the Romans had with the Gaules, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. Porcius Cato. Injuries done by Masaniissa to the Carthaginians, that sue to the Romans for iustice in vaine.

THE Insubrians, Bojians, & other of the Cisalpine Gaules, together with the Ligurians, made often, and (in a manner) continuall warre vpon the Romans in Italy, euen from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, vntill such time as they themselves were vtterly subdued: which was nor, before the Romans were almost at the very height of their Empire. These Nations, hauing serued vnder *Mago* for wages, and afterwards hauing gotten *Amikar* a Carthaginian, to bee Leader vnto them all, as hath bene already shewed; by this their fellowship in

Armies, grew to bee such willing partakers each of others fortune; that seldome afterwards either the Gaules or Ligurians did stir alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the Romans first prevailed, and got large possessions in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called Lumbardie; it hath bin long since rehearsed between the first and second *Punicke Wars*. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrey, by means of *Hannibal* his passage there-through. Neither is it likely that the re-conquest would haue beene more difficult or tedious vnto the Romans, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed vnto this warre, had not beene distracted by the Ligurians; that alwayes made them to proceed warily, hauing an eye to the danger at their backes. The Ligurians were a stout nation, light and swift of bodie; well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any ouerthrow, but forthwith ready to fight againe. Their Countrey was mountainous, rough, wooddie, and full of straight and dangerous passages. Few good Townes they had; but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither bee taken nor besieged. They were also very poore; and had little or nothing that might giue contentment, vnto a victorious Armie that should spoyle their Land. In these respects, they serued excellently well, to traine vp the Roman Souldiers to hardnesse & military patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of warre) to endure much, and liue contented with a little. Their quarrell to Rome, grew partly from their loue vnto the Gaules, 10 their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing & spoiling the Territories of their borderers, that were subiect vnto Rome. But their obstinate continuance in the Warre which they had begun, seemes to haue bin grounded vpon the Condition of all Saluages; To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Iudgement: and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formall conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from vsing their aduantage, or taking reuenge of iniuries when they returne to minde. This qualitie is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Warres betwene them and any of their neighbours, doe vse commonly this answer, *It hath still bene the custome for vs and them, to fight one against the other.*

Diners ouerthrowes, though none that were great, these Ligurians gaue vnto the Romans: but many more, and greater, they receiued. Often they sought peace, when they found themselves in distresse; and brake it againe as often, when they thought it profitable so to doe. The best was, that as their Countrey was a good place of exercise vnto the Romans, so out of their owne Countrey they did little harme: not sending any great Armies farre from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make warre, saue on their owne ground.

The Countrey of Spaine, as it was the first part of the Continent out of Italy that became subiect vnto the Romans: so was it the last of all their Prouinces, which was wholly & thoroughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers vnto an Ox- 40 hide: & the Romans found in it the property of that Ox-hide, which *Calanus* the Indian shewed vnto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For, treading vpon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with Spaine. Seldome did it happen, that those parts from which the Roman Armies lay furthest, were not vp in rebellion. The Spaniards were a very hardie Nation, and easily stirred vp to armes; but had not much knowledge in the Art of warre, nor any good Captaines. They wanted also (which was their principall hinderance) good intelligence among themselves: and being diuided into many small Signiories, that had little other communion than of language, they seldome or neuer provided in generall for the common good of their Countrey; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to looke vnto 50 their owne Territory. Such priuate respects made them often to fall asunder, when many had vnited themselves together, for chasing out of the Romans. And these were the causes of their often ouerthrowes: as desire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking armes.

The Carthaginians had bene accustomed, to make euacuation of this Cholericke Spanish humour; by employing as Mercenaries in their warres abroad, those that were most likely to be vnquiet at home. They had also taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and vsed them in another: finding meanes to pay them all, out of the profits which

which they raised vpon the whole Countrey; as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the Romans, in that kinde. But contrariwise the Romans, vsing the seruice of their owne Legions, and of their sure friends the Latines, had little businesse for the Spaniards; and therefore were faine to haue much businesse with them. Spaine was too far distant, and withal too great, for them to send ouer Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they tooke in Italy. Wherefore it remained, that they should alwayes maintaine such Armies in the Countrey, as might serue to hold it in obedience perforce; and such heedfull Captaines, as might be still ready to oppose the Barbarians in their first Commotion. This they did: and thereby held the Countrey; though seldome in peace.

Very soone after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised warre in Spaine against the Romans; en vpon the same generall ground, that was the foundation of all the Spanish Warres following. It was thought vnreasonable, that the Spaniards should one while helpe the Carthaginians against the Romans, and another while the Romans against the Carthaginians; basely forgetting to help themselves against those that were strangers, yet vsurped the Dominion ouer them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behinde him in that Countrey, being well acquainted with the manner of Warre in those parts, suppressed this Rebellion by many victories: and, together with subiection, brought peace vpon the Countrey; which lasted five yeeres. This victory of the Romans, though it happily ended the Warre: yet left it still remaining the cause of the Warre; which after five yeeres brake out againe. The Spaniards fought a battaile with the Roman Proconsull, whom they slew; and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy successe of their Warres in Greece, made the Romans thinke it enough to send thither two Prætors, and with each of them some two Legions. Those did somewhat: yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Consull the yeere following, and sent into that Prouince; found at his coming little lesse to doe, than the reconquering of all Spaine. But it fell out happily, that all the Spaniards were not of one minde: some were faithfull to Rome; and some were idle beholders of the paines that other tooke. Yet when *Cato* had wonne a great victory vpon the chieftest of 30 them; they rose against him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him vnto much new trouble. Whilest he was about to make a journey against those that were as yet vnsubdued: some of the lately vanquished, were euen ready to rebell. Hee therefore disarmed them: which they tooke so heauily, that many of them slew themselves, for very griefe. Hearing of this; and well vnderstanding, that such desperation might worke dangerous effects; Hee called vnto him the principall among them: and commending vnto them peace and quietnesse, which they neuer had disturbed but vnto their owne great losse, He prayed them to deuise what course might be taken, for holding them assured vnto Rome, without further trouble. None of them could, or would giue counsaile in a matter of this nature. Hauing therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding 40 their inuention barren in this kinde of Subiect; Hee gaue expresse charge, That vpon a day appointed they should throw downe the walls of all their Townes. Afterwards he carried the Warre about from place to place; and with singular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to Rome, in this time of danger, to imitate the Carthaginians, and hire an Army of the Celtiberians, against other of their Countrimen: excusing the indignity, such as it seemed, with a iest, That if he were vanquished and slaine, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, hee could pay them with the Enemies money. Finally, He brought the warre to so good end, that in long time after, though Spaine were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publike Reuenues in that Prouince, by causing some Mines of Iron and Siluer to be wrought, that had before laine vnregarded. 50 Herein hee did benefit the Common-wealth, by a vertue much agreeable to his owne peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not onely very notable in the Art of war, which might well be thentermed the Occupation of the Romans; but so well furnished with all other vsfull qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might seeme requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skilfull in the Roman Lawes, a man of great Eloquence, & not vnprofitable in any businesse either priuate or publike. Many bookes he wrote: wherof the principall were, of the Roman antiquities, & of husbandry. In matter

of husbandrie he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of meane birth, and the first of his Houſe. Strong of bodie he was, and exceeding temperate: ſo as he liued in perfect health to very old age. But that which moſt commended him vnto the better ſort of the Romans, was his great ſinceritie of life, abſtinance from bribes, and faſhioning himſelfe to the ancient laudable Cuſtomes of the Citie. Herein he had merited ſingular commendations, if the vehemencie of his nature had not cauſed him to maligne the vertue of that Noble *Scipio* the African, and ſome other worthy men; that were no leſſe honeſt than himſelfe, though farre leſſe ſiged, and more gallant in behauiour. Otherwiſe, hee was a very good Citizen, and one of ſuch temper, that he could faſhion himſelfe to all occaſions; as if he were neuer out of his Element. He loued buſineſſe ſo well, or rather hated vice ſo earneſtly; that euen vnto the end of his life, he was exerciſed in defending himſelfe, or accuſing others. For at the age of foureſcore & fixe yeers, He pleaded in his owne defence: and foure yeeres after, he accuſed *Sergius Galba* vnto the People. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his familie; which ended in his great grand-child *M. Cato* the Vtican: one, that being of like vertue and ſeruenice, had all his good purpoſes daſht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of ſuch Nobilitie and Greatneſſe as this his Anceſtor had continually vexed.

The Spaniſh warres, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrey, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrey ſeldome free from inſurrection, in one part or other. The Roman Prætors therefore, of which two euery yeere 20 were ſent ouer Commanders into Spaine (that was diuided into Governments) did rarely faile of ſuch worke, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One ſlew thirtene thouſand Spaniards in a battell: another tooke ſixtie Townes; and a third enforced many States of the Countrey to ſue for Peace. Thus euery one of them, or moſt of them, did ſome laudable ſeruiſe; and yet ſo, that commonly there were of men, townes, and people, new that rebelled, in ſtead of the old that were ſlaue, taken, or reclaimed. At the cauſes hereof, I haue already pointed; and therefore thinke it enough to ſay, That the buſineſſe in Spaine required not the employment of a Roman Conſul, from ſuch time as *Cato* thence departed, vntill the Numantian Warre broke out, which was very long after.

In all other Countreies to the Weſt of the Ionian Seas, the Romans had peace; but ſo had not the Carthaginians. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* Houſe promiſed all felicitie which Rome could grant, vnto themſelves & their obedient Citie: *Mafaniſſa* fell to diſputing with the ſword, about the title to the beſt part of their Lands. He began with Emporia, a fruitfull Region about the leſſer Syrtis; wherein among other Cities was that of Leptis, which daily paid a Talent vnto Carthage for Tribute. This Countrey the Numidian challenged; & by winning ſome part of it, ſeemed to better his claime vnto the whole. Hee had a great aduantage: for that the Carthaginians might not make any warre, without leaue obtained from their Maſters the Romans. They had none other way of redreſſe, than by ſending to Rome 40 their Complaint of his doings. And ſurely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Iudges had bene vnpartiall. For beſides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds, had left them the poſſeſſion of this Countrey: *Mafaniſſa* himſelfe, now very lately purſuing a Rebelle that fled out of his Kingdome, deſired leaue of the Carthaginians, for himſelfe to paſſe through it in his way to Cyrene: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwiſe bene questionable) that the Countrey was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Mafaniſſa* had where-with to iuſtifie his proceedings, eſpecially vnto the Roman Senate. He gaue the *Fathers* to vnderſtand by his Embaſſadours, what faithleſſe people the Carthaginians were, and how ill affected to the State of Rome. There had lately been ſent vnto them from *Hannibal*, one that ſhould perſwade them to take part with *Antiochus*. 50 This man they had examined vpon ſome ſuſpicion of his errand; yet neither arreſting him nor his ſhip, had thereby afforded him meanes to eſcape. Hence the Numidian concluded, That certainly it was their purpoſe to rebell; and therefore good policie to keepe them downe.

As for the Countrey of Emporia: it had alwayes, he ſaid, bene theirs that were able to hold it by ſtrong hand: and ſo belonged ſometime vnto the Numidian kings; though now of late it was in poſſeſſion of the Carthaginians. But if truth were knowne, the Citizens of Carthage had not any very warrantable title vnto any more ground, than 4 that

that whereon their Citie ſtood; or ſcarcely to ſo much. For they were no better than ſtrangers in Africk, that had gotten leaue there to build vpon ſo much ground, as they could encompaſſe with an Ox-hide cut into ſmall thongs. Whatſoeuer they held without ſuch a compaſſe, was purchaſed by fraud, and wrongfull encroachments. This conſidered, *Mafaniſſa* requested of the Senate, That they would not adiudge vnto ſuch ſurpers, the Countrey ſometimes appertaining to the Anceſtors of him their aſſured friend. The Romans hauing heard theſe allegations on both ſides, found the matter ſo doubtful, that they could not on the ſudden tell what to determine. Wherefore becauſe they would doe nothing raſhly; they ſent ouer three Embaſſadours, of whom *P. Scipio* the 10 African was one and the chiefe, to decide the controuerſie: yet ſecretly giuing them inſtructions, to leaue all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embaſſadours followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely, that *Mafaniſſa* with a ſtrong Armie ſhould quickly preuaile, againſt thoſe that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime againſt the wrong. By ſuch Arts were the Carthaginians held, not onely from ſtirring in fauour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any diſpoſition; but were prepared by little and little vnto their finall deſtruction: that came vpon them, when the Romans had leiſure to expreſſe the vtmoſt of their hatred.

§. VI.

10 The *Ætolians* labour to prouoke *Antiochus*, *Philip*, and *Nabis*, to warre vpon the Romans by whom they hold themſelves wronged and diſgraced. *Nabis* beſiegeth *Gythium*, and waſteth ſome part of *Achaia*. The exact ſkill of *Philopœmen*, in aduantage of *Pyrrhus*: whereby hee utterly vanquiſheth *Nabis*. *Antiochus* being denied Peace by the Romans, ioyne with the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* ſurprize *Demetrias*; and by killing *Nabis*, their Confederates, ſeize vpon *Sparta*. But they are driuen out by the Citizens: who at *Philopœmen* his perſwaſions annexe themſelves to the *Achaians*.

30 **A**L L Greece being at peace, and the Roman Armies thence departed; it grieved much the *Ætolians* to thinke, that they who had promiſed vnto themſelves the whole ſpoyle of *Philip*, and the higheſt reputation among the Greeks; were not onely diſappointed of their couetous hopes, but quite forſaken by their ancient dependants, and of all other the moſt vnregarded. Yet was there made a great acceſſe to their Eſtate; by adding much vnto them, of that which had bene taken from the Macedonian. This might well haue ſufficed them, if their deſires had not bene immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their deſire. But they were, not ſo pleaſed with that which they had, ſince they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the deniall of that which they claimed, and with finding themſelves to be wholly diſeſteemed, wherein they thought that they had vnſuf- 40 ſerable wrong. Wherefore they deuised, in a Parliament which they ſhortly held, by what meanes they beſt might right themſelves, and giue the Romans a ſorrowful knowledge of the difference, betwene their enmity and friendſhip. To this purpoſe they ſoone agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not onely perſwade *Antiochus* to make war vpon the Romans, as one to whom the Romans had long reſuſed Peace; but that they would deale with the King of Macedon their ancient enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, to ioyne altogether in a new Confederacy: whoſe ioynt forces could not in all likelihood, but far ſurmount thoſe of the Romans, *Achaians*, *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enter- 50 priſe, which the *Ætolians* tooke in hand; and well beſeeming them, for they were great 30 dars. They ſent Embaſſadours to all theſe Kings, with perſwaſions, as they thought moſt forcible. But *Philip* was irrefolute; and *Antiochus* willing to try firſt all other courſes. *Nabis* the Lacedæmonian, who neither (as *Philip*) had loſt much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in feare of any warre; yet ſhewed himſelfe of all other the moſt forward: and not ſtaying ſo much as to ſeek any good pretence, beganne immediately to lay ſiege vnto *Gythium*; that had bene lately taken from him by the Romans. The *Achaians*, to whoſe care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had committed the affaires of Peloponneſus, were not ſlow to admoniſh *Nabis* of his duty: neither would they haue ſtaied long from repreſſing his violence by open VVare; had not ſome of them thought it wiſedome

to aske counsaile of the Romans, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themselves in a businesse of such importance. Whilest thus they spent time in sending Embassadors, and were aduised by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to waite for the coming of the Roman forces that would shortly be amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to giue them iust cause of complaint, by waiking their owne Territorie.

Philopamen was then Prator of the Achæans, who had long bin absent in Crete; making war there for his mindes sake & recreation. Vnto him the Achæans referred themselves, giuing him leaue to order the warre at his pleasure; either staying till the Romans came, or doing otherwise, as he should thinke best. He made all haste to relieue Gytthem by Sea; fearing lest the Towne, and the Achæan Garrison within it, should be lost, if to he vsed any delay. But *Philopamen* was so bad a Sea-man, that hee knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. Hee made a *Quadrireme* Gallie his Admirall, that had fourescore yeeres agoe bene counted a gallant vessell, in the Nauie of *Antigonius Gomatas*. Neither was the rest of his Fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the Lacedæmonian. Onely it fell out well, that he committed himselfe to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with their wings, than with her tallons. For his Admirall Gallie was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leakes, and tooke in water so fast, that she was faine to yeeld without further resistance. When the rest of the Fleete saw what was become of their Admirall, all were presently discouraged, and saued themselves with what speed they could. But *Philopamen* was not herewith danted. If hee had failed in Sea-seruice, which was none of his Occupation, He said, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Armie from the siege of Gytthem, to stop the Achæans if they should inuade the Countrie. But vpon these which were placed in guard of Laconia, *Philopamen* came vnexpected; fired their Camp, and put all, saue a very few of them, to the sword. Then marched hee with all his Army towards Lacedæmon: within ten mile whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him that had already taken Gytthem. It was not expected that *Nabis* would haue bene ready for them so soon. Or if he should come from Gytthem, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that hee must ouertake them, and charge them in the Rere. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long Troupe reaching some fife miles; hauing their Horse, and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to beare off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly vnderstood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Armie; encamped there where they meant to haue lodged. It was the custome of *Philopamen*, when he walked or travelled abroad with his friends, to marke the situation of the Countrie about him; and to discouise, what might befall an Armie marching the same. He would suppose, That hauing with him there such a number of Souldiers, ordered and sorted in such manner, and marching towards such a place; he were vpon that ground encountred by a greater Armie, or better prepared to the fight. Then would hee put the question, whether it were meet for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand: what peece of ground it were meet for him to seize vpon; and in what manner he might best doe it: in what fort he should order his men; where bestow his Carriages, and vnder what Guard; in what fort encampe himselfe; and which way march the day following. By such continuall meditation, Hee was growne so perfect, that hee did neuer meet with any difficultie, whence hee could not explicate himselfe and his followers. At this time hee made a stand: and hauing drawne vp his Rere, Hee encamped neere vnto the place where hee was; within halfe a mile of the Enemy. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rocke; encompassing them round with his Souldiours. The ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brooke; whereto the Achæans lay the neerer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. *Philopamen* vnderstood this; and layd an ambush in place conuenient; wherein to the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, hee caused one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant; as a fugitiue, and tell him, that the Achæans had a purposeto get between him and Lacedæmon; wherby they would both debarre his returne into the Citie, and withall encourage the people to take Armes for the recouerie of their freedome. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Campe, which hardly otherwise would haue bene forced.

Some

Some Companies he made to stay behinde, and shew themselves vpon the Rampart, thereby to conceale his departure. But *Philopamen* was not so to be beguiled. Hee easily wonne the Campe, and gaue chase to *Nabis*: whose followers being ouertaken, had no courage to turne about and make head. The enemies being thus dispersed, and fled into Woods, where they lay in couert all that day; *Philopamen* conceiued a right, that their feare and necessitie would teach them to creepe homewards, and saue themselves, when it grew darke. Wherefore in the Euening, when hee had gathered together all those of his Light-armature, which had followed the chase whilest it was day, He led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, & occupied the two most ordinary passages vnto Lacedæmon. So *Nabis* his men, when it was darke night, perceiuing in *Philopamen* Campe great store of lights; thought that all had bene at rest: and therefore aduentured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into Sparta. Thirty dayes together after this, did *Philopamen* waite the Countrey round about, whilest *Nabis* durst not issue forth of his Towne; and then returned home, leauing the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The Roman Embassadors were then in Greece, & *T. Quintius* among them; labouring to make their partie strong against *Antiochus* & *Nabis*, whom they knew to bee solicited by the Ætolians. Very faire countenance they also made vnto *Philip*; and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew, whatsoever hee thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore vnto him his sonne: and were contented to let him hope, that he should receiue other fauours at their hands; and regain possession of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the Romans prepare for warre against *Antiochus* in Greece, whilest their Embassadors that were with him in Asia, denyed otherwise to grant him Peace, than if he would yeelde vnto one of the Conditions, by them so often propounded. The long absence of this King in Syria, where he had accomplished the marriage betweene *Ptolome* and his daughter; together with the death of yong *Antiochus* the kings sonne, which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or seemed to hinder the King, from giuing audience in person to the Embassadors, caused them to returne home to Rome; as vncertaine of their answer as at their setting forth.

One thing that might haue bene, and partly was, beneficiall vnto them, they brought to passe during their abode at Ephesus; either by cunning, or (as *Liue* rather thinkes) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for hauing thus fled vnto *Antiochus*, vpon a causelesse suspicion wherein he held the Romans; that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many haue affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of these Embassadors; and that he, among other discourses with *Hannibal*, demanded once, *Which of all the famous Capitaines that had liued, Hannibal iudged the most worthy?* So *Hannibal* gaue to *Alexander* of Macedon the first place: to *Pyrhus* the second: and the third he challenged vnto himselfe. But *Scipio* who thought his owne title better, than that it ought to be so forgotten: asked yet further, What wouldest thou haue said then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadst vanquished me? To whom the Carthaginian replied, Then would not I haue giuen the first place to *Alexander*, but haue claimed it as due vnto my selfe. Now whether this were so, or otherwise: the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the Roman Embassadors, made him suspected of *Antiochus*; who therefore did forbear a while to vse his counsell. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceiued this change in the King: and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; He easily recouered his former grace, and credit. For hee told how his Father had caused him to sweare at the Altars, when he was a little boy, That he neuer should be friend vnto the Romans. Wherefore he willed the king not to regard any vaine surmises: but to know thus much, That so long as he thought vpon warre with Rome, so long would *Hannibal* doe him all good seruice: whereas contrariwise if he intended to make peace, then should it behooue him to vse the counsaile of some other man.

The Ætolians, and their friends, were no lesse busie all this while, in making their partie strong against the Romans, than were the Romans, in mustering vp their friends in Greece. They had so often dealt with *Antiochus*, vnting much of their owne forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victory against *Philip*; that finally they preuailed with him; especially when the Roman Embassadors had left him without hope of peace, vntles he would buy it at a deare rate. They dealt in like sort with the Macedonian.

But

But in vaine. He vnderstood the Romans, and himselfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own forces to the vttermost : as knowing, that all the burthen must lie vpon *Antiochus* and themselves, without helpe from any ; saue onely from some few that were discontented in Greece. Whilest they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the king *Antiochus* that animated them to resolution : the Athenian Embassadors, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemencie a little, by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the Romans, that lay neere at hand. For want of a ready answer hereto, they were contented to approue the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the businesse worthy of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himselfe against the Romans: it would be no small 10 piece of seruice, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the aduventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panatholium*, or great Assembly of the Nation ; where he forgot nothing that might serue to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprize which they took in hand, whereby Greece was like to become a Champaigne-field, on which, to the ruine of the Country, the Romans, and king *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Ma-
 * *the Sticklers*. As for those grieuances which did thus exasperate them, and vrge them to such violent courses, Hee willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might doeto send Embassadors to Rome, that should either pleade 20 their right in the Senate, or (if their right vnto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to haue what they desired : than thus to set the world in an vprore, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said, or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the king, whose helpe they had sought, waite so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the Romans. Neither was it newes vnto them to heare those comfortable words, That, by sending to Rome, they might happen to obtain what they desired, either as their right, or else by way of fauour. For with such termes had they been feasted once already: and whereby the Senate reiected vnto *Titus* : who, hauing it in his owne power, gaue them no satisfaction ; yet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This were onely losse of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Where 30 fore without more adoe they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus the Great* should be entreated to come ouer into Greece, as wel to set the country at libertie, as also to decide the controuerfies depending between the Romans and *Ætoliens*. Such a Decree they would not haue made, had they not vnderstood the kings minde before. Hauing made it, they forgot no point of brauery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassadors, and against the Romans. *Titus* desired of their Prætor, to let him see a Copie of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to doe : but that this Decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if hee came to their campe in Italy vpon the riuer of *Tibris*. Gentler words would haue done better, as the *Ætoliens* are like to vnderstand hereafter. But hauing thus begun, they meant hence- 40 forth to goe roundly to worke. The care of the warre they referred vnto the more priuate Councell of their Nation, that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authority of a generall Assembly. The *Apocleti* (so were the Priuie Councell of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to worke as any of the yongest heads could haue done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta* : to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrias* they tooke vpon the sudden, entring, some of them as friends to conduct home a principall man of the Citty : who for speaking words against *T. Quintius*, had bene drinen to flee thence, but was, by intercession of those that loued him, againe recalled. His *Ætolian* companions, that were 50 not many, seized vpon a Gate, whereat they let in a Troupe which they had left not far behind them; and so fell to murdering the chiefe of the Roman Faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Town prepared to defend it selfe against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostilitie, they gaue a gentle answer, saying, That they came not thither as enemies, but onely, to deliuer the Towne from the Romans ; who more insolently dominated ouer it, than cuer the *Macædonians* had done. By which Rhetoricke they preuailed no more, than they could doe by plaine force.

* Lin. l. 35. ad-
 missis *Ætoliis*,
 forte, *lanis*.

force. For the Towne-men replied, That they neither found any abridgement of their libertie, nor needed any Garrison to keep them from the Romans, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor receiued iniurie. So this businesse was dashed. The attempt vpon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good friend, was Lord of the Towne, styling himselfe King : but, more truly by all men called Tyrant. He had well-nere lost all, by means of the ouerthrow which *Philopamen* had lately giuen him: since, he durst not stirre abroad ; and daily expected the mischiefe, that on all sides threatened him. Wherefore hee sent messengers, one after another, to the *Ætoliens* ; requesting them, That as He had not bene slow to stirre in their behalfe, but adu ventured himselfe 10 vpon the vtmost of danger, when all others were backward ; so they would be pleased to send him what helpe they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to neede it. It hath bene often said, That the rauenous *Ætoliens* were onely true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship otherwise than as it might conduce to their owne ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his mercenarie forces, which vpheld his Tyranny, were in a manner consumed : they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way ; &c. by so doing, to assure *Lacedæmon* vnto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a worke. To him they gaue a thousand Foot, and thirtie Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirtie were by *Democritus* the Prætor brought into the Councell of the 20 *Apocleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to thinke that they were sent to make warre with the *Achæans*, or to doe ought else, saue onely what *Alexamenus* should command them ; which were it neuer so desperate, and in seeming against all reason ; yet must they vnderstand, that vnlesse they performed it, they should haue no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom hee encouraged with braue words : telling him that *Antiochus* was already in Europe, and would be anon in Greece, meaning to couer all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the Romans were like to finde other manner of worke, than of late with *Philip* : since the Elephants of this great king, without other helpe, would suffice to tread them downe. As for the *Ætoliens*, He said, that if need should so require, they would 30 presently send away to *Lacedæmon* all the forces that they could raise : But that they were very desirous at the present, to make as goodly a muster as they could before the great king, which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart, bring forth his men, that had bin long pent vp in the Citty, and traine them without the wals : as if shortly he should employ them in worke of conquest, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this : and daily exercised his men in the field ; riding vp and downe with this *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or foure horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamenus* made it his fashion to step aside alone to his *Ætoliens*, and say somewhat as he thought fit : which done, he still returned againe to *Nabis*. But when he 40 saw time for the great worke that he had in hand : He then went aside to his thirtie horsemen, and bade them remember the taske enioyned them at their setting forth ; telling them that they were all in case of banished men, vnlesse they would anone come vp to him, and helpe him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant beganne to draw neere them : and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and stricke him downe. The thirtie *Ætoliens* neuer stood to deliberate vpon the matter : but all flew in ; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently vpon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ranne vnto the dead body : where in stead of seeking reuenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætoliens* hastened into the Citty, and seized on the Palace : where he fell to ransacking the Treasure ; and troubled 50 himselfe with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Towne, did also the like ; with the greater indignation of the Citizens, who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not indure to see those that had slaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the towne was shortly in Armes : and for lacke of another Captaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall stocke, that had bene brought vp with *Nabis* his children ; whom they mounted vpon a good Horse, and made him their Chiefe. So they fell vpon the *Ætoliens* that were idley stragling about ; and put them all to the sword. *Alexamenus* with

with not many of his Company, were slaine in keeping the Citadell: and those few that escaped thence into Arcadia, were taken by the Magistrates, who sold them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtfull Estate of things at Lacedæmon, *Philopamen* came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citi, and speaking such words vnto them, as *Alexamennus* should haue done after he had slaine the Tyrant; easily perswaded them for their owne good and safety, to incorporate themselues with the Achæans. Thus by the enterprife, no lesse dishonourable than difficult, of the Aetolians, and the small, but effectuall, trauaile of *Philopamen*, the Achæans made a notable purchase: and Lacedæmon, that had hitherto bin gouerned either by kings, or by Tyrants that called themselues kings, became the member of a Common-wealth, wherof the name had scarce any reputation, when Sparta ruled ouer all Greece.

§. VII.

Antiochus, perswaded by Thoas the Aetolian, comes ouer into Greece, ill attended. Sundry passages betwene him, the Aetolians, Chalcidians and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole Ile of Eubœa. The vanitie of the Kings Embassadors and the Aetolians, with the Ciuill answer of Titus to their discourse, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greekes to haue desired peace, betwene the Romans and Antiochus; as the best assurance of their owne libertie. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King. Of Aminander; and an idle vanitie, by which King Philip was lost. Hannibal giues good counsaile in vaine. Some Townes wonne in Thessalie. The King retires to Chalcis; where hee marieth a young wife, and reuels away the rest of winter. Vpon the coming of the Roman Consul all forsaie Antiochus. He with two thousand Aetolians keeps the Streights of Thermopyla. He is beaten, and flies into Asia: leaving all in Greece vnto the Victors.

Antiochus was troubled much in Asia with *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leaue them Enemies behinde him; and to winnethem by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was hee desirous with all speede conuenient to shew himselfe in Greece; where he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the Countrie there was a very small number, which bore heartie affection vnto the Romans: That *Nabis* was already vp in Armes: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chaine, desiring nothing more than to breake loose; and that the Aetolians, without whom the Romans had done nothing, nor nothing could haue done, were ready to conferre vpon him the greatnesse, which they had vnworthily bestowed vpon insolent Barbarians. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise as added credit vnto all the rest. Whilest therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into Africke, there to molest the Romans, & so giue him the better leisure of vsing his owne opportunities in Greece: *Thoas* the Aetolian came ouer to him, & bad him lay all other care aside, for that his Country-men had already taken *Demetrias*; a Towne of maine importance, that should giue him entertainment, whence he might proceede as became the greatnesse of his vertue and fortune. This did serue to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*: *Thoas* was bold to tell the king, first, That it was not expedient for him to diuide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into Greece, might serue to lay open vnto him all places, without neede of vsing violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprife there could not be chosen a more vsit man to be employed in the kings seruice, than was that famous *Hannibal* the Carthaginian. For he said, That the king should as greatly feeble the losse of a Fleet at Arme, perishing vnder such a notable Commander if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried vnder one of meaner qualitie: whereas neuertheless if *Hannibal* prospered, *Hannibal* alone should haue all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, That such a renowned Warriour should be alwayes nere vnto the kings person, to giue aduice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good successe would wholly redound vnto the honour of him that had the soueraigne Command; euen of the King himselfe. *Antiochus* gladly hearkened vnto this admonition; being ielous of the vertue, that shined brighter than the Maiestie of his owne fortune. And therupon he laid aside the determination, which tended more to the aduancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought vpon.

Presently

Presently after this He made ready for Greece. Before his setting forth, in a sumptuous pompe of ceremony, he went vp from the Sea-side to Ilium, there to doe sacrifice to *Minerva* of Troy. Thence passing ouer the *Aegean Sea*, He came to *Demetrias*. *Enrylochus* the Magnetian, the same whom the Aetolians had lately waited on home; when by that pretext they won *Demetrias*; was now the chiefe man & Ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countrymen, in great frequencie, came to doe their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and tooke it as a signe of good lucke, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the Magnetians found not the like cause of ioy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Arme somewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they saw three hundred ships; of which, no more than fortie were seruicable for the Warres; with an Arme of ten thousand Foot, sixe hundred Horse, and sixe Elephants. The Aetolians no sooner heard of his coming, than they called a Parliament; & made a Decree, whereby they invited him into their Countrie. He knew before that they would so doe, and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the Aetolians gaue him as ioyfull entertainment as they could deuise. Being brought into their Councell, He made an Oration: wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Arme. This was, he said, in true estimation a signe of his good will: in that he staid not to make all things ready, but hasted vnto their aide, euen whilest the season was vsit for navigation. Yet it should not be long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied vnto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all Greece with Armes, and all the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neither would he spare for any charge, trauaile, or danger, to follow the businesse which he had vndertaken: euen to driue the Romans and their authoritie out of Greece; leaving the Countrie free indeede, and the Aetolians therein the chiefe. Now as the Armes that were following him, should be very great: so was it his meaning, that all provisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because hee would not be any way burdensome vnto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs entreat them, hauing thus hastily come ouer vnto their aide, vnprovided of many necessaries: that they would helpe him with Corne and other victuals, whereof he stood in neede. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, (for a vaine motion was made by some, that the differences betwene the Romans and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*) That they would yeelde vnto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their forces. Here we may obserue, how vaine a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himselfe, as did *Antiochus*, in a businesse of dangerous importance; vpon the promised assurance of a State that is meere popular. For if the veltimencie of *Thoas*, and some other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Councell: the Aetolians, for gaine of two or three Townes, yea for hope of such gaine that might haue deceiued them; were like to haue abandoned this King their friend, vnto the discretion of the Romans. And what remedy had there beene, if this had so fallen out? He could haue bemoaned himselfe to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong: but he must haue bene contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side; whom *Thoas* would therefore haue pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present; though in the future it proued much worse, both for him, and for the Aetolians. He was chosen Generall of all their forces: and thirtie Commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a Councell of Warre for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilest it was in dispute where they should beginne the Warre. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first vndertaken: whether if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure neede to vse much force. The King had brought with him into Aetolia but a thousand Foot, leaving the rest behinde him at *Demetrias*. With these he hasted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being ouertaken by no great number of the Aetolians, which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magistrates, and some of the chiefe Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the Aetolians beganne, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the Romans had onely in words and false semblance, set Greece at libertie. But such libertie, as might be true and vsfull; they said, would neuer be obtained, vntill by remoouing the necessitie of obeying their pleasure that were most mightie, euery seuerall Estate had where to finde redresse of any preece. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well

well able to counterpoise, yea to ouerweigh the *Romans*: who neuertheless desired them onely, so to ioyne with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* and Hee should offer them wrong, they might keepe it in their power, to seeke redresse at the others hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedom was not imaginarie, but absolute, for which they were to thanke the *Romans*; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacie. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise affirme of all the *Greekes*: forasmuch as none of them payed any Tribute, was kept vnder, by any Garrison; or liued otherwise than by their owne *Lanes*, and without being tied vnto conditions which displeased them. Wherefore they wondered, why the King should thus trouble himselfe, to deliuer Cities that were already free. But since hee, and the *Ætolians*, requested their friendship: they besought both him, and the *Ætolians*, to doe a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leauing them in such good case as they were. With this answer the King departed: for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But very soone after, he brought thither a greater power; which terrified them, and made them yeelde: before all the succours could arriue, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chiefe Citie of Eubœa being thus gotten, all the rest of the Iland shortly yeelded to *Antiochus*. Foure or five hundred Roman Souldiers, that came ouer-late to haue defended *Chalcis*, reposed themselves at *Delium*, a little town of *Boeotia*, lying ouer against the Iland; where was a Temple and Grove, consecrated vnto *Apollo*, that had the priuiledge of an inuiolable Sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seene, whilest others were busied as they found cause: without feare of any danger; as being in such a place, and no warre hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himselfe in many vaine Treaties of peace, tooke aduantage of their carelesnesse, and vsed them with all extremitie of warre. Very few of them escaped: fiftie were taken; and the rest slaine. Hereat *Quintius* was grieved: yet so, as it pleased him well to consider, that his *Romans* had now more iust cause than before, to make warre vpon the King.

Antiochus liked wel these beginnings, and sent Embassadors into all quarters of Greece, in hope, that his reputation should perswade very many to take his part. The wiser sort returned such answer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some referred themselves vntill he should come among them: knowing that either, if he came not, He must hold them excused for not coming to stirre; or, if he came, the *Romans* must pardon their iust feare, in yeelding to the stronger. None of those that lay farre off, ioynd with him in true meaning; save the *Eleans*, that alwayes fauoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Achæans*. Little reason there was, that he should thinke to draw the *Achæans* to his partie. Neuertheless he assayed them, vpon a vaine hope that the enuie, which *Titus* was said to beare vnto *Philopemens* vertue, had bred a secret dislike betwene that Nation & the *Romans*. Wherefore both Hee and the *Ætolians* sent Embassadors to the Councell at *Ægium*; that spared not braue words, if the *Achæans* would haue beene so taken. The Kings Embassador told of great Armies & Fleets that were coming; reckoning vp the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimæans* & *Caducians*; names that were not euery day heard of, and therefore as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydonians*, *Tyrians*, *Arabians*, and *Pamphilians* were; such indeede as could not be resisted. Now concerning money and all warlike furniture: it was, he said, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of Asia had alwayes thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who considering the late warre made against *Philip*, did thinke that this with *Antiochus* would proue the like: the case was too farre different. Yet this most powerfull King, that for the liberty of Greece was come from the vntmost parts of the East, requested no more of the *Achæans*, than that they would hold themselves as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whilest He tooke order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Ætolian* Embassador, & further added, that in the battell at *Cynosephale*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a Generall, nor the *Romans* of good Souldiers: but that both He & his Armie had beene there destroyed, had they not beene protected by vertue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was present at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answer, as could haue beene desired. He told the *Achæans*, That neither the Kings Embassador, nor the *Ætolian*, did so greatly labour to perswade those vnto whom they addressed

addressed their Orations; as to vaunt themselves the one vnto the other. So as a man might well discern, what good correspondence in vanitie it was, that had thus lincked the King and the *Ætolians* together. For euen such bragges as here they made, before the *Achæans*, who knew them to be lyars, had the *Ætolians* also made vnto King *Antiochus*: proclaiming the victory ouer *Philip* to be meereley their Act: and the whole Country of Greece to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they beene feasted by the King, with such tales as his Embassadors told euen now, of *Dahans*, and *Arabians*, & *Elimæans*, and a many others: that were all but a company of *Syrians*, such as were wont to be sold about for bondslaves, and good for little else. These diuers names of rascall people, he said, like to the diuersitie of *Venison*, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis* (no such vanter as were these Embassadors) had sometime feasted him. For all that varietie, wherewith he wondered, was none other, as his Host then merrily told him; than so many peeces of one tame swine, drest after severall fashions with varietie of sauces. Setting therefore aside this vanity of idle pompe: it were good to make iudgement of the great King, by his present doings. He had, notwithstanding all this great noyse, no more than tenne thousand men about him: for which little Armie hee was faine in a manner, to begge victuals of the *Ætolians*; and take vp money at vsurie, to defray his charges. And thus he ranne vp and downe the Country; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*, thence backe to *Chalcis*, and being there shut out, to *Demetrias* againe. These were the fruits of lyes: wherewith since both *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilst wiser men tooke heed by their example. To a fauourable Auditory much perswasion is needlesse. The *Achæans* did not loue so well the *Ætolians*, as to desire that they should become Princes of Greece: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abjects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after newes, what *Antiochus* did, how hee sped in Eubœa, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed warre against him, and against the *Ætolians*.

How the hatred betwene these two Nations grew, inueterate; sufficiently appears in the story foregoing. Now haue they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other, King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them vnwisely: though farre the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the *Ætolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of Greece, and left the Countie at rest: there was nothing more greatly to haue beene desired, than that they might neuer finde occasion to returne with an Armie thither againe. And in this respect ought the *Greekes* to haue fought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampascus* might recouer their liberty (which had neuer been held a matter worth regarding, vntill now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, diuided and kept asunder by their Countie, as two Seas by an Isthmus or neck of land, might bee kept from ouerflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base Asiaticques, which originally were *Greekish*; than the general applause, wherewith all the nation entertained this their louing offer. Yet were *Lysimachia*, and the townes in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cause of feare, that should moue them to take armes euen in their owne defence. But if all Greece would haue made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising ioyntly to assist the *Romans*, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, whensoever King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stirre against them: then had not onely this quarrell beene at an end; but the Roman Patronage ouer the Countie, had beene farre from growing, as soone after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achæans* were at this time, in a manner, the only Nation of Greece, that freely & generously declared themselves altogether from the *Romans*, their friends & benefactors. All the rest haue doubtfull answers of hope vnto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Thessalians*, were firm against *Antiochus*, yet helped they not one another in the quarrell, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Boeotians* willingly receiued him, as soone as he entred vpon their borders, not so much for feare of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had bin somewhat hardly vsed. *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, besides his old friendship with the *Ætolians*, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an

idle-headed man; and vaunted himselfe to be descended from Alexander the Great; hauing his two sonnes, in that regard, Philip and Alexander: Philip, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his sister to the poore Court of *Albania*: where hauing made his folly knowne, by talking of his Pedigree; Hee was iudged by *Antiochus* and the *Actolians*, a man fit for their turnes. They made him believe, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memory of Alexander his forefather, it was their purpose to doe their best for the conquest of Macedon to his belouer: since no man had thereto good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behooued him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that so they might the sooner haue done with the Romans. Philip was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himselfe, or of his sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of seruice done by this imaginary king (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzie, in hope to get lone of the Macedonians that should be his subjects; or whether from some vanity in king *Antiochus* that employed him, without more harme to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to doe good.) There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched vnto *Cynosephalæ*, there to gather vp the bones of the slaughtered Macedonians; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie vnburied. The Macedons troubled not themselves to thinke on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but king Philip took it in high indignation; as intended meere vnto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent vnto the Romans; and gaue them to vnderstand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them wherein they should be pleased to vse him.

The *Actolians*, *Magnetians*, *Eubœans*, *Boeotians*, & *Athamapians*, hauing now all ioyned with him, *Antiochus* tooke counsaile of them about the prosecution of the warre in hand. The chiefe question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Thessalie*, that would not hearken to his perswasions; or whether to let all alone vntill the Spring; because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another; confirming each his owne sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alledge; as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long bene cast aside, as a vessel of no vse; but was now required to deliuer his opinion. Hee freely told the king, That what he should now vtter, was euen the same which he would haue spoken, had his counsaile at any time before been asked since their coming into Greece. For the *Magnetians*, *Boeotians*, & other their good friends, which now so willingly took their parts; what were they else than so many poore Estates; that, wanting force of their owne, did adioyne themselves for feare vnto him, that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alledging the same feare for their excuse. Wherefore he thought most behoouefull, to win King Philip of Macedon vnto their partie: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards haue power to recoyle and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince; and one that had meanes to sustaine the Roman Warre with his proper forces. Now that Philip might be easily perswaded to ioine with them; the benefit likely to redound vnto himselfe, by their societie, was a very strong Argument: though indeede what neede was there, of prouing by inference the likelihood of this hope. For, said Hee, These *Actolians* here present; and namely, this *Thoas*, being lately Embassadour from them into Asia, among other Motiues which he then vsed to excite the King vnto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told vs that Philip was moued beyond all patience, with the Lordly insolence of the Romans: likening that king to some wilde beast, that was chained or locked up within some grate, and would faine breake loose. If this be so: let vs breake his chaine, and pull downe the grate, that he may regaine his libertie, and satisfie his angry stomacke, upon those that are common Enemies to vs and him. But if is prone otherwise, and that his feare be greater than his indignation: then shall it behooue vs to looke vnto him; that he may not seeke to please his good masters the Romans, by offending vs. Your sonne *Seleucus* is now at *Lysimachia*, with part of your Armie: if Philip will not hearken to your Embassage; let *Seleucus* be in readinesse, to fall vpon Macedon, and finde him workt to defend his owne on the other side, without putting vs here to trouble. Thus much concerning Philip, and the present War in Greece. But more generally for the managing of this great enterprize, wherein now you are embarked against the Romans, I told you my opinion at the beginning: whereto had you then giuen care, the Romans by this time should haue heard other news, than that *Chalcis* in *Eubœa* was become ours; *Italie* and *Gaul* should haue been on fire with war; and

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little

little to their comfort, they should haue vnderstood, that *Hannibal* was againe come into Italy. Neither doe I see what should hinder vs euen now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet and Armie hither (but in any case let Ships of burden come along with them, laden with store of victuals: For as the case now stands, we haue here too few hands, and too many mouthes.) Wherefore let the one halfe be employed against Italy; whilst you in person with the other halfe, tarrying on this side the Ionian Sea, may both take order for the affaires of Greece, and therewithall make countenance, as if you were euen ready to follow vs into Italy: yea, and be ready to follow vs indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my aduise; who though perhaps I am not very skilfull in all sorts of war; yet how to war with the Romans, I haue been instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine owne. Of this counsaile which I giue, I promise you my faithfull and diligent seruice for the execution: but what counsaile soeuer you please to follow, I wish it may be prosperous. Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said he had spoken brauely: but of all this was nothing done; saue onely that one was sent into Asia, to make all things ready there. In the meane while they went in hand with *Thessaly*, about which they had before disputed. There when they had wonne one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne strength, were glad to make submission. But *Larissa*, that was chiefe of the Countrey, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the walls with his whole Armie. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Babius*, a Roman Proprietor, did send helpe thither. Likewise Philip of Macedon professed himselfe Enemy vnto *Antiochus*; whereby the fame of the succour comming to *Larissa*, grew such, as wrought more than the succour could haue done, had it arriued. For *Antiochus* perceiuing many fires on the Mountaines toppes afarre off; thought that a great Armie of Romans and Macedonians had bene comming vpon him. Therefore excusing himselfe by the time of the yeere; He brake vp his siege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in loue with a young Maiden, daughter vnto a Citizen of the Towne; whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was betweene them, both in yeeres and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the Winter following, as delightfully as he could, without thinking vpon the war in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the souldiers as readily imitated their Captaines: in such wise that when he tooke the field, he might evidently perceiue in what loose manner of discipline his Armie had passed the Winter. But *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the Roman Consul, shall meet him very shortly, and helpe him to reclaime them from this loosenesse of nuptiall Reuels; by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen Consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. The war against *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise Hee was no way so honourable, as *Nasica* his Colleague: vnto whom fell a charge, of far lesse credit and importance. *Nasica*, besides the great Nobility of his Family, had bin long since, in time of the *Punicke Warre*, crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the Senate, for very feare and superstition, durst not haue so pronounced him, had they not so thought him; as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the very best, should entertaine an old stone, which the Diuell then taught them to call *The Mother of the gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gaue such aduantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Prouince; or arrogate more vnto himselfe, than his lot should afford him. This vnpartiall distribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. *P. Scipio* therefore was appointed to make warre against the *Boijans*; wherein hee purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder seruice, requiring the more abilitie in matter of war. But *M. Acilius* went ouer into Greece, with ten thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, & fifteen Elephants. *Ptolemie* King of Egypt, notwithstanding his late Alliance with king *Antiochus*; and Philip king of Macedon; had lately sent Embassadours to Rome, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into *Ætolia*, there to assist the Consul in this warre. *Ptolemie* sent also gold and siluer, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was too young, and dwelt too farr off. So his money was returned vnto him with thanks; and his louing offer as louingly refused. Vnto Philip's Embassadours answer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of Rome would thinke themselves beholding to him, for the assistance that Hee should giue to *Acilius* the

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Consul.

Consul. *Masaniissa* likewise, and the Carthaginians, did strive, which of them should bee most forward in gratifying the Romans. Each of them promised a great quantitie of graine, which they would send partly to Rome, partly to the Army in Greece. And here in *Masaniissa* farre out-went the poore city of Carthage; as also, in that he offered to lend the Consul five hundred Horse, and twenty Elephants. On the other side, the Carthaginians vnderooke to set out a Fleet at their own charges; and to bring in at one payment all the Tribute-money, which was behinde, and ought to be discharged by many yearly pensions. But the Romans did neither think it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would let them redeeme themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corne, it was accepted, with Condition, That they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The hastie and ridiculous issue of this war, that began with such noyse and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, between the Roman and the Asiaticke souldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few townes of Acarnania, after the same maner as he had preuailed in other parts of Greece; partly by faire words, and treason of the Rulers; partly by terror, that was like to proue their excuse, when they should againe forsake him. But King *Philip* and *Bebius*, hauing recouered many places; and the Roman Consul being arriued, against whom none made resistance; He was glad to withdraw himselfe. *Aminander* fled out of his Athamania: which the Macedonian tooke and enioyed; as in recompence of his good seruice to the Romans. *Philip*, the brother of *Aminanders* wife, was taken by the Consul; made a mocking stocke, & sent away prisoner to Rome. The Thessalians vsed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yelding to the King. All their cities, one after other, gaue vp themselves: the Garrisons of *Antiochus*, compounding onely for their owne liues, and departing vnarmed: yet so, that a thousand of them stayed behind, and tooke pay of the Romans. This did wonderfully perplexe *Antiochus*; who hauing withdrawne himselfe to Chalcis, and hearing how things went, cried out vpon his friends: and said, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toyle during one halfe of a Winter, and spent the other halfe in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, Hee found all the promises of the *Ætoliens* meere verball: and himselfe reduced into tearmes of great extremitie. Hee therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wise man, yea a very Prophet, that had fore-seene all this long before. Neuerthelesse He sent word to the *Ætoliens*, that they should now make ready all their forces: as considering their own need to be no lesse than his. But the *Ætoliens* had cause to thinke, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by *Antiochus*, who hauing promised to doe great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of Asia, than so many as would fill vp the same ten thousand which he first brought over. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which ioined with him. Hereat the king was angry: and could get no better satisfaction, than that *Thon* and his fellowes had done their best, in vaine, to haue made all the Nation take Armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came ouer to him out of Asia, nor his friends of Greece would appeare in this time of danger: Hee seized vpon the Streights of Thermopylae; as meaning to defend them against the Romans, vntill more helpe should come. Of the Streights of Thermopylae there hath been spoken enough * before, vpon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* against the huge Armie of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may easily be conceiued, how the Romans, that landed about Apollonia, and so came towards into Thessalie, were vnable to passe that Iedge of Mountaines, diuiding the one halfe of Greece; vnlesse they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference betwene *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of these, with an handfull of men, defended this passage two or three daies together, against a World of men coming to invade the Country. The latter, hauing taken vpon him to doe great miracles, and effect what he listed himselfe in Greece: did commit himself vnto the safetie of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his owne Armie. There whilst he lay, He sent earnest messengers one after another to the *Ætoliens*, intreating them not to forsake him thus; but at leastwise now to helpe, and keepe the toppes of the Mountaines, lest the Romans finding any by-path, should come downe vpon him. By this importunity, he got of them two thousand, that vnderooke to make good the few passages: by which onely, and not without extreme difficulty, it was possible for the Enemy to ascend. The Roman Consul in like sort, prepared to force the

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the Streights, without staying to expect king *Philip*: that was hindered by sicknesse from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them bene Consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men, to try, whether by any meanes they could get vp to the *Ætoliens*. He himselfe encouraged his Armie: not onely by telling them, with what base conditioned enemies they had to deale, but what rich kingdomes *Antiochus* held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battaile. All that night *Cato* had a foreboding, for what happened vnto *L. Valerius* it is vncertaine, saue onely that he failed in his intent; and so much the worse, for that he had no skilfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing vp steepe Rocks and crooked wayes: He commanded them to repose themselves; whilst Hee, being a very able man of body, took in hand the discovery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himselfe. After a great deale of trouble, He found at length a path: which he tooke to be, as indeede it was, the best way leading vnto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward break of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no such trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the Thermopylae bin so often the Seat of War, as might cause any traualers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the best: yet did it lead him to a bogge at the end, which would suffer him to passe no further. So he staid there vntill day-light: by which he discovered both the Campe of the Greekes vnderneath him; and some of the *Ætoliens* very neere vnto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore sent forth a lustie Cruc of his men, whom he thought fittest for that seruice; and willed them by any meanes to get him some prisoners. This was effected: and hee thereby vnderstood, that these *Ætoliens* were no more than fixe hundred; as also that king *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So hee presently set vpon the *Ætoliens*, ouerthrew them, slew a great part of them, and chased the rest, that by flying into their Campe, guided him vnto it. The fight was already begun betwene the Armies below: and the Romans, that had easily repelled the kings men, and driuen them into their Campe, found it in a manner a desperate piece of worke to assault the Campe it selfe; which occupied the whole bredth of the Streights; was notably fortified, and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were best at that kinde of seruice; but by Archers and slingers that were placed ouer them on the Hill-side, and powred down a shoure of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought at first that the *Ætoliens* had bene coming to helpe the Kings men: but when the Roman Armes and ensignes were discovered, such was the terrour, that none made offer of resistance; but all of them forsooke the Campe, and fled. The slaughter was not great: for that the badnesse of the way did hinder the Roman Army from making pursuit. Yet this dayes losse draue *Antiochus* out of Greece, who directly fled to Chalcis; and from thence with the first opportunitie, got him backe into Asia.

All the Cities that had imbraced the friendship of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertaine the Romans, and intreat for pardon: setting open their gates; and presenting themselves vnto the Consul, in manner of suppliants. Briefly, in few dayes all was recouered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Ætoliens* onely standing out, because they knew not what else to doe. Neither did the Consul giue them any respite. At his returne from Chalcis he met with king *Philip*, that hauing recouered health, came to ioyne with him against *Antiochus*: ouer whom since the victory was already gotten, Hee did gratulate vnto the Romans their good successe; and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* Warre. So it was agreed, That the Consul should besiege *Heraclea*; and *Philip*, *Lamia*; at the same time. Each of them plied his worke hard; especially *Philip*, who saine would haue gotten *Lamia* before the Consul should come to helpe him. But it could not be. For his Macedonians that vsed to worke by Myne, were ouermuch hindered by the stonie ground. Yet was *Lamia* euen ready to be taken, when the Consul, hauing won *Heraclea*, came thither; and told *Philip*, that the spoyle of these townes was a reward vnto those that had fought at Thermopylae. Herewith *Philip* must be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius*, that could so ill endure to see *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the Romans victory, got not *Lamia* himselfe: vntill such time as another Consul was ready to ease him of his charge.

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The losse of Heraclea did so affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace. Yet had they sent vnto king *Antiochus* presently after his flight, entreating him not to forsake them vicerly, but either to returne with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into Greece, or if any thing withheld him from comming in person, at leastwise to help them with money and other aide. They prayed him to consider, that this did not onely concerne him in honour, but appertained vnto his owne safety: since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætolians* being wholly subdued, the Romans, without any Enemies at their backs, might set vpon him in Asia. He considered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore He deliuered vnto *Nicaner*, one of their Embassadors, a summe of money, that might serue to defray the charges of the Warre: promising that ere long he would send them strong aide, both by Land and Sea. Then, another of their Embassadors, hee retained with him: who willingly stayed, that he might vrge the king to make his word good. But when Heraclea was taken from them, then did the *Ætolians* lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the helpe of *Antiochus*; and made suite vnto the Consul to obaine peace, vpon any reasonable Condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to giue them audience, but said He had other businesse in hand; onely he granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and sent *Valerius Flaccus* with them to Hypata, willing them to make him acquainted with as much, as they would haue deliuered vnto himselfe. At their comming to Hypata; they began, as men fauouring their owne cause, to alledge how well they had deserued of the Romans. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of such good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe so euen betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into termes of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves vnto the faith of the Romans; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This phrase of committing vnto the faith; signified, in their vse of it, little else than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the Romans vsed those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as *yeelding to discretion*. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speake in this manner: He asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then said hee, I command you first of all, That none of you presume to goe into Asia, vpon any businesse priuate or publike: then, That ye deliuer vp vnto me *Dicaarchus* the *Ætolian*, *Menelestratus* the *Epiror*, *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, and such of his Countreimen as haue followed him in reuolting from vs. Whilest he was yet speaking: *Phameas* the Embassador interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the custome of the Greekes, who had yeelded themselves vnto his faith; not vnto slavery. What? (said the Consul) Doe ye stand to plead Custome with mee, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chaine. With that, chaines were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted vnto euery one of their neckes. This did so affright them, that they stood dumbe and knew not what to say. But *Valerius* and some others entreated the Consul, not to deale thus hardly with them, since they came as Embassadors; though since, their Condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himselfe: and said, That neither He nor yet the *Apoletii* or ordinarie Council of the Nation, were able to fulfill these iniunctions, without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which cause he entreated yet further ten dayes respite; and had granted vnto him Truce for so long.

This surceance of warre, during ten and other ten dayes together, began presently after the taking of Heraclea; when *Philip* had bene commanded away from Lamia, that else he might haue wonne. Now because of the indignitie herein offered vnto that king, and to the end that he might not returne home with his Armie, like one that could not be trusted in imployment: especially the Romans being like hereafter to haue further neede of him, in the continuance of this Warre: He was desired to set vpon the *Athamanians*, and some other petty Nations their borderers, whilest the Consul was busie with the *Ætolians*; taking for his reward, all that hee could get. And he got in that space all *Athamania*, *Perrhaebia*, *Aperantia*, & *Dolopia*. For the *Ætolians*, hearing what had befallen their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill-provided for Warre, yet they could not indure to heare more talke of peace. And it happened,

* Regu ex ceteris.
et Polyb. 13.

that *Nicaner* about the same time was come backe from *Antiochus*, with money and hopefull promises: the Romans abiding still about Heraclea, & *Philip* hauing lately risen from before Lamia, yet not being far gone thence. His money *Nicaner* conueighed into Lamia, by very vnusuall dexterity. But he himselfe being to passe further to the Assembly of the *Ætolians*, thereto make report of his Embassage; was very much perplexed about this his iourney, which lay betwene the Roman and Macedonian Campes. Yet he made the aduenture, and keeping as farre as he could from the Roman side, fell vpon a Station of Macedonians; by whom he was taken, and led vnto their King. He expected no good; but either to be deliuered vnto the Romans, or vsed ill enough by *Philip*. But it seemed, that the king had not hitherto conceived well the indignitie, of his being sent away from Lamia. For He commanded his seruants to entreat *Nicaner* friendly: and he himselfe being then at supper, did visit him as soone as he lost vnto giuing him to understand, That the *Ætolians* did now reape the fruits of their owne madness; forasmuch as they could neuer hold themselves contented; but would needs be calling strangers into Greece. They had pleased themselves well in their acquaintance first with the Romans; & then with king *Antiochus*; but himselfe, being their neighbour, they could neuer well endure. It was now therefore, He said, high time for them to haue regard vnto his friendship; whereof hitherto they had neuer made any small: for surely their good affection, one vnto the other, would be much more appaileable vnto each of them, than their small catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the king willed *Nicaner* to signify vnto his Communitie; and privately to hold in minde the courteise which he then did him, in sending him safe home. So giuing him a Conuoy to gard him to Hypata. He louingly dismissed him. For this beneuolence *Nicaner* was alwaies after dutifully affected to the Crown of Macedonia: as in the warre of *Perseus* he made himselfe suspected vnto the Romans; and therefore was had away to Rome, where he ended his life.

When the Consul vnderstood, that the *Ætolians* refused to make their submission in such wise as he required it: hee forthwith meane to prosecute the warre against them; without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at Naupactus: whither hee therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durst. The siege of Naupactus was of greater length, than the Romans had preconieued it: for it was a strong City, and well manned. But *Antiochus* stood vpon point of honour; wherein he thought that he should haue bene a loser, by rising from before it without Victory. So He said there wellere all the following time of his Consulship, whilest the Macedonian king and the Achæans made farre better vse of the Roman Victory. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had reuolted vnto *Antiochus*; and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong Citie of Demetrias; and with an hostie course of Victory, subdued the *Athamanians* and others. The Achæans called to accompt the *Eleians* and *Messenians*: which had long bene addicted to the *Ætolian* side; and followed it in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleians* gaue good words; whereby they saued themselves from trouble awhile. The *Messenians* being more stout, before they were invaded, had none other helpe when the Achæan Prætor wasted their Countrey; than to offer themselves vnto the Romans. *Titus* was then at Corinth: to whom they sent word, That at his Commandement their gates should be opened; but that vnto the Achæans it was not their meaning to yeeld. A message from *Titus* to the Achæan Prætor, did suffice to call home the Armie, and finish the Warre: as also the peremptorie Command of the same *Titus* caused the *Messenians* to annexe themselves vnto the Achæans, and become part of their Common-weale. Such was now the Maiestie of a Roman Embassador. *Titus* did fauour the Achæans; yet could not like it wel, that either they or any other should take too much vpon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great Lords, and able to dispute with the Romans vpon euen termes; it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the Ile of Zacynthus; which had once been *Philip*; and was afterward giuen by him to *Aminander*, who sent a Gouvernor thither. But when *Aminander* in this present warre, was driuen out of his owne Kingdome by *Philip*; then did the Gouverneur of Zacynthus offer to sell the Ile to the Achæans; whom he found ready Chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this; but plainly told them, That the Romans would betheir owne Masters, add take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their

their Enemies as a reward of the victory which they had obtained. It was bootlesse to dispute. Wherefore the Achaens referred themselves vnto his discretion. So hee told them, that their Commonwealth was like a Toxoyie, whereof Peloponnesus was the shell; and that holding themselves within that compass, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they should lie open to blowes; which might greatly hurt them. Having settled things thus in Peloponnesus, hee went ouer to Naupactus: where *Glaborio* the Consul had laine two moneths; that might haue bene farre better spent. There, whether out of compassion which hee had vpon the Aetolians; or out of dislike of king *Philip* thirving so fast, he perswaded the Consul to grant vnto the besieged, & to the whole Nation, so long Truce, that they might send Embassadors to Rome; and submitting themselves, craue pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: else would not the Aetolians haue made such earnest suit as they did vnto *Timo*, for procuring of this fauour. But if *Glaborio* had bene sure to carry it in any short space; it may well be thought hee would not haue gone away without iussure the winning of that Towne, wherein was then the whole flower of the Nation, would haue made the promised submission much more humble and sincere. When they came vnto Rome, no treaty could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of these two; That either they should wholly permit themselves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thousand Talents, and make neither Peace nor Warre with any, further than as the Romans should giue approbation. They had not so much mony: neither could they well hope to bee gently dealt withall, if they should giue themselves away vnto discretion; which what it signified, they now vnderstood. Wherefore they desired to haue it set downe in what points, and how farre forth, they should yeeld vnto the good pleasure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certaine answer: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vaine attendance.

Whilest the Aetolians were pursuing their hopes of peace, the Consull had little to doe in Greece; and therefore tooke vpon him grauely to set things in order among the troublesome Achaens. Hee would haue had them to restore the banished Lacedemonians home into their Countrey; and to take the Eleans into the fellowship of their Commonwealth. This the Achaens liked well enough; but they did not like it, that the Romans should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the restitution of the banished Lacedemonians: intending to make it an Act of their own meere grace. As for the Eleans, they were loth to be beholding to the Romans, and thereby to disparage the Achaens: into whose Corporation they were desirous to be admitted, and saw that they should haue their desire, without such compulsiue mediation.

The Roman Admirall *C. Linius*, much about the same time, fought a battaile at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admirall to the king *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought helpe to the Romans, though it was not great: and fise and twenty saile of Rhodians came after the battaile, when they were following the Chase. The kings Fleet was the better of faile: but that of the Romans the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as soone as he betooke himselfe to a speedy retreat.

And such end had the first yeeres warre, betweene King *Antiochus* and the Romans. After this, as many of the Greeks as had followed the vaine hopes of the Aetolians, were glad to excuse themselves by feare; thinking themselves happy when by Embassadors they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie side, *Philip* of Macedon, Arch-enemie of late vnto the Romans, did now send to gratulate this their Victorie: and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored vnto him *Demetrius* his younger sonne, whom some few yeeres they had kept as an hostage. Also King *Ptolomit* of Egypt, gratulating the Roman Victory, sent word how greatly all Asia and Syria were thereby terrified. In which regard hee desired the Senate not to foreflow time; but to send an Armie, as soone as might be, into Asia: promising, that his assistance, wherein soeuer it pleased them to vse it, should not bee wanting. This *Ptolomit* was the sonne-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of Fortune. He vnderstood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the Contention, that the Romans were like to haue the vpper hand. The same did *Antiochus* now begin to suspect, who had thought himselfe a while as safe at Ephesus, as if he had bin in another world: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not so far out of Greece into Asia, as out of Italy into Greece; and that there was no doubt but the Romans would soon be there, & make him try the chance of a battell for his kingdome.

S. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, having with him *Publius the African* his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into Greece. Hee grants long Truce to the Aetolians, that so he might at leisure passe into Asia: Much trouble some businesse by Sea; and diuers fights. An inuasion vpon Eumenes his Kingdome; with the siege of Pergamus, rayed by an handfull of the Achaens. *L. Scipio* the Consul comes into Asia: where *Antiochus* most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battaile of Magnesia: wherein *Antiochus* being vanquished, yeeldeth to the Romans good pleasure. The Conditions of the peace. In what sort the Romans used their Victorie. *L. Cornelius Scipio*, after a most sumptuous triumph over *Antiochus*, is surnamed The Asiaticke, as his brother was stiled The African.

Lucius *Cornelius Scipio*, the brother of *P. Scipio* the African, was chosen Consul at Rome with *G. Lelins*. *Lelins* was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would bee so pleased, the disposition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazzard of a Lotterie. *Lucius* hauing talked with his brother *Publius*, approued well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time been put vnto the Fathers: who therefore were the more desirous to make an vnblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent; *P. Scipio* the African said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the warre against *Antiochus*, He himselfe would follow his brother in that war, as his Lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the controuersie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied vpon *Hannibal*, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captaine: what better man could they oppose, than *Scipio*; that had bene victorious against that same Great Worthy? But indeed a worser man might haue serued well enough the turne. For *Hannibal* had no absolute Command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in consultation; where his wisdom was much approued, but his liberty and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthy of remembrance; as a signe of the freedome that he vsed in his censures, euen whilest hee liued in such a Court. *Antiochus* mustered his Armie in presence of this famous Captaine: thinking, as may seeme, to haue made him wish, that he had bene serued by such braue men in Italy. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horses, and Elephants, with such costly furniture of Gold, Siluer, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible brauery on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the king, well pleasing himselfe with that goodly spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the Romans. Enough (said *Hannibal*) were the Romans the most covetous men in all the world: meaning, that all his Cost vpon the backes of cowardly Asiatickes, was no better than a spoyle to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the King, it is easie to ghesse. The little vse that he made of this Carthaginian, testifies that his dislike of the man, caused him to lose the vse of his seruice, when he stood in greatest necessitie thereof.

The *Scipios* made all haste away from Rome as soon as they could. They carried with them, besides other Souldiers newly prest to the war, about fise thousand Voluntaries, that had serued vnder *P. Africanus*. There was also a Fleet of thirty *Quinquerene* Gallies, and twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed vnto *L. Amilius Regillus*, that was chosen Admirall the same yeere for that voyage. At their coming into Greece, they found the old Consul *Glaborio* besieging *Amphyssa* a City of the Aetolians. The Aetolians after that they were denied peace, had expected him once againe at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not onely fortified that Towne: but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heedlesly, as in a time of confusion, they had left vnraged the last yeere. *Glaborio* knowing this, deceiued their expectation, and fell vpon *Lamia*: which being not long since much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the sudden; was carried at the second assault. Thence went he to *Amphyssa*: which he had almost gotten; when *L. Scipio*, his successor, came with thirteene thousand Foote, and fise hundred Horse, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of *Amphyssa* was presently forsaken by the Inhabitants, but they had a Castle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The Athenian Embassadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalfe of the Aetolians:

lians : entreating him to stand their friend, and helpe them in obtaining some tolerable Condition of peace. He gaue them gentle words : and willed them to perswade the Aetolians, that they should faithfully and with true meaning desire it. This was gladly taken. But many messages passing to and fro : though *Pullius* continued to put them in good hope ; yet the Consul made still the same answer, with which they had been charged from Rome. The conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from warre : whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the Senate ; or any helpfull commoditie which time should afford. So they obtained halfe a yeeres truce : after which, the Winter was like to afford them another halfe yeeres leisure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad, than was *P. Scipio* : who thought to all time lost, which with-held the Warre from passing ouer into Asia.

The businesse of Aetolia being thus laid aside : and the old Consul *Glabrio* sent home into Italy : the *Scipio* marched into Thessaly ; intending thence to take their way by Land, through Macedon & Thrace vnto the Hellespont. Yet they considered, That hereby they must commit themselves vnto the loyalty of King *Philip* : who might either do them some mischief by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notable aduantage : or at the least, would be vnfaithfull ; though he were not so courageous, yet might he take such order with the Thracians, that euen for want of victuals, if by no greater inconuenience, they should be disgracefully forced to returne. Hee had promised them the utmost of his furtherance : wherein, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make some triall, by causing a Gentleman to ride Post vnto him, and obserue his doings as he should take them on the sudden. The King was merry at a feast, and drinking, when the Messenger came : whom he louingly bade welcome ; and shewed him the next day, not only what prouision of victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made bridges ouer the riuers, and mended the bad wayes by which they were to passe. With these good newes *Gracchus* returned backe in haste vnto the *Scipio*'s : who entring into Macedon, found all things in a readinesse, that might helpe to aduance their iourney. The King entertained them royally ; and brought them on their way, euen to the Hellespont : where they stayed a good while, vntill their Nauie was in readinesse to transport them into Asia.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yeere ; though, for the most part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admirall of *Antiochus*, was a banished Rhodian : true to the King ; and desirous of reuenge vpon his Countrymen that had expelled him. Hee, hearing that the Rhodian Fleet was at Samos, the Romans & *Eumenes* hauing not as yet put to Sea ; thought to doe somewhat vpon those that were so early in their diligence, before their followers should arriue to helpe them. Yet went he craftily to worke ; and sent word, as in great secrecie, to the Rhodian Admirall, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requitall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was belueued : and the Rhodian Admirall grew so carelesse, expecting still when he should receiue a watch-word from *Polyxenidas*, that hee himselfe was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his owne Hauens. The Kings Fleete set forth from Ephesus by night ; and, for feare of being discouered, resting one day in a harbour by the way, came the second night to Samos : where, by morning, it was ready to enter the Hauens. *Pausistratus* the Rhodian Admirall seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance, to bestow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Hauens ; so to guard the mouth of it : for that he saw no likelihood of defending himselfe by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed some Companies, in another part of the Island : which falling vpon the backe of *Pausistratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboard. This could not be without great confusion : so as the enemies tooke him out of all order ; and sunke or boarded all his Nauie, save excepted, that by a sudden deuice made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Cresset vpon two poles, at the Beake-head : and then rowed forwards directly vpon the Enemy : who hauing not bethought himselfe what shift to make against such vnexpected danger of firing, was content to giue way vnto these desperate Gallies ; for feare lest they should burne together with themselves, a part of the Kings Fleete.

Not long after this, the Romans had some losse by tempest : whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take such aduantage as hee had hoped ; because, putting to Sea for that purpose, Hee was driuen backe againe by the like foule weather. But the Rhodians, to shew that they

they were not discouraged, set forth certaine other Gallies : the Romans also wishing, *Eumenes* repaired their fleet ; and all of them together, in great bodie, presented battail to *Polyxenidas*, before the Harbour of Ephesus. *Antiochus* durst not receiue them : they went from place to place, attempting many things, as by their thummes entreated by the Rhodians, or perswaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing : for this one while they were hindered by storms at Sea ; and another while by strong resistance, made against them at Land. *Eumenes* with his fleet was compelled to forsake them, and returne home to the defence of his owne Kingdom. For *Antiochus* waited all the ground about *Licea* & *Perisgamus* ; and leaving his sonne *Selenus* to besiege the royall Citie of Pergamos, did with the rest of his Armie spoyle the whole Countrey thereabout. *Licetius*, the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in Pergamos, having with him no better men to defend the Citie, than were they that lay against it. Wherefore hee had no longer stand in feare, being too much inferiour in numbers : there came to his aid a thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse of the Achaeans : old souldiers all, and trayned vp vnder *Philepatus*, whose Schooller, in the Art of warre, *Diophanes*, their Commande was. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the walls of Pergamos, which was an high Towne, the danger of the Enemy, began to disdain that such men as they should hold them besieged. For *Selenus* his sonne, which was encamped at the hill foot, seeing that none durst fall forth vpon them, grew so carelesse : as other wise, than by spoiling all behinde their backs, they seemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Countrey. *Diophanes* therefore spake with *Antiochus*, and told them that hee would goe forth, encamped not farre from the Enemy : they of Pergamos thought him little better than mad. As for the besiegers, they wondered what his meaning was : but when they saw that he held himselfe quiet, they made a test of his boldnesse ; and laughed to see with what an handfull of men he looked so stoutly. So they returned vnto their former negligence, and slouder. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, he commanded all his men to follow him, euen as fast as they well might : and he himselfe, with the hundred Horse, brake out on the sudden vpon the Station where the next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their Horse ready saddled ; but more few, and none, had the hearts to make resistance : so as hee drave them all out of their Camp, and chased them as farre as he might safely, before they could get to the slaughter of them, and the losse of his owne. Hereat all the Citizens of Pergamos, who had covered the walls of the Towne, men and women, to behold this spectacle, were very ioyfull ; and highly magnified the vertue of these Achaeans. Yet would they not therefore issue forth of their gates, to helpe the Achaeans in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Selenus* escaped halfe a mile further from the Towne, than he had done before : and againe him went forth *Diophanes* the second time ; who quietly rested a while in his old Station. When they had stayed many houres, looking who should begin to *Selenus* in that order as he came, withdrew himselfe toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not whilst the Enemy was in sight : but as soone as the ground betweene them hindered the prospect, hee followed them in all haste, and soond ouertaking them with his Horse, charged them in Rere ; so as he brake them ; and with all his forces pursued them at the heeles, to their very Trenches. This boldnesse of the Achaeans, and the basenesse of his owne men, caused *Selenus* to quit the siege, little to his honour. Such being the qualitie of these Asiatics, *Philepatus* had cause to tell the Romans, That hee could not thinke of their victorie. For when *Antiochus* lay feasting at Chalcis after his marriage, and his builldiers betooke themselves to Ryot, as it had beene in a time of great security, a good man of warre might haue cut all their throates ; euen as they were tipling in their vntowardly houses ; which *Philepatus* said that he would haue done, had hee beene Generall of the Achaeans, and not, as he then was, a priuate man. *Antiochus* was full of businesse : and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of trouble, brought almost nothing to passe. Hee had beene at Pergamos, into which *Eumenes*, leaving the Romans, did put himselfe with a few of his Horse and light armature. Before Pergamos hee left his sonne as before hath beene shewed, to goe to Elaea : whither he heard that *Antiochus* the Roman Admirall was come, to bring succour to *Eumenes*. There hee made an offer of peace : about which to confer, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Amphilas*, and came from Pergamos. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consul, this Treatie brake off. Then followed

Hee also did the like, and aduanced so farre, that they might vnderstand his meaning to fight.

The Roman Armie consisted of foure Legions, two Roman and two Latine: in each of which were five thousand and foure hundred men. The Latines, as vsually, were in the points, the Romans, in the maine battell. All of them, according to their wonted forme, were diuided into Maniples. The *Hastati* had the leading: after them follow the *Principes*, at such distance as was vsuall; and last of all, the *Triarij*. Now beside these, there were about three thousand Auxiliaries; partly Achæans; and partly such as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equall Front beyond the Latines in the right wing. Vnmost of all (saue some five hundred Cretians, and of the Trallians) were almost three thousand Horse: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being Roman. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the riuer: yet foure Troups of horse were placed there, though such helpe seemed in a manner needlesse. Two thousand Voluntaries, Macedonians and Thracians, were left to guard the Campe. The Consul had with him sixteene African Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they onely would haue serued to discourage his men; as being sure to bee beaten: the Indian being farre the greater, and more couragious beastes: whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much aduantage in number.

The kings Armie being compounded of many Nations, diuersly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the severall kindes, in such wise as each might be of most vse. The maine strength of his Foot consisted in sixteene thousand, armed all Macedonian-like, and called Phalangiers. These hee placed in the midst, and diuided into tenne Battalions: euery one hauing two and thirty in File, and fiftie in Front. Betweene euery Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beastes, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their backs, and besides him that gouerned the Elephant, foure men in euery Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were sixteene hundred Horse of the Gallo-Greeks: then, three thousand Barbd Horse: and a Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the *Agema*, that were all Medians, the choyce of the Countrey, and accompanied by some others. All which Troupes of Horse, diuided in their severall kindes, doe seeme to haue followed one another in depth, rather than to haue bin stretched out in Front. Adioyning vnto these, were sixteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the kings owne Regiment; called the *Argyraspides*, or *Siluer shields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as of the same name, that had serued vnder Great *Alexander*: then, twelue hundred Archers on horsebacke, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand and five hundred Archers of Mysia; with foure thousand Slingers and Archers of the Cirtæans, and Elymæans. On the left hand of the Phalangiers, were placed the like numbers of Gallo-Greeks, and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand horse that were sent from *Ariarathes*, with two thousand and seven hundred of diuers Nations; and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called *The Kings Troup*, being Syrians, Phrygians, and Lydians. In front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with hookes or sythes, and the Dromedaries, whereon sat Arabians with long Rapiers, that would serue to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, Carians, Cicilians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Cyrtæans, Elymæans, and many others, hauing also with them sixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himselfe commanded in the right wing: *Selenus* in the left: and three of his principall Captains commanded ouer the Phalangiers.

The first on-set was giuen by the Dromidaries, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being liketo terrifie the Horse; the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foote; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed Cretians, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatened by them both. For with flourings, and noyses, and some wounds, they were driuen out of the field; and running backe vpon their owne men, did the same harme which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the Roman Horse following this aduantage, charged vpon the left wing: whereas they found no resistance; some being out of order, others being without courage. It is shamefull to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seeme credible: that the Phalangiers,

with

with such varieties of *Auxiliaries*, made little or no resistance, but all of them fled, in a manner, as soone as they were charged. Onely the king, *Antiochus* himselfe, being in the left wing of his owne battaile: and seeing the Latines, that stood opposite vnto him, weakly flanked with Horse: gaue vpon them couragiously, and forced them to retire. but *M. Amilius*, that had the Guard of the Roman Campe, issued forth with all his power to helpe his fellowes: and, what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the Romans were already victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* discovered the approach; Hee not onely turned his Horse about, but ranne away vpon the spur without further tarrance. The Campe was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to haue lost in this battaile fiftie thousand Foot, and foure thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the Romans, there were not slaine about three hundred Foot, and foure and twenty Horse: of *Eumenes* his followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled to Sardes, and from thence to Apamea, the same night, hearing that *Selenus* was gone thither before. He left the custodie of Sardes, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithfull. But the Townes-men and Souldiers were so disinayed with the greatnesse of the Ouerthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in those parts, without expecting summons, yielded vp themselves by Embassadours: whom they sent to the Romans, whilest they were on the way. Neither were many daies spent, ere *Antiochus* his Embassadour was in the Campe: hauing none other errand, than to know what it would please the Romans to impose vpon the king his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his brother, who obtained leaue to make the answer, because that it should bee gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, that he should quite abandon his Dominions on this side Taurus. For their charges in that Warre, they required fiftie thousand Talents: five hundred in hand, two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of Rome should haue confirmed the peace; and the other twelue thousand, in twelue yeeres next ensuing, by euen portions. Likewise they demanded foure hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and some store of Corne, that was due to him vpon a reckoning. Now besides twentie hostages which they required, very earnest they were to haue *Hannibal* the Carthaginian, and *Thas* the Atolian, with some others who had stirred vp the King to this war, deliuered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily haue perceiued, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principall demands; as no great art was needfull to beguile their malice. The kings Embassadour had full commission, to refuse nothing that should be enioyned. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to send immediately to Rome for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the meane while at Rome, *M. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*. The Atolians desired peace, but could not obtaine it: because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Consuls should make warre vpon the Atolians; the other, vpon *Antiochus* in Asia. Now though shortly there came newes that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in battaile, and had submitted himselfe vnto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the State of Asia was not like to bee so thoroughly settled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the Romans care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom Asia fell by lot, had not his Prouince changed.

Soone after this, came the Embassadours of King *Antiochus* to Rome, accompanied with the Rhodians and some others: yea, by king *Eumenes* in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the businesse in hand. Concerning the peace to bee made with king *Antiochus*, there was no disputation: it was generally approoued. All the trouble was, about the distribution of the purchase. King *Eumenes* reckoned vp his own deserts; and comparing himselfe with *Masanissa*, hoped that the Romans would be more bountifull to him than they had beene to the Numidian, since they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Masanissa* was onely such in title; and since both hee and his Father had alwayes beene their friends, euen in the very worst of the Roman fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what hee would haue: He still referring himselfe to their courtisie; and they desiring him to speake plaine. At the length hee craued they would bestow vpon him, as much of the Countrey by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they

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had

had no purpose to keepe in their owne hands. Neither thought he it needfull, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giuing liberty to many of the Greeke Towns, that were on Asia side. For since the most of those Townes had bene partakers with the king in his Warre; it was no reason that they should be gainers by his ouerthrow. The Rhodians did not like of this. They desired the Senate to be true Patrons of the Grecian liberty; and to call to minde, that no small part of Greece it selfe had bin subiect vnto *Philip*, and serued him in his Warre: which was not alledged against him as a cause why they should not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the maine point whereon they insisted, was this, That the Victory of the Romans against king *Antiochus* was so great, as easily might satisfie the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifullly gaue away so much, that euery one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the Warre against king *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted vnto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe whereof exceeded in riches, not onely that of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, but of any ten that Rome had beheld vntill that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of *The African* had bene giuen vnto *P. Scipio*, it was thought conuenient by some, to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *The Asiatick*: which the fortune of his Victory had no lesse deserued; though the vertue, requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

§. I X.

The Ætolians, and the Gallo-Greeks, vanquished by the Roman Consuls Fuluius and Manlius. Manlius hardly obtaines a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to haue passed the bounds appointed as farre to the Romans by Sibyl. Of Sibyls Prophecies; the Bookes of Hermes; and that Inscription, Simoni Deo Sancto. The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipio's: and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobilitie.

MARCUS *Fuluius* and *Cn. Manlius* had the same charge diuided betweene them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now styled *Asiaticus*, had lately vndergone. It was found more than one mans worke, to looke at once to Greece and to Asia. And for this reason was it apparant, that *L. Scipio* had granted so long a Truce to the Ætolians. But since, in this long Interim of Truce, that haughty little Nation had not sought to humble it selfe to the Roman *Asiaticke*, it was now to bee brought vnto more lowly termes than any other of the Greekes. The best was, that so great a storme fell not vnexpected vpon the Ætolians. They had foreseene the danger, when their Embassadors were vtterly denied peace at Rome: and they had provided the last remedie, which was, to entreate the Rhodians and Athenians to become intercessours for them. Neyther were they so dejected, with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well deuise, euen vpon helping themselves, by repurchase of Countries lost, where they spied aduantage.

Poorer king *Aminander* liued in exile among them, whilest *Philip* of Macedon kept for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. But the Athamanians (besides that many of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) hauing bene long accustomed to serue a Mountaine Lord, that conuersed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, vsed by the Captaines of *Philip* his Garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their King, and offered their seruice toward his restitution. At the first there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which vndertooke the worke. Yet assurance, that all the rest would follow, made *Aminander* willing to trie his fortune. Hee was at the borders with a thousand Ætolians, vpon the day appointed: at what time his two and fiftie aduenturers hauing diuided themselves into foure parts, occupied, by the ready assistance of the multitude, foure of the chiefe Towns in the Countrey, to his vse. The same of this good successe at first; with diuers letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their best in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenants of *Philip* vnable to thinke vpon resistance. One of them held the Towne of Theium a few dayes; giuing thereby some leisure vnto his King to pro-

uide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could onely tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. *Philip* had brought from home sixe thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, hee left all saue two thousand behinde him, and so came to Atheneum, a little Athamanian Castle, that still was his, as being on the frontier of Macedon. Thence he sent *Zeno*, who had kept Theium awhile, to take a place lying ouer Argitheia, that was chief of the Countrey. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither hee, nor the king had the boldnes to descend vpon Argitheia; for that they might perceiue the Athamanians, all along the hill sides, ready to come downe vpon them; when they should be busie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retreat: especially when *Aminander* came in fight with his thousand Ætolians. The Macedonians were called back, from wards Argitheia, & presently withdrawn by their King towards his owne borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure. The Athamanians and Ætolians way-laid them, and pursued them so closely, that their retreat was in manner of a plaine flight, with great losse of men and armes, few of those escaping, that were left behinde, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Countrey, vntill *Philip* his returne.

The Ætolians hauing found the businesse of Athamania so easie, made an attempt in their owne behalfe, vpon the Amphilochians and Aperantians. These had belonged vnto their Nation, & were lately taken by *Philip*, from whom they diligently reuolued and became Ætolian againe. The Dolopians lay next, that had bene euer belonging to the Macedonian, and so did still purpose to continue. These tooke Armes at first: but soone layed them away, seeing their neighbors ready to fight with them in the Ætolian quarrell, and seeing their owne king so hastily gone, as if he meant not to returne.

Of these victories the ioy was the lesse, for that neues came of *Antiochus* his last ouerthrow, and of *M. Fuluius* the new Consul his hastie with an armie into Greece. *Aminander* sent his excuses to Rome, praying the Senate, not to take it in despiight, that hee had recouered his owne from *Philip* with such helpe as he could get. Neither seemes it that the Romans were much offended to heare of *Philip* his losses: for of this fault they neither were sharpe correctors, nor earnest reprouers. *Fuluius* went in hand with the businesse; about which he came, and layed siege to Ambracia, a goodly Citie, that had bene the chiefe seate of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdome. With this he began; for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the Ætolians: yet could not by them be relieved, vnlesse they would aduenture to fight vpon equal ground. To help the Ambracians, it was not in the Ætolians power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the Illyrians at sea, and ready to be driuen from their new conquests by *Perseus* the sonne of *Philip*, who inuaded the Countries of the Amphilochians and Dolopians. They were vnable to deale with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly sought peace with the Romans, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the meane while the Athenian and Rhodian Embassadors came; who besought the Consul to grant them peace. It helped well that Ambracia made strong resistance, and would not be terrified, by any violence of the Assailants, or danger that might seeme to threaten. The Consul had no desire to spend halfe his time about one Citie, and so bee driuen to leaue vnto his successeur the honour of finishing the Warre. Wherefore hee gladly hearkened vnto the Ætolians, and bade them seeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it ouerdeare, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend *Antiochus* had made the same purchase. Hee also gaue leaue to *Aminander*, offering his seruice as a mediatour, to put himselfe into Ambracia; and trie what good his persuasions might doe with the Citizens. So, after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such as was grieuous to the weaker, but not vnassurable. The same Embassadors of the Athenians and Rhodians, accompanied those of the Ætolians to Rome, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this intercession, for that *Philip* had made a very grieuous complaint about the losse of those Countries, which they had lately taken from him: Heereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the peace; which those good Mediatours of Rhodes and Athens did earnestly sollicite. The Ætolians were bound to vphold the Maiestie of the people of Rome; and to obserue diuers Articles, which made them the lesse free; and more obnoxious to the Romans, than

any people of Greece, they hauing beene the first that called these their Masters into the Countre. The ile of Cephallenia was taken from them by the Romans: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten Zacynthus from the Achæans, by stiffely pressing their owne right) that so they might haue possession along the coast of Greece, whilst they seemed to forbear the Countrey. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others, might lay claime, there was set down an Order so perplexed, as would necessarily require to haue the Romans Iudges of their controuersies, when they should arise. And hereof good vse will bee shortly made: when want of employment elsewhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, vpon the affaires of Macedon and Greece.

Cn. Manlius, the other Consull, had at the same time warre in Asia, with the Gallo-Greeks and others. His Armie was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whose victorie, his acts were the confirmation. He visited those Countries on the hither side of *Taurus*, that had scarce heard of the Romans; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these were some petty Lords, or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that were together at Warres, without regard of the great alteration that hapned in Asia. From euery of these hee got somewhat; and by their quarrells found occasion to visite those Prouinces, into which hee should else haue wanted an errand. Hee was euen laden with booty, when, hauing fetcht a compasse about Asia, he came at length vpon the Gallo-Greeks. These had long dominiered ouer the Countre: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terror of their fore-passed acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them vp in reputation. Of the Romans they had lately such triall, when they did serue vnder king *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themselves farre the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safetie, that they dwelt vpon the Riuer *Halys*, in an In-land Countre, where those enemies were not very like to search them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their owne Nation, that had beene friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yeeld: then there was no counsaile thought so good, as to forsake their houses and Countrey, and, with all that they could carrie or driue, to betake themselves vnto the high mountaines of *Olympus* and *Margana*. These mountaines were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should vndertake the custodie. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as also the naturall strength being helpt, by such fortification as promised greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Consul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them, or easily bee repelled; and that finally, when hee had stayed there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this auailed not. For whereas the Gallo-Greekes had beene carelesse of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if stones would haue serued well enough for that purpose: the Romans, who came farre otherwise appointed, found greater aduantage in the difference of Armes, than impediment in disaduantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did easily preuaile against casters of stones; especially being such as were these Gallo-Greeks, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor hauing prepared their stones before-hand, but catching vp what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit size. Finally, the Barbarians, wanting defensiu Armes, could not hold out against the Arrows and weapons of the Roman light armature: but were driuen from a piece of ground, which they had vndertaken to make good, vp into their Campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong downe the steepe rocks. Few of their men did escape aliue: all their wiues, children, and goods became a prey vnto the Romans. In the very like manner, were the rest of that Nation ouercome soone after, at the other mountaine: onely more of them sauued themselves by flight, as hauing fairer way at their backs.

These warres being ended: *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were appointed by the Senate, each of them to retaine as Proconsul, his Prouince for another yeere. *Fulvius*, in his second yeere, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gaue peace to those whom he had vanquished, as likewise to *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for feare of the Roman armes. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid vpon them such conditions, as he thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto hee swore, and received the Kings

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oath by Embassadors, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, hauing set in order the matters of Asia, he took his way toward the Hellespont, laden with spoyle, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the Gallo-Greeks had in so many yeers extorted, from the wealthy Prouinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Armie of *Manlius* returne home, rich in money alone, or cattell, or things of needfull vse, which the Roman souldier had bene wont to take as the onely good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous household-stuffe, and slaues of price, excellent Cookes, and Musicians for banquets, and in a word, with the seedes of that luxurie, which finally ouer-grew and choked the Roman vertue.

The Country of Thrace lay between Hellespont & the kingdome of Macedon, which way *Manlius* was to take his iourney homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the Thracians: either for that he passed through them, without any such booty as might prouoke them; or perhaps rather, because *Philip* of Macedon had taken order, that the Barbarians should not stirre. But when *Manlius* came along with a huge traine of baggage, the Thracians could not so well contain themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip*ooke it otherwise than very pleasantly, to haue this Roman Armie robbed, & well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry, seeing how little himselfe was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he vnderstood, and afterwards gaue the Romans to vnderstand, that *Eumenes* could not haue abidden in his owne kingdome, if the people of Rome had not made warre in Asia: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered vnto himselfe three thousand talents, and fiftie ships of warre, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*, promising moreouer to restore vnto him all the Greeke Cities, that had been taken from him by the Romans. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the warre began: he thought it no euen dealing of the Romans, after their victory, to giue away not only the halfe of Asia, but *Chersonesus* & *Lysimachia* in Europe, to *Eumenes*; whereas vpon himselfe they bestowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeed with his Nobilitie to goe to Rome and begge Prouinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained louingly the two *Scipios*, which he thought the most honourable men in Rome; and was grown into neer acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby hee made himselfe acquainted with the warres in Spaine and Africke. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the Romans a due respect of him. But *Eumenes*ooke a surer way. For the *Scipios* had not a disposing of that which they wonne from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of Rome, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therfore saw these vpstart kings of Pergamus, whom he accounted as base companions, aduanced so highly, and made greater than himselfe; yea himselfe vnregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himselfe against *Antiochus*, or rather that he had ioyned with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might haue bene freed from his insolent Masters. But what great argument of such discontentedness the Macedonian had, we shall very shortly be vrged to discourse more at large. At the present it was beleueed, that the Thracians were by him set on, to assaile the Romans passing through their Country. They knew all aduantages; and they fell, vnexpected, vpon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the Armie; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed: part was not yet so farre aduanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leaue behind: though both the getting and the saining, did cost many liues, as well of the Barbarians, as of the Romans. They fought vntill it grew to night: & then the Thracians withdrew themselves; not without as much of the bootie, as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though lesse dangerous, before the Armie could get out of Thrace into Macedon. Through the kingdome they had a faire march into Epirus; and so to Apollonia, which was their handle of Greece.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*, whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to assist him, did very bitterly taxe, as an vnworthy commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that hee made good answer, and was approoued by the chiefe of the Senate. One clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to haue hindred the peace with *Antiochus*; they

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Liu. l. 38.

they said, *That with much adoe he was kept from leading his Armie over Taurus, and adventuring upon the calamitie threatened by Sibyls verses, unto those that should passe the fatal bounds.* What calamitie or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyls* propheticie threatened the Roman Captaine or Armie, that should passe over *Taurus*, I doe not conceiue. *Pompey* was the first, that marched with an Armie beyond those limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened vnto him the way, and had before-hand won in a sort, the Countreies on the other side of the Mount, which *Lucullus* gaue to one of *Antiochus* his race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the Romans. But we finde not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* suffered any losse, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeede the accomplishment of this propheticie, fell out neere about one time, with the restitution of *Ptolomie* king of Egypt, that was forbidden vnto the Romans by the same *Sibyl*. It may therefore seeme to haue had reference vnto the same things, that were denounced, as like to happen vpon the reduction of the Egyptian King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tullie* noteth, *sowed at random in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by euent; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of *Ptolomie* to his kingdome by *Gabinus* the Roman, should haue any way betokened the coming of our Saviour: as some both ancient and moderne Christian Writers haue been well pleased to interpret *Sibyl* in that propheticie. Of the Sibylline prædictiones, I haue sometimes thought reuerently: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke few men know) yet following the common beleefe and good authority. But obseruation of the shamefull Idolatry, that vpon all occasions was advanced in Rome by the books of *Sibyl*, had well preuailed vpon my credulitie, and made me suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the iudgement of *Eusebius*: when that learned and excellent work of Master *Casaubon* vpon the Annales of Cardinall *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparant, That not onely those prophesies of *Sibyl*, wherein Christ so plainly was shewed, but euen the bookes of *Hermes*, which haue borne such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (whosoever deuised them) by the vndiscreet zeale of such, as delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthened with forrein proofs. And in the same ranke, I thinke, we ought to place that notable Historie, reported by *Eusebius* from no meane Authors, Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in Rome; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy god*. For what can bee more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publike, should haue bene quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosphers and Poets would not haue suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it bene true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then liued and flourished, would haue abstained from speaking any word of an Argument so famous. Wherefore I am perswaded, that this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad *Criticisme*, taken amisse in place of *Simoni Sango*: a title foure hundred yeeres older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruuius* a Rebell, had many ages before bene consecrated *Simoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi god Sango*, in whose Chappell they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old Roman letters, or by some spoile that Time had wrought vpon them, it might easily come to passe, that the words should be misse-read, *Simoni Sancto*, and that some Christian who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sango*, therupon should frame the coniecture, which now passeth for a true Historie. Such coniectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more Histori-call, than was conceiued by the Authour. But it cannot bee safe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firme vpon a sure foundation) leane ouer-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten post.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbred amonga few of the richest, which euer the Citie beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasurie, was made the last payment of those monies which the common-wealth had borrowed from priuate men, in the second *Punick warre*. So long was it, that Rome had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memorie, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, euen so long as hee well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the Citie, vntill the

Tull. de Diuin.
lib. 2.I. sac. Casaub.
Exercit. l. 1. ad
Annal. Bar. n.
10. C. 11.Euseb. Eccl.
hist. l. 13.

the heat of an Inquisition, than raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called one after other, into iudgement, by two Tribunes of the people; men, onely by this accusation, knowne to Posteritie. *P. Scipio* the African, with whom they beganne, could not endure that such vnworthy men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasury, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Countrey. When therefore his day of answer came, hee appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which he passed through the midst of the Assembly, and offered himselfe to speake. Having audience, he told the people, That vpon the same day, of the 10 yeere hee had fought a great battaile with *Hannibal*, & finished the *Punick warre* by a signall victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit season to brabble at these w^{ords}, but intended to visit the Capitol, and there giue thanks to *Iupiter*, and the rest of the gods; by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well & happily discharged this most weighty businesse of the Common-wealth. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, That if euer since the seuenteenth yeere of his life, *scilicet* he were grow old, the honourable places by them conferred vpon him, had preuented the ambition of his age, and yet his deserts had exceeded the greatnesse of those honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their Citie might still be like to him. These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the people, euen the Officers of the court, followed *Scipio*, leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their own slaues & a Crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to iudgement, much to the very shame, as not knowing what else to doe, they granted him, vnrrequested, a further day. After this, when the African perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their suit, but enforce him to submit himselfe to a disgracefull triall: he willingly relinquished the Citie, & his vnthankfull Romans; that could suffer him to vndergoe so much indignitie. The rest of his time he spent at Linternum: quietly with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing Rome again. How many yeeres he liued, or whether he liued one whole yeere, in this voluntary banishment, it is vncertaine. The report of his dying in the same yeere, with *Hannibal* and *Philopomenus*, as also of his priuate behaviour at Linternum, render it probable, that he out-liued the Tribuneship of his accusers, who meant to haue drawn him back to his answer, if one of their Collegues (as one of them, had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. How soeuer it was, the same Tribunes went more sharply to work with *L. Scipio the Asiaticus*. They propounded a Decree vnto the people, touching monies receiued of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treasury; that the Senate should giue charge vnto one of the Prators, to inquire, and iudicially determine thereof. In fauour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the supposed author of these contentious, and instigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue; temperate, valiant, and of singular industrie; frugall also, both of the publike, and of his owne; so as in this kinde he was euen faultie: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he vnmisericifull and vnconscionable, in seeking to increase his owne wealth, by such means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice, which being possessed with enuie, troubled both himselfe and the whole Citie, whilst he liued. His meane birth caused him to hate the Nobilitie, especially those that were in chiefe estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his own ranke, men raised by desert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whose Lieutenant he had bene at Thermopylae, was his Competitor for the Censorship, and likely to carry it, he tooke an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious periuire. That he had not brought into the common Treasury some vessels of gold & siluer, gotten in the Campe of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare vnto the *Scipio's*, grew partly, besides his generall spight at the Nobility, from his owne first rising, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the African; partly from some checke, that was giuen vnto himselfe, in the African voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whose Treasurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his dislike of the Consuls bad husbandry (iudging *Maximus* to be no better in some peremptory manner, *Scipio* plainly told him, That hee had no need of such double diligence in his Treasurie: Wherefore, either not caring what lyes he published, or for want of iudgment, thinking vnworthily of the vertue that was in him, *Cato* filled Rome with vntrue reports against his Generall; whose noble

noble deedes confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought vpon by the *Scipio's*, whilst it was nourished by their enemy, brake out vpon aduantage, especially against *L. Scipio*: his brother being dead, or out of the way. A seuerer inquiry and iudgement being appointed of purpose against *Scipio*, matters were so carried, that he was scene condemned in a sum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For non payment, his body should haue been laid vp in prison: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same Tribune who had caused the suite against the African to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the vse of the Citie, when there neither appeared any signe of his hauing been beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had been condemned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and Clients made such a collection for him, as would haue set him in better estate than before, if he had accepted it. Hee tooke no more than such of his owne goods, as were of necessary vse, being redeemed for him by his neere friends.

And thus began the ciuill warre of the *Tongue*, in the Roman pleadings: which had either not beene, or not beene much regardable, vntill now, since the Punicke Warre. Security of danger from abroad; and some want of sufficient employment, were especiall helpees to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold vpon that great Worthy, to whose vertue Rome was indebted, for changing into so great security her extreme danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contain themselves within hear of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in such quarrelsome businesse, grew to perfection, they that found themselves ouer-matched by their aduersaries at this kinde of weapon, began to make opposition, first, with clubs & stones, afterward with swords; and finally, proceeded from frayes & murders in the streets, vnto battaile in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio* the African, a Lady of rare vertue, that in honour of her two tonnes was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two sons, whilst they were but young, slaughtered in Rome, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not reuenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senatous began to take vpon them authoritie, more than was to them belonging. They conferred vpon the Consuls all the whole power of the Citie, vnder this forme, *Let the Consuls provide, that the Commonweale receive no Detriment*. By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen enemy to the State, they thought to haue wonne a great aduantage ouer the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus* a popular man, whom by such authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marinus*, a famous Captaine of theirs, was so condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senators: whereupon began the ciuill warres, which giuing vnto *Sylla*, who preuailed therein, means to make himselfe absolute Lord of Rome, taught *Cesar*, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtaine the like soueraign power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was prouoked. It is true, that neuer any Consul had finally cause to reioyce, of his hauing put in execution such authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in passing their Lawes, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the Citie stand in need of a Soueraigne Lord: so the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were ouer-topped by voyces in the House, did compell *Cesar*, or giue him at least pretence, to right himselfe by armes: wherewith preuailing against his aduersaries, hee tooke such order, that neither Senate nor people, should thenceforth be able to doe him wrong. So by intestine discord, the Romans consuming all or most of their principall citizens, lost their owne freedom, and became subiects vnto the arbitrary gouernment of one: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they tooke vpon them as the highest Lords on earth, to doe euen what they listed. Yet had not Rome indeed attained hitherto vnto compleat greatnesse, nor beleeued of her selfe as if shee had, whilst a king sat crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and vpholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought vpon betimes. How it was effected, the sequele will discouer.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The second Macedonian Warre.

§. I.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the Romans, when the warre with *Antiochus* was finished. The Romans quarrell with Philip. They dealt insolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being vnreadie for warre, obtaines peace at Rome, by his sonne *Demetrius*, of whom thenceforth hee becomes zealous.



After the ouerthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of Macedonia, *Eumenes* King of Pergamus, the Commonweale of the Achæans, and all other the States of Greece, were gouerned by the same Lawes and Magistrates, as they formerly had beene, before the arriuall of the Romans in those parts: yet in very truth (the publike declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vassals to the People of Rome. For of those fise Prerogatiues belonging to a Monarch, or vnto Soueraigne power, in whomsoever it rest; namely, To make Lawes, To create Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and Warre, To beate Monie, and to reserve (as the French call it) *le dernier resort*, or the last Appeals, the Romans had assumed foure; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, The Appeals, or last resort, as euery petty iniurie offered to each other by the forenamed Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the Roman Embassadors, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senators themselves within Rome; from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Common-weales, declined, He or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities utterly dissolved. Neuertheless it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Offices of their owne ordaining: yet so, as neither their Lawes were of force, when the Romans interposed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especiall regard vnto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of seruitude the seuerall Estates of Greece did bow very gently: either as being thankfull for their deliuerance from a yoke more sensibly grieuous; or, as being skilfull in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chiefe hope of thriving; or, as being more fearful of displeasing the strongest, than mindfull of their owne honour. But *Eumenes* liuing further off, and being most obsequious vnto the Romans, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings: his conformance vnto them in matter of warre & peace, together with the diuersion of their thoughts another way, giuing him leaue to vse his owne euen as he listed, vntill they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little auailable to him, that his kingdome bordered vpon the Nations, by them not thoroughly subdued. For vpon the same reason (as well as vpon his owne high deserts) werethey very louing vnto *Masaniissa*, and to his House, vntill Carthage was ruined, and their Dominion settled in Africke: as likewise afterwards to the kings of Mauritania, Cappadocia, and others: holding people in subiection vnto themselves, by the Ministry of kings; especially of such Kings, as were vsfull and obsequious vnto them.

Now the Macedonian was of a more noble temper; & shewed himselfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatnesse, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his kingdome. But such magnanimity was none otherwise construed by the Romans, than as want of due reuerence to their estate, & a valuation of himselfe against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not indure. Wherefore notwithstanding that he had lately giuen passage to their Armies through his country, prepared the wayes for them; and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needfull, to transport them over the Hellespont into Asia, against *Antiochus*: yet vpon the complaint of *Eumenes*, and the States of Thessalie and Thrace, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea*,

Maronea, with all Pieces and Places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, euen from the Romans themselves.

These townes of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had bene part of *Lyfimachus* his Kingdome: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the North-west, extended his dominion very far. He is thought to haue made himselfe Lord of *Tranfyluania*: in which Prouince it is said, * That innumerable Medals of gold haue bene found, in the age of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crownes, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Victorie*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he liued not to settle his estate in Europe) fell to *Selenus Nicator* by right of war, wherein he vanquished and slew *Lyfimachus*: as also, by the like right, *Ptolomie Ceraunus* thought them his owne, when he had murdered *Selenus*. But the inundation of the *Gaules*, which the kingdome of *Macedon* could not sustaine, did shortly and easily wash away from that crowne, together with the more part of *Thrace*, all those haopes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, and his successors: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The furie of the *Gaules* being ouer-past, those Countries which lately had bene oppressed by them, recovered their libertie; and not onely held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wilde *Thracians*, to finde their advantages, and make vse of them, euen vpon *Macedon*. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, king *Philip* did provide the most conuenient remedies: by shutting vp the wayes, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his kingdome; and by occupying *Lyfimachia*, with some other townes in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarks of his owne Countrey, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behooued him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne estate: yet forasmuch as these Townes were, in a manner, at absolute libertie, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of iustice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Ætoliens*, of wrongfull vsurpation and oppression, in his hauing occupied *Lyfimachia*. Heereunto hee made a good answer, That his Garrison did onely saue it from the *Thracians*: who, as soone as he thence withdrew his men, did seize vpon the Towne, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might haue said, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*; That they were places vnable to defend themselves, and *Gares*, by which the *Barbarians* might haue entrance into his kingdome. But this Plea had not quailed him, in the disputation about *Lyfimachia*: & in the present question, the Romans were not without their owne title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Countrey thereabout, whilst *Philip* was busied in his former warre: and since they, by their victory had gotten vnto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he onely submitted his right vnto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it vnto their disposition, Whether *Ænus* and *Maronea* should be set at libertie: whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed vpon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Lyfimachia* & *Chersonesus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceiue, by the demeanor of their Embassadors towards him: who sitting as Iudges between him and all that made complaint vpon him, gaue sentence against him in euery controuersie. Neuertheless, he sent Embassadors to Rome, there to maintaine his right vnto these Townes, wherein he thought, that equitie (if it might preuaile) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the warre against *Antiochus* and the *Ætoliens*: wherein whatsoeuer hee had gotten for himselfe, was now taken from him by their Embassadors: and would they now deprive him of those two Townes, lying so fitly for the guard of his kingdome, which he had gotten to himselfe out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his owne ruines *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deale more? By such allegations either he was likely to preuaile, or at leastwise to gaine time, wherein he might bethinke himselfe what he had to doe. It was not long ere he had word from Rome, That the Senate were no more equall to him, than had bene their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Maronites* had behaued themselves, in pleading against him for their libertie, hee tooke counsell of his owne passions; and (as by nature he was very cruell) gaue order to *Onomastus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these *Maronites* in such sort, as they might haue little ioy of the libertie by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians*

* Hist. of Hum-
arie by Mart.
Fume. lib. 5.

clians by night, that they might sacke the Towne, and vse all cruelties of warre. This was done; but soile taken by the Roman Embassadors, who had better notice, than could haue bene feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Maiestie, to an account. He would haue remoued the blame from himselfe, and layed it euen vpon the *Maronites*; affirming, that they, in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable to him, others some to *Eumenes*, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one anothers throates. And hereof he willed the Embassadors to enquire; among the *Maronites* themselves: as well knowing, that they who suruiued, were either his owne friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But he found the Romans more seuer, and more thoroughly informed in the businesse, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, That if he would discharge himselfe of the crime objected; he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to Rome, there to be examined as the Senate should thinke fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his spirits, and said, that *Cassander* should be at their disposition: but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not bene at *Maronea*, nor neere to it, he requested them not to presse him; since it stood not with his honour, so lightly to giue away his friends. As for *Cassander*, because hee should tell no tales; hee tooke order to haue him paysoned by the way. By this wee see, that the doctrine, which *Machiavel* taught vnto *Cesar Borgia*, to employ men in mischieuous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they haue performed the mischiefe; was not of his owne inuention. All ages haue giuen vs examples of this goodly policie, the later hauing bene apt schollers in this lesson to the more ancient: as the reigne of *Henry* the eighth here in England, can beare good witness; and therein especially the Lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same vniust Law that himselfe had deuised, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an vnpleasant noise at Rome, & were like to haue brought vpon him the warre which he feared, before hee was ready to entertaine it. Wherefore he employed his younger son *Demetrius* as Embassador vnto the Senate: giuing him instructions, how to make answer to all complaints, and withall to deliuer his owne grieuances, in such wise that if ought were amisse, yet might it appeare that hee had bene strongly vrged to take such courses. The summe of his Embassage was, to pacifie the Romans, and make all euen for the present. *Demetrius* himselfe was knowne to be very acceptable vnto the Senate, as hauing bene well approued by them, when he was hostage in Rome; and therefore seemed the more likely, to preuaile somewhat; were it onely in regard that would be borne vnto his person.

Whilst this businesse with the *Macedonian* hung in suspense, and whilst hee, by his readinesse to make submission, seemed likely to diuert from himselfe some other way the Roman armes: the same Embassadors, that had bene Iudges betwene him and his neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of Greece; and tooke notice of the controuersies, which they found betwene some Estates in the Countrey. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished *Lacedæmonians* against the *Achæans*. It was objected vnto the *Achæans*, That they had committed a grievous slaughter vpon many Citizens of *Lacedæmon*: That vnto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing downe the walls of the Citie: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas*, then Prætor of the *Achæans*, made answer, That these banished *Lacedæmonians*, who now tooke vpon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously known to be the men, who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamelesly they laid the blame vpon others: the *Achæans* hauing onely called those vnto iudgement, they were supposed to be chief authors of a Rebellion against both them and the Romans; and these plaintifes hauing slaine them, vpon priuate, though iust hatred, as they were comming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing downe the walls of *Lacedæmon*, he said it was most agreeable to *Lycurgus* his ordinance: who, hauing perswaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and libertie by their proper vertue, did inhibit vnto them all kindes of fortifications: as the Retraits and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Vsurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these walls

and hemmed in the Spartans, had also quite abolished *Lycorgus* his ordinances; and governed the Citie by their owne lawlesse will. As for the Achæans; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the best, or else would soone change them and take better, vnto the Lacedæmonians; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For conclusion, *Lycortas* plainly tolde *App. Claudius* the chiefe of the Embassadors, That hee and his Countymen held it strange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the Romans, to see themselves thus constrained, to answer and giue account of their actions, as vassals and slaues to the People of Rome. For if they were indeed at libertie: why might not the Achæans as well require to be satisfied about that which the Romans had done at Capua, as the Romans did busie themselves, to take account how things went at Lacedæmon? For if the Romans would stand vpon their greatness, and intimate, as they began, that the liberty of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratifie it: then must the Achæans haue recourse vnto those Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, & which without perurie could not be violated; as reuerencing, and indeed fearing the Romans, but much more, the immortal gods. To this bold answer of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking state vpon him; he pronounced more like a Master than a Iudge, That if the Achæans would not be ruled by faire meanes, and earne thanks whilst they might, they should be compelled with a mischiefe, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This alteration was in the Parliament of the Achæans, which groned to heare the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet feare preuailed aboue Indignation: and it was permitted vnto the Romanes to doe as they listed. Hereupon the Embassadors restored some banished and condemned men: but the Romane Senate, very soone after, did make voide all iudgements of death or banishment, that had beene laid by the Achæans vpon any Citizen of Lacedæmon; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the Citie and Territory of Lacedæmon, should be suffered to continue a member of the Achæan Common-wealth; or taken from them, and made as it had beene an Estate by it selfe. By bringing such a matter into question, the Romans well declared, That they held it to depend vpon their owne will, how much or how little any of their confederates should be suffered to enioy: though by contributing Sparta to the Councell of Achaia, they discovered no lesse, as to them seemed, the loue which they bare vnto the Achæians, than the power which they had ouer them.

Into such slavery had the Greeks, & all kings and Common-weales whatsoever, bordering vpon any part of the Mediterran Seas, reduced themselves; by calling in the Romans to their succour. They wanted not the good counsaile & perswasion of many wise and temperate men among them; They had also the examples of the Italians, Spaniards, Gauls and Africans, all subdued by the Romans; and, by seeking Patronage, made mere vassals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policie so preuaile with them, but their private passions, & neighbouring hatred, which hath euermore bought reuenge at the price of self-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enioyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearefull seruitutie.

All this made well for *Philip* of Macedon: who though he saw the Greeks very farre from daring to stirre against those, by whom both hee and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the Romans by freeing from his subiection had made his implacable enemies) in heartie affection all the Countrey would be his, whensoever he should take armes, as shortly hee was like to doe. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from Rome, brought with him the desired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignitie soone following. Hee had beene long vnto Rome, and heard with great fauour in the Senate. There, being confounded with the multitude of obsecrations, whereto his youth, vnskillful in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer, it was permitted vnto him, to reade such briefe notes as he had receiued from his Father; and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his owne sake, as they then said, and wrote into Macedon, than for any goodnesse in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the intreatie of his sonne, together with some insolence of his sonne, growing (as appeared) from this fauour of the Romans, did increase in *Philip* his

his hatred vnto Rome, and breed in him a ialousie of his too forward sonne. To let him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadors from Rome, some bringing one commandement, some another; and some, requiring him to fulfill those things, which had beene imposed vpon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that obserued his countenance: and when hee had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that he had done things vnwillingly, and would be obedient, no longer than hee needed must. With these Embassadors young *Demetrius* was conuersant: rather perhaps out of simplicitie, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deale more than was pleasing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all Macedon, That *Perseus*, the elder son of the king, should not succeed vnto his father; but that the Diademe should be conferred vpon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by mere fauour of the Romans. This offended not onely *Perseus*, but *Philip* himselfe: who suspected his younger sonne, as more Roman than his owne; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceed vnto the bitter fruits of this ialousie; it will not be amisse, to speake of some memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

§ II.

19 The death of *Philopœmen*, *Hannibal*, and *Scipio*. That the Militarie profession is of all other the most unhappie: notwithstanding some examples, which may seeme to proue the contrary.

THE Romans, wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of Greece, had of late beene so peremptorie with the Achæans; that they seemed not vnlikely to take part against them, in any controuersie that should bee moued. Hereupon the Messenians, who against their will were annexed vnto the Achæan Commonwealth, hauing long beene of a contrary Faction thereto, grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Societie, with purpose to set vp againe an Estate of their owne, severed from communion with any other. This was the deuice of some that were powerful in their Citie: who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpose, and not ouer-strongly affected in the businesse; were carefull to seeke occasion of reducing things to such passe, that all their Citizens might bee entangled in a necessitie of standing out, and of not returning to the Achæan League. And hereupon they began to doe some acts of hostilitie; whereby it was probable that blood should bee drawne, and either side so farre exasperated, that little hope of agreement would bee left. Vpon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Prator of the Achæans, leuiued such forces as hee could in haste, and went against them. Many principall Gentlemen of the Achæans, especially of the Megalopolitans, were soon in a readinesse to wait vpon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part, Horse; he had some Auxiliaries out of Thracæ and Crete, that vsually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captaine of the Messenians; whom hee charged, and forced to runne. But whilst his horsemen were too earnest in following the chase, there arriued, by chance, a supply of five hundred from Messene, which gaue new courage vnto those that were fled. So the Enemies began to make head againe; and with the helpe of those, who very seasonably came to their aide, compelled *Philopœmens* Horsemen to turne backe. *Philopœmen* himselfe had long beene sicke of an Ague, and was then very weake: yet the greatnesse of his courage would not suffer him, to bee negligent of their safetie, which had so willingly aduentured themselves vnder his conduct. Hee tooke vpon him to make the Retreat; and suffering his Horsemen to passe along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the Messenians; whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching ouer-neere to him. But it fell out vnghappily, that being cast to ground by a fall of his Horse, and being with all in very weake plight of body, he was vnable to get vp againe. So the Enemies came vpon him, and tooke him; yet scarce beleueed their fortune to be so good, although their eyes were witnesses. The first messenger that brought these newes to Messene, was so farre from being beleueed, that he was hardly thought to bee in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ranne forth to meet him,

him; and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They caused him to be brought into the Theater, that there they might satisfie themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his vertue; and of the singular benefits by him done vnto them, especially in deliuering them from *Nabus* the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his deliuerie. Contrariwise, *Dionocrates* and his Faction were desirous hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would neuer leaue any disgrace, or iniurie, done to him; vntreuenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong vault vnder ground, that had bene made for the custody of their Treasure. So thither they let him downe fast bound, and with an engine laid an heauie stone vpon the mouth of the vault. There hee had not stayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe vnto him, with a cup of poyson, which *Philopamen* tooke in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe; when he heard an answer to his minde, hee said it was well: and so with a cheerefull countenance, dranke his last draught. He was seuentie yeeres old, and weakened with long sicknesse, whereby the poyson wrought the sooner, and easily tooke away his life. The Achaeans, when they missed him in their flight, were maruellously offended with themselves, for that they had bene more mindefull to preserve their owne liues, than to looke vnto the sacrifice of so excellent a Commander. Whilest they were doubting what to doe in such a case: they got aduertisement of his being taken. All Achaia was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadours were forthwith dispatched vnto Mellenae, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in case that faire meanes would not serue. *Lycortas* was chosen Generall of the Arme against Mellenae: who comming thither, and laying siege to the Towne, enforced it in short space to yeeld. Then *Dionocrates*, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands vpon himselfe, and made an end of his owne life. The rest of those that had bene partakers in this murder, were compelled to wait in bonds vpon the ashes of *Philopamen*: and were carried home in solemne pompe to Mègalopolis; where they were all of them slain at his funeral, as sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. *Scipio*, the Roman Embassadour, was then in Greece; whence, vpon one occasion or other, the Roman Embassadours were seldom absent. Hee would haue entemedled in this businesse of Mellenae, had not *Lycortas* made short worke, and left him nothing to doe.

About the same time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* sent Embassadour to *Prusias* King of Bithynia: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the war against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him, that he would deliuer *Hannibal*, the most spiteful enemy in all the world vnto the Senate and People of Rome, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein vnworthy of the Crowne he wore) did readily condescend: or rather (as *Linus* thinks) to gratifie the Romans, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliuer him aliuie to *Flaminius*. For vpon the first conference betwene the King and *Flaminius*, a troupe of Souldiers were directed to guard and enuiron the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captaine hauing found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had deuised some secret sallies vnder ground to saue himselfe from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy: which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing over him, as to saue himselfe from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as hee well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way of escape, nor counsell to resort vnto, hee rooke the poyson into his hand, which he alwaies preserved for a sure Antidore against the sharpest diseases of aduerser fortune; which being ready to swallow downe, he vttered these words: *I will now (saith he) deliuer the Romans of that feare, which hath so many yeeres possessed them; that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of Flaminius, diuine me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall neuer bee numbred among the rest of his heroicall deeds: No, it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the world, how faire the ancient Roman vertues degenerate and corrupted. For such was the noblenesse of their sweeteners, as, when Pyrrhus invaded them in Italie, and was ready to giue them battle at their owne dores, they gaue him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poyson:*

son; where as these of a later race haue employed *Flaminius*, a man who hath heretofore bene one of their Consuls, to practise with *Prusias*, contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith, and contrary to the Lawes of Hospitality, to slaughter or deliuer up his owne Guest. He then cursing the person of *Prusias*, and all his, and desiring the immortall gods to reuenge his infidelitie, dranke off the poyson, and died.

In this yeere also (as good Authors haue reported) to accompanie *Philopamen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the African: these being, all of them, as great Capitaines as euer the world had; but not more famous, than vnfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedie we haue now finished, had he bene Prince of the Carthaginians, and one who by his authority might haue commanded such supplies, as the Warre which he vndertooke, required; it is probable, that he had torne vp the Roman Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly crost by a cowardly and enuious Faction at home, as his proper vertue, wanting publike force to sustaine it, did lastly dissolue it selfe in his owne, and in the common miserie of his Countrey and Common-weale.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the enuie of our equals, and ielousie of our Masters, be they Kings, or Commonweales, That there is no Profession more vnprosperous than that of Men of Warre, and great Capitaines, being no Kings. For besides the enuie and ielousie of men, the spoyle, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation, and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as with good reason did *Monsieur* the Marshall of France confesse, That, were not the mercies of God infinite, and without restriction, it were in vaine for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties by them permitted and committed, were also infinite. Howsoeuer, this is true, That the victories, which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serue vnder them, to Fortune, or to the cowardise of the Nation against whom they serue. For the most of others, whose vertues, haue raised them aboue the leuell of their inferiours, and haue surmounted their enuie: yet haue they bene rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the Romans we finde many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Linius*, *L. Emilius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom wee haue lately buried. Among the Greekes wee reade of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yea, long before these times, it was a Legacie that *David* bequeathed vnto his victorious Captaine *Iob*. With this fare *Alexander* feasted *Permenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereto *Valentinian* the Emperour inuited *Etius*: who, after many other victories, ouerchew *Attila* of the Hunnes, in the greatest battaile, for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that euer was stricken in the world; for there fell of those that fought, beside runne-awayes, an hundred and fourescore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told vnto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Etius*, hee had cut off his owne right hand with his left: for it was not long after that *Maximus* (by whose perswasion *Valentinian* slue *Etius*) murdered the Emperour; which hee neuer durst attempt, *Etius* liuing. And; besides the losse of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Etius*, the glory of the Westerne Empire was rather dissolued than obscured. The same vnworthy destinie, or farre worse, had *Bellisarius*; whose vndertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by *Iustinian*: and hee died a blinde beggar. *Narjes* also, to the great preiudice of Christian Religion, was disgrac'd by *Iustinian*. That rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath been well obserued in euery age since then; to wit, That the Common-weale cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence hath the Turkes drawne another Principle, and indeed a Turkish one. That euery warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of Warre, than suffer his owne glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Bajazet* the second dispatch *Bassa Acomat*; *Selim* strangle *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their Vissers. Of the Spanish Nation, the great *Gonsaluo*, who draue the French out of Naples; and *Ferdinando Cortese*, who conquered Mexico; were crowned with nettles, not with Lawrell. The Earles of Egmond and Horn, had no heads left them to wear garlands on. And that the great Capitaines of all Nations haue heene paid with this copper Coine; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary it may be said, That many haue acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great abilitie in matter of warre. This I confesse. Yet must it be had withall

in consideration, that these high places haue beene giuen, or offered, vnto very few, as rewards of their militarie vertue; though many haue vsurped them, by the helpe and fauour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it vnregardable, That the Tyrants which haue oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Licutenants of Kings or Emperours, which haue traiterously cast downe their Masters, and stepped vp into their seats; were not all of them good men of warre: but haue vsed the aduantage of some commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, haue obtained those dignities, which vnderferuedly were ascribed to their personall worth. So that the number of those, that haue purchased absolute greatnesse by the greatness of their warlike vertue, is farre more in seeming, than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldiour, and by helpe of the Souldiours he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and with a barbarous crueltie, seldome found in any other than cowards, he slew first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that neuer had done him wrong, before his face, and after them *Mauritius* himselfe. This his bloody aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid vnto him againe by *Heraclius*: who tooke from him the Imperiall Crowne, vniustly gotten; and set it on his owne head. *Leontius* laid hold vpon the Emperour *Iustine*, cut off his nose and eares, and sent him into banishment: But Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge hee had left his owne men of warre. *Iustine*, hauing recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same fashion. *Philippicus*, commanding the forces of *Iustine*, murdered both the Emperour and his sonne. *Anastatius*, the vassall of this new Tyrant, surprised his Master *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastatius*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for hauing wrested the Scepter out of his hands, he enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endlesse, and a needlesse worke to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodosius*; how many others haue beene repayed with their owne crueltie, by men alike ambitious and cruell; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of Capitaines to make themselves Kings, haue by Gods iustice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinarie, and perhaps the best way of thriving, by the practice of Armes, is to take what may be gotten by the spoyle of Enemies, and the liberalitie of those Princes and Cities, in whose seruice one hath well deserved. But scarce one of a thousand haue prospered by this course. For that obseruation, made by *Salomon*, of vnthankfulness in this kinde, hath beene found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little Citie, and few men in it, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And there was found a poore and wise man therein, and hee deliuered the Citie by his wisdom: but none remembered this poore man.* Great Monarchs are vnwilling to pay great thanks, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselves to haue beene indebted for great benefits: which the vnwiser sort of them think to fauour of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are oftentimes coufused and abused; which proues that weaknesse to be in them indeed, whereof they so gladly shun the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountifull in giuing thanks; yet so, as those thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Capitaines haue made, by enriching themselves with the spoyle of the enemy, they are very inquisitiue to search into it, and to strip the well-deseruers out of their gettings: yea most iniquiously to rob them of their owne, vpon a false supposition: that euen they whose hands are most cleane from such offences, haue purloyned somewhat from the common Treasure. Hereof I need not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipio's* being so lately recited.

In my late Soueraignes time, although for the warres, which for her owne safetie, she was constrained to vndertake, her Maiesty had no lesse cause to vse the seruice of Martiall men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predecessors for many yeeres had; yet, according to the destiny of that profession, I doe not remember, that any of hers, the Lord Admirall excepted, her eldest and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any seruice by them performed. And that her Maiesty had many aduised, valiant, and faithfull men, the prosperitie of her affaires did well witnesse, who in all her dayes neuer receiued dishonour, by the cowardise or infidelity of any Commander, by her selfe chosen and employed.

For as all her old Capitaines by Land died poore men, as *Malbey*, *Randel*, *Drewrie*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Cunstable*, *Bourchier*, *Barkley*, *Bingham*, and others:

so those of a later and more dangerous imployment, whereof *Norrice* and *Vere* were the most famous, & who haue done as great honour to our Nation (for the meanes they had) as euer any did: those (I say) with many other braue Colonels, haue left behinde them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many trauels and wounds) no title nor estate to their posteritie. As for the *L. Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Bertie* *L. Willoughby of Eresby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Estates.

That her Maiesty in the aduancement of her Men of warre did sooner beleeue other men than her selfe, a disease vnto which many wise Princes, besides her selfe, haue beene subiect, I say that such a confidence, although it may seeme altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weakenesse. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the Adversers are so vnprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that those which are nearest the person of Princes (which Martiall men seldome are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnifie a profession farre more noble than their owne, seeing therein they should onely minde their Masters of the wrong they did vnto others, in giuing lesse honour and reward to men of farre greater deservings, and of farre greater vse than themselves.

But his Maiesty hath already payed the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relieuing by Pensions all the poorer sort, hee hath honoured more Martiall men, than all the kings of England haue done for this hundred yeeres.

He hath giuen a Coronet to the Lord *Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable seruice, as well in the yeere 1588. as at Caliz, the Islands, and in our owne Sea; hauing first commanded as a Captaine, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiefe. His Maiesty hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* and *Burley* into Earldomes, and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knollys*, *Ruffel*, *Carew*, *Danuers*, *Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chichester*, Barons, for their governments and seruices in the Netherlands, France, Ireland, and elsewhere.

§ III.

Philip making provision for warre against the Romanes, deales hardly with many of his owne subiects. His negotiation with the Bassarne. His crueltie. Hee suspecteth his sonne Demetrius. Demetrius accused by his brother Perseus; and shortly after slaine, by his fathers appointment. Philip repenteth him of his sonnes death; whom hee findeth to haue beene innocent: and intending to reuenge it on Perseus, he dieth.

Quintus Martius the Roman Embassador, who trauelled vp and downe, seeking what worke might bee found about Greece, had receiued instruction from the Senate, to vse the most of his diligence in looking into the Estate of Macedon. At his returne home, that he might not seeme to haue discovered nothing, hee told the Fathers, That *Philip* had done whatsoever they enioyned him; yet so, as it might appear, that such his obedience would last no longer, than meere necessity should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King did wholly tend vnto rebellion, about which he was deuising. Now it was so indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithfull obsequiousnesse to the Romans, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands, with safety of their honour, if they could finde conuenient meanes; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparant) by what meanes soeuer. Hee was in an ill case: as hauing beene already vanquished by them, hauing lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; hauing subiects that abhorred to heare of Warre with Rome; and hauing neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto yrged, would aduenture to take his part: yet he prouided as well as he could deuise, against the necessitie which he daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gaue him cause to suspect, that they would doe but bad seruice against the Romanes, he compelled to forsake their dwellings, and remooued them all into Emathia. The Cities and Country, whence these were transplanted, hee filled with a multitude of Thracians, whose faith he thought a great deale more assured against

against those enemies that were terrible to the Macedonians. Further, hee deuised vpon alluring the Bastarnæ, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the riuer of Danubius, to abandon their fear, and come to him with all their multitude: who, besides other great rewards, would helpe them to roote out the Dardanians, and take possession of their Country. These were like to doe him notable seruice against the Romans: being not onely stout fighting men; but such as being planted in those quarters by him, would beare respect vnto him alone. The least benefit that could bee hoped by their arriual, must be the vtter extirpation of the Dardanians; a People alwaies troublesome to the Kingdome of Macedon, whensoever they found aduantage. Neither was it iudged any hard matter, to perswade those Bastarnæ, by hope of spoyle, and other inticements, vnto a more desperate Expedition, through Illyria, and the Countries vpon the Adriaticke Sea, into Italie it selfe. It was not knowne who should withstand them vpon the way: Rather it was thought, that the Scordisci, and peradventure some others, through whose Countries they were to passe, would accompanie them against the Romans, were it onely in hope of spoyle. Now to facilitate the remoue of these Bastarnæ from their owne habitations, into the land of the Dardanians, vpon the border of Macedon; a long and tedious iourney vnto them, that carried with them their wiues and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchase the good will of some Thracian Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to passe. And thus hee sought meanes to strengthen himselfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the Romans, nor were knowne vnto them; since he was not like to finde assistance from any ciuill Nation, about the whole compasse of the Mediterranean Seas. But these deuices were long ere they tooke effect: so as the Bastarnæ came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the ouerthrow of that purpose. In the meane time hee neglected not the training of his men to Warre, and the exercise of them in some small Expeditions, against those wilde people that bordered vpon him, and stood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsailes and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell vpon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wils to forsake their ancient dwellings, & betake themselves to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meet for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it selfe within words: hee hauing done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long liued: which also hee did vnwillingly, being himselfe ouer-ruled by necessity, that seemed apparant. This euill therefore would soone haue bene determined, had not his cruell and vindicative nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from iust sorrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly did seeke reuenge where it was needlesse. In his rage he caused many to die: among whom were some eminent men; and few or none of them deseruedly. This increased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more generall, when the King in a most barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom hee had inured, thought himselfe vnlike to be safe, vntill hee should haue massacred all the children of those parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his vnmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical than perhaps hee could haue desired, gaue men cause to thinke (as they could not in reason thinke otherwise) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heauen, hee felt the like miserie in his owne children. It is hard to say what the Romanes intended, in the extraordinary fauour which they shewed vnto *Demetrius*, the kings younger sonne. It may well bee (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissention betweene the brethren, but onely to cherish the vertue and towardlinesse of *Demetrius*, like as we finde it in their Histories. But their notable fauour towards this young Prince, and his mutuall respect of them, bred extreame ieaousie in the fathers head. If any custome of the Romanes, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparell, or the vnslightly contriuing and building (as then it was) of the Towne of Rome, were lected at in ordinary discourse and table talk, *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praying them, euen in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conuersation with their Embassadors, as often as they came, gaue his father cause

cause so thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counsaile held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his deuices with his elder sonne *Perseus*, who fearing so much lest his brother should step betweene him and the succession, converted wholly vnto his destruction, that grace which he had with his father. *Perseus* was then thirty yeeres old, of a stirring spirit, though much defectiue in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five yeeres, more open and vnwarie in his actions, yet thought olde and crafty enough, to entertaine more dangerous practices, than his free speeches disclosed. The daubous head of the King hauing entertained such suspitions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder sonne, a slight occasion made the fire breake out, that had long layne smothered. A Muster, and ceremonious lustration of the Armie, was vnto to be made at certaine times with great solemnitie. The manner of it at the present was thus: They cleft intwaine a birch, and threw the head and fore-part, with the contrail, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way, which the Armie was to passe. This done, the Armes of all the kings of Macedon, from the very first of Ignatall, were borne before the Armie. Then followed the king betweene his two sonnes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whom all the rest of the Macedonians followed. Hauing performed other ceremonies, the Armie was diuided into three parts: which, vnder the Kings two sonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, vsing poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did ouer-carnestly seeke each to get the vpper hand, as a betokening of their good successe in a greater triall. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds giuen, euen with those stakes, vntill *Perseus* his side at length recoyled. *Perseus* himselfe was sorry for this, as it had beene some bad preface; but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good vfe. They were of the craftier sort: who perceiuing which way the kings fauour bent, and how all the courtes of *Demetrius* led vnto his owne ruine, addressed their seruices to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him; as if the heate of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feaste his owne companions, and each of them had spies in the others lodging, to obserue what was said and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaued himselfe so indiscreetly, that he was taken & well beaten by three or foure of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of doores. After some store of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would goe visit his brother, and see what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion; excepting such of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet hee would leaue notice of his traine behinde, but forced them all to beare him company. They, feasting to bee ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to preuent all danger. Yet was there such good espiall kept, that this their comming armed was forthwith made knowne to *Perseus*: who thereupon tumultuously locked vp his doores, as if hee stood in feare to be assaulted in his house. *Demetrius* wondred to see himselfe excluded, and feared very angrily with his brother. But *Perseus* bidding him bee gone as an enemy, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the king. The elder brother accused the younger vnto the father of them both. Much there was alledged; and in effect the same hath bene here recited; saue that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the maine point of the accusation, and which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had undertaken this murder, & would perhaps also dare to undertake a greater, vpon confidence of the Romanes; by whom hee knew that he should be defended and borne out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the Romanes did hate him; because hee bore a due respect vnto his father, and was sorry to see him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him: as also that they sought how to winne vnto *Demetrius* the loue of the Macedonians. For prooffe hereof he dired a letter, sent of late from *T. Quintius* to the king himselfe: whereof the contents were, That hee had done wisely in sending *Demetrius* to Rome; and that he should yet further doe well to send him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honourable traine of Macedonian Lords. Hence bee enforced, That this counsell was giuen by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that should

should have vpon his brother to Rome, and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become seruants to this yong Traytor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembered them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Persus*, that conuicted matters of Pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent brothers death. As for the loue which the Romans did beare him, He said, that it grew, if not from his owne vertue, at least wise from their opinion of his death: so as by an impious practice; Hee were more like to lose it wholly, than to increase it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not such passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; besides those that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinarie Iudges. The king pronounced like a father, though zealous father, that he would conclude nothing vpon the excess or error, whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor vpon one hours audience of the matter, but vpon better obseruation of their liues, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may seeme to haue dealt both iustly and compassionately. But from this time forward he gaue himself ouer wholly to *Persus*: vnto so little conference with his yong sonne, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the Romans, He liked neither to haue him present, nor neere vnto him. About all, he had especiall care, to learne out what had passed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintus*, or any other of the Roman great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to Rome, *Philotes* and *Apelles*; men whom hee thought no way interessed in the quarrells betweene the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a letter, said to be written by *Titus* (whose seale they had counterfeited) vnto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the yong Prince, with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthfull and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices vnusurpable, against his elder brother; which yet should neuer take effect, for that *Titus* himselfe would not be author, or abetter, of any impious deuice. This manner of excuse did forcibly perswade the king, to thinke his sonne a dangerous traytor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one *Didus*, to whom he gaue *Demetrius* in custodie, made shew as if he had pitied the estate of the vnhappy Prince; and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discovered vnto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to flye secretly to Rome; where he might hope not onely to liue in safety, from his father & brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could finde at home, of bettering such claime as he had in reuerfion vnto the Crown of Macedon. Whatsoeuer his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falshood of *Didus*; who playing on both hands, offered vnto the Prince his helpe for making the escape, & in the meane while reuealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* resolved to put his sonne to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behouefull to make him away priuily, for feare lest the Romans should take the matter to heart, and hold it as a prooffe sufficient, at least, of the kings despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the warre. *Didus* therefore was commanded to rid the vnhappy Prince out of his life. This accursed Minister of his Kings vnadvised sentence, first gaue poyson to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Heereupon he sent a couple of Russians, to finish the tragedies, who villainously accomplished their work by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of Macedon.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not bene found a king, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne blood. The houses of *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander* felt either with themselves, or euen vpon their heeles, by intestine discord and ialousies, so grounded on desire of soueraigne rule, or feare of losing it. By the like vnnatural hatred, had almost bene cut off the lines of *Pholomis* and *Seleneus*: which though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grievously distemperd. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that wplart family of the kings of Pergamns had raised himselfe to maruellous greatness, in very short space, from the condition of meere slavery; whereof a principall cause was, the brotherly loue maintained by them, with singular commendation of their pietie. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples, but is said to haue propounded the last of them, to his owne children; as a patterne for them to imitate. Certainly hee had reason so to doe: not more

more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith king *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minoeritie. But he was himselfe of an vnnmercifull nature; and therefore vnmet to be a good perswader vnto kindly affection. The murders by him done vpon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his bloud-thirsty appetite, he delightfully had committed vpon many innocents, both strangers, and subiects of his owne; did now procure vengeance downe from Heauen, that rewarded him with a draught of his owne Poyson. After the death of his sonne, He too late began to examine the crimes that had bene objected; and to weigh them in a more equall ballance. Then found he nothing that could giue him satisfaction, or by good probabilitie induce him to thinke, that malice had not bin contriuer of the whole processe. His onely remaining Son *Persus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which he tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition; as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remooue of those dangers, which he had lately pretended. The Romanes were now no lesse to bee feared than at other times, when he, as hauing accomplished the most of his desires, left off his vsuall trouble of minde, and carefulnesse of making prouision against them. Hee was more diligently courted, than in former times; by those that well vnderstood the difference, betweene a rising and a setting Sunne. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousnesse of such expectation. This bred in the king a deepe melancholy; and filled his head with suspicious imaginations, the like whereof hee had neuer bene slow to apprehend. Hee was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew, neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Cousin of his, named *Antigonus*, continued so true to *Philip*, that hee grew thereby hateful to *Persus*: and thus becoming subiect vnto the same ialous impression which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This counsaillour, when he found that the anger conceiued against *Persus* would not vent it selfe, and giue ease to the king, vntill the truth were knowne whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treason objected; as also that *Philotes* and *Apelles*, (the Embassadors which had brought from Rome that Epistle of *Flamininus*, that serued as the greatest euidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgery, in the businesse: made diligent inquire after the truth. In thus doing, he found one *Xychus*, a man most likely to haue vnderstood what false dealing was vsed by those Embassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented vnto the King: saying, That this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to vtter what he knew. *Xychus* for feare of torture, vttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himself, that he had bene employed by the Embassadors in that wicked piece of businesse. No maruell, if the Fathers passions were extreme; when he vnderstood that by the vnnatural practice of one sonne, he had so wretchedly cast away another, farre more vertuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly against himselfe, and withall against the authors of the mischief. Vpon the first newes of this discouerie, *Apelles* fled away, and got into Italie, *Philotes* was taken: and either foras much as he could not denie it when *Xychus* confronted him, yeelded himselfe guilty; or else was put to torture. *Persus* was now growne stronger, than that he should need to flye the Countrey: yet not so stout as to aduenture himselfe into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the kingdome, towards Thrace, whilest his father wintred at *Demetrius*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his vngacious sonne; tooke a resolution, to aliene the Kingdome from him, and confer it vpon *Antigonus*. But his weake body, and excessive griete of minde, so disabled him in the trauell thereto belonging; that ere he could bring his purpose to effect, hee was constrained to yeeld to nature: Hee had reigned about two and forty yeeres: alwaies full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexed himselfe with continuall warres; of which that with the Romans was most vnhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise Prince would haue desired, of bringing forth together, both honour and profit. But for all the euill that befell him, hee might thanke his own peruerse condition: since his Vncle, king *Antigonus*, had left vnto him an estate, so great, and so well settled, as made it easie for him, to accomplish any moderate desires; if he had not abhorred all good counsell. Wherefore he was iustly punished by feeling the difference betweene the imaginary happinesse of a Tyrant, which hee affected, and the

the life of a king, where of he little cared to performe the dutie. His death, euen while yet he was onely drawing neere, was fore-signified vnto *Perseus*, by *Caligene* the Physician; who also concealed it a while from those that were about the Court. So *Perseus* came thither on the suddaine, and tooke possession of the kingdome: which in fine hee no lesse improuidently lost, than he had wickedly gotten.

§. IV.

How the Bastarne fell vpon Dardania. The behaviour of Perseus in the beginning of his reigne. Some warres of the Romanes: and how they suffered Masaniissa cruelly to oppresse the Thracians. They quarrell with Perseus. They allow not their Confederates to make warre without their leave obtained. The Treason of Callicrates, whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to Perseus. He seeks friendship of the Acheans, and is withstood by Callicrates. The Romanes discover their intent of warring vpon him.

IMmediately vpon the death of *Philip*, came the *Bastarne* into Thrace: where order had bene taken, long before, both for the free passage, and for the indemnitie of the Countrey. This compact was friendly obserued, as long as no other was known than that *Philip* did liue, to recompence all that should bee done, or sustained, for his seruice. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in Macedon; and not heard withall, that he tooke any care what became of the enterprize: then was all dash and confounded. The Thracians would no longer afford so good markets vnto these strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Bastarne* would not be contented with reason, but became their owne caruers. Thus each part hauing lost the rich hopes reposed in *Philip*, grew carefull of thriving in the present; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blowes; and the *Bastarne* had the vpper hand, so as they chased the Thracians out of the plaine Countries. But the victors made little vse of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some ouerthrow, receiued by them in assaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extreame bad weather, which is said to haue afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, saue thirty thousand, which pierced on into Dardania. How these thirty thousand sped in their voyage, I doe not finde. It seemes that by the carelesse vsing of some victories, they drew losse vpon themselves: and finally tooke that occasion, to follow their companions backe into their owne Countrey.

As for *Perseus* he thought it not expedient, in the noueltie of his reigne, to embroyle himselfe in a war so dangerous, as that with the Romanes was likely to prooue. Wherefore he wholly gaue his minde to the settling of his Estate: which well done, hee might afterwards accommodate himselfe, as the condition of his affaires should require, eyther for war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly tooke away the life of *Antigonus*. To win loue of his people, he sate personally to heare their causes in iudgement (though herein he was so ouer-diligent and curious, that one might haue perceiued this his vertue of iustice to be no better than fained); as also hee gratified them with many delightfull spectacles, magnificently by him set forth. About all, he had care to auoid all necessity of war with Rome: and therefore made it his first worke, to send Embassadors thither, to renew the league, which he obtained, & was by the Senate saluted King, and friend vnto the State. Neither was he negligent in seeking to purchase good will of the Greekes, & other his neighbours: but was rather herein so excessively bountifull, that it may seeme a wonder how in few yeeres, to his vtter ruine, he became so griping and tenacious. His feare was indeede the mastering passion, which ouer-ruled him, and changed him into so many shapes, as made it hard to discerne which of his other qualities were naturally his owne. For prooue of this, there is requisite no more, than the relation of his actions past and following.

The Romanes continued, as they had long, busie in warres against the Spaniards and Ligurians; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered *Isria*; subdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had some quarrells, though to little effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as euer since the victory) a heavy hand: & suffered *Masaniissa* to take from them what he

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listed. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient vassals to Rome, were afraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leave of the Romanes. *Masaniissa* therefore had great aduantage over them, and was not ignorant how to vse it. He could get possession by force; of what heuer he desired, ere their complaining Embassadors could be at Rome: and then were the Romanes not hardly entreated, to leaue things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the Countrey of *Emporia*: and so did he vse them againe and againe, with pretence of title, where he had any; or otherwise, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Masaniissa* had wonne some land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* wanne from *Gala*, and within a while, restored to the right owners, for loue of his Wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Asdrubal* his Father-in-law. This did *Masaniissa* take from them by force: and by the Romanes (to whose iudgement the case was referred) was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Estate, to vse all manner of submissiue obedience to Rome. They had scarcely digested this iniury, when *Masaniissa* came vpon them againe, and tooke from them about fiftie Townes and Castles; without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embassadors they made lamentable complaint vnto the Roman Senate. They shewed how grievously they were oppressed by reason of two Articles in their League: That they should not make warre, out of their owne Lands; nor with any Confederates of the Romanes. Now although it were so, that they might lawfully withstand the violence of *Masaniissa*, inuading their Countrey, howeuer he was pleased to call it his: yet since he was confederate with the Romanes, they durst not presume to beare defensive armes against him, but suffered themselves to bee eaten vp, for feare of incurring the Romanes indignation. Wherefore they entreated, that either they might haue fairer iustice, or be suffered to defend their owne by strong hand; or at least, if right must wholly giue place to fauor, that the Romanes yet would be pleased to determine, how farre forth *Masaniissa* should bee allowed, to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then desired they, that the Romanes would let them vnderstand, wherein they had offended since the time that *Scipio* gaue them peace; and vouchsafe to inflict on them such punishment, as they themselves should thinke meete: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once what should be appointed by such Iudges; than continually to liue in feare; and hence otherwise draw breath, than at the mercy of this Numidian Hanginan. And herewithall the Embassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground, weeping, in hope to moue compassion.

Here may we behold, the fruits of their enuy to that valiant house of the *Barchines*, of their resolution, in prosecuting a war so important, as *Hannibal* made for them in Italy; and of their half-penny worthing, in matter of expence, when they had aduentured their whole estate, in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they seruants, euen to the seruants of those men, whose fathers they had oft chased; slaine, taken, & sold as bondslaves in the Streets of *Carthage*; & in all cities of *Africke* & *Greece*. Now haue they enough of that Roman peace, which *Hanno* so often & so earnestly desired. Onely they want peace with *Masaniissa*, once their mercenary, & now their master, or rather their tormentor; out of whose cruell hands, they beseech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they; & adore the Romanes, whom they see flourishing in such prosperity as might haue bene their owne. But the Romanes had farre better entreated *Varro*, who lost the battel at *Cannae*, than *Hannibal* that won it was vsed by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely bestowed euery man of them, all his private riches vpon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publick, without craving recompence: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extreame want, to set out an Arme into *Spain*, at what time the enemy lay vnder their owne walls: These were the *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthaginians* having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging vnto the vanquished. Their pitifull behaviour had merited some compassion: yet their retires may seeme to haue bene instituted, as proceeding no less from enuy vnto the Romanes, than from any feeling of their owne humilitie. They thought themselves able to fight with *Masaniissa*: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into comparisons with Rome. Wherefore they obtained no such leaue as they sought.

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of detending their owne right by armes: but contrariwise, when without leaue obtained they presumed so far, the destruction of Carthage was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the present, they receiued a gentle answer; though they had otherwise little amends. *Gulussa* the sonne of *Masanissa* was then in Rome; and had not as yet craued audience. He was therefore called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reason of his coming, and had related vnto him the complaint made by the Carthaginians against his Father. He answered, That his Father not being thoroughly aware of any Embassadours thither sent from Carthage, had therefore not giuen him instructions, how to deale in this businesse. Onely it was knowne, that the Carthaginians had held counsell diuers nights, in the Temple of *Esculapius*: whereupon he himselfe was so dispatched away to Rome, there to entreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the Romans and of his Father might not be ouermuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the people of Rome. This answer gaue little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replied, that for *Masanissa* his sake, they had done, and would doe, whatsoeuer was reasonable; but that it stood not with their iustice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the Carthaginians those lands, which by the couenants of the league, were granted vnto them freely to inioy. With this milde rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*, bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the Carthaginians) and willed him to tell his Father, that he should doe well to send Embassadours, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the Macedonian warre was euen ready to begin: at which time the Romanes were not willing, too much to offend, either the Carthaginians (for feare of vrging them vnseasonably to rebellion) or *Masanissa*, at whose hands they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the Carthaginians, and *Masanissa*: by the Carthaginians, partly for feare, partly for hope of better vantage in the future; by *Masanissa*, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happened (which was vnlikely) that they should be vanquished, he made none other account, than that all Africke round about him, and Carthage therewithall, should be his owne.

In the midst of all these cares, the Romans had not been vnmindfull of *Perseus*. They visited him daily with Embassadours; that is, with honourable spies to obserue his behaviour. These hee entertained kindly at first, vntill (which fell out ere long) hee perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in Dardania: neither would they take any satisfaction, vntill the Bastarnæ were thence gone; though he protested, that he had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no lesse ill contented with good offices, by him done, to sundry of his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which (they said) that he did vnto other some. Where he did harme to any; they called it, making warre vpon their friends: Where he did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The Dolopians, his subiects, (vpon what occasion it is vncertaine) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slew *Euphranor*, whom hee had appointed their gouernour. It seemes that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the Macedonian: and therefore vnlikely to haue presumed so farre, vnlesse either they had beene extremely prouoked, or else were secretly animated by the Romanes. Whatsoeuer it was that bred this courage in them: *Perseus* did soone allay it, and reclaime them by strong hand. But the Romanes tooke very angrily this presumption of the King: euen as if hee had innaded some Countrey of their Italian confederates, & not corrected his owne rebels at home. Faine they would haue had him to draw in the same yoke with the Carthaginians, whereunto had hee humbled once his necke, they could themselves haue done the part of *Masanissa*; though *Eumenes*, or some other fit for that purpose, had beene wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the league between them were such, as made it vnlawfull, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their licence first obtained.

To the same passe they would also faine haue reduced the Greeks, & generally all their adherents, euen such as had entred into league with them vpon equall termes: whom vsually they rewarded with a frowne, whensoeuer they presumed to right themselves by force of Armes, without seeking first the Oracle at Rome. Hereof the Achæans had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne caruers, and whose hope of extraordinary fauour at Rome caused them

them the more willingly to referre their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to haue chastised the Messenians by warre, *T. Quintim* rebuked them, as for arrogant, in taking such a worke in hand, without his authoritie: yet by his authoritie he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, euen with Lordly threats, when they tooke vpon them to carry any businesse of importance, by their owne power, without standing vnto the good grace of the Romans. Who neuerthelesse vpon submission, were apt enough to doe them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute libertie, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in vsurping the practice of Armes, which belonged onely to the Imperiall Citie. In learning this hard lesson, they were such vntoward Schollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very sharpe correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed vnto their Masters. For the Romane Senate, being desirous to humble the Achæans, refused not onely to giue them such aide as they requested; and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betweene them; but further, with a carelessse insolencie, reiected this honest and reasonable petition. That the Enemy might not be supplied from Italie, with victuals or armes. Herewith not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of Greece, pronounced openly, That if the Argiues, Lacedæmonians, or Corinthians, would reuolt from the Achæans; they themselves would thinke it a businesse no way concerning them.

This was presently after the death of *Philopamen*: at what time it was beleueed, that the Common-wealth of Achaia was like to fall into much distresse; were it not vpheld by countenance of the Romanes. All this notwithstanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the Achæans had vtterly subdued the Messenians farre sooner than was expected; and when as not only no towne rebelled from the Achæans, but many entred into their corporation: then did the Romans with an ill-fauoured grace, tell the same Embassadours, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie,) That they had streightly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to Messene. Thus thinking, by a fained grauitie, to haue serued their owne turnes; they manifested their condition; both to set on the weaker, against the stronger and more suspected; and also to assume vnto themselves a Soueraigne power, in directing all matters of Warre, which dissemblingly they would haue seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates: not permitting any of them to make Warre, whether offensive or defensive; though it were against meere strangers; without interposing the authoritie of the Senate and People of Rome: vnlesse peradventure sometimes they winked at such violence, as did helpe towards the accomplishment of their owne secret malice. Now these Romane Arts howsoeuer many (for gainefull or timorous respects) would seeme to vnderstand them; yet were generally displeasing vnto all men endued with free spirits. Only the Athenians, once the most turbulent Citie in Greece, hauing neither subiects of their owne that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring any into subiection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practise their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the Romans, remained free from all trouble, vntill the warre of *Antiochus*: being men vnfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the Roman victories, and Pardon-crauers for the vanquished. Such were the Athenians become. As for those other Common-wealths and kingdomes, that with ouer-nice diligence strove to preserve their liberties and lands, from confusing by piece-meale: they were to bee deuoured whole, and swallowed vp at once. Especially the Macedonian, as the most vnpliant, and wherein many of the Greeks began to haue affiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow than to breake.

Neither *Perseus* nor the Romans were ignorant, how the Greeks at this time stood affected. *Perseus*, by reason of his neere neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his subiects, could not want good information, of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopamen* had long since foretold, of the miserable subiection, wherinto Greece was likely to be reduced, by the Romane patronage. Indeed they not onely perceived the approaching danger, but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt

themselves grieved with the present subiection, whereto already they were become obnoxious: Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the Romans: yet all of them had the care, to choose among themselves none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Countrey, and would for no ambition, or other seruile respect, be flatterers of the greatnesse which kept all in feare. Thus it seemed likely, that all domestically conspiracies would soone be at an end; when honestie and loue of the Common-weale, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this careful provision for the safety of Greece, the Romans were not thoroughly aduertised: either because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadors, whom all men knew to be little better than Spies; or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traitors; of whom euery citie in Greece had too many; as were men vnregarded among their owne people, and therefore more like to speake maliciously than truly, or perhaps because the Embassadors themselves, being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or charge, had no will to finde out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their owne desires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which many know, from these that are feared or flattered by many. The Achæans being to send Embassadors to Rome, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the same businesse; chose one *Callierates*, among others, to goe in that Embassage. By their making choise of such a man; one may perceiue the aduantage, which mischieuous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, haue against the plaine sort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome businesse of the weale publike. For this *Callierates* was in such wise transported with ambition; that he chose much rather to betray his Countrey, than to let any other bee of more authoritie than himselfe therein. Wherefore in stead of well discharging his credence, and alleaging what was meetest in iustification of his people: he vttered a quite contrary tale; and strongly encouraged the Romans, to oppresse both the Achæans and all the rest of Greece, with a farre more heavy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to looke vnto the sealing of their authority, among his froward Countrymen; if they meant not wholly to forgoe it. For now there was taken vp a custome, to stand vpon points of confederacie, and lawes: as if these were principally to bee in regard; any intunction from Rome notwithstanding.

Hence grew it, that the Achæans both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the Romans with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not bee so, if Hee, and some other of his opinion, might haue their wills: who ceased not to asseigne, That no Columns or Monument erected, nor no solemne oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obseruance of Confederacie or statute, ought to bee of force, when the Romans willed the contrary. But it was euen the fault of the Romans themselves, That the multitude refused to giue care vnto such perswasions. For howsoeuer in popular Estates, the sound of libertie vsed to be more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which vndertooke the maintenance of an argument; seeming neuer so bad, were sure by their so doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would increase apace, & they became the preualent faction. It was therefore strange how the *Fathers* could so neglect the aduancement of those, that sought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the Roman maiesty. More wisely, though with seditious & rebellious purpose, did the Greeks: who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, vpon men otherwise of little account or desert; only for hauing vttered some braue words against the Romans. The *Fathers* hearing these & the like reasons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly those that were obstinate, and by cherishing their friends, to make their partie strong; resolved to follow this good counsaile, in every point; yea to depreesse all those that held with the right, and to set vp their owne followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not onely dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the Achæans, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the present vnto all cities of Greece; requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of Lacedæmon) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of *Callierates*; they aduised all men, to be such,

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and so affected, as hee was, in their seuerall common-weales. With this dispatch, *Callierates* returned home a ioyfull man: hauing brought his Countrey into the way of ruine; but himselfe into the way of preferment. Neuertheless he forbore to vaunt himselfe; of his eloquence vsed in the Senate. Onely hee so reported his Embassage, that all men became fearefull of the danger, wherewith he threatned those that should presume to oppose the Romans. By such arts he obtained to be made Prætor of the Achæans: in which Magistracie, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serue to manifest his ready obsequiousnesse vnto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now as the Romans by threatning termes won many flatterers, and lost as many true friends: so *Persens* on the other side, thinking by liberall gifts, and hopefull promises, to assure vnto himselfe those that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honestier than his enemies had. Thus were all the cities of Greece distracted with factions: some holding with the Romans; some with the Macedonian; and some few, respecting onely the good of the Estates, wherein they liued. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitie not sufferable, That a king, no better than their vassall, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall affoord them iust occasion to make warre vpon him. *Persens* hauing finished his businesse among the Dolopians, made a iourney to *Apollo* his temple at Delphi. He tooke his Armie along with him; yet went, and returned in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worse for his iourney, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himselfe; to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadors or letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatsoeuer, done by his father, might bee buried with his father; since his owne meaning was to hold friendship sincerely with all his neighbours. The Romans perhaps could haue bene pleased better, if hee had behaued himselfe after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of hostilitie in his passage. Yet as if he ought not to haue taken such a iourney, without their licence; this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heape of his faults. He laboured greatly to recouer the loue of the Achæans: which his father had so lost, that by a solemne decree, they forbade any Macedonian to enter their territories. It was iealousie perhaps, no lesse than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoeuer *Philip* had by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two *Arati*, giuen them cause to abhorre him: yet in the publike administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, beene to them so beneficiall, that not without much adoe and at length, without any generall consent, they resolved to forsake him. Wherefore it was needfull, euen for preservation of concord among them, to vse all circumspection; that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a country, towards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of Warre, and when all danger of inuouation was past; was vnciuill, if not inhumane, as nourishing deadly hatred, without leauing means of reconciliation. And hereof the Achæans reaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like sort, forbidden the kingdome of Macedonia: yet vnderstanding what would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to passe, that their bondmen, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their matters could not fetch them, ranne daily away, in great numbers: exceedingly to the losse of such, as made of their slaues very profitable vse. But *Persens* tooke hold vpon this occasion: as fitly seruing to pacifie those, whose enmity faime he would haue changed into ioue. He therefore apprehended all these fugitiues, to send them home againe: and wrote vnto the Achæans, That as for good will vnto them, hee had taken paines to restore back their seruants; so should they doe very well to take order for keeping them, that heereafter they might not run away againe. His meaning was readily vnderstood, & his letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearsed by the Prætor, before the Councell. But *Callierates* took the matter very angerly; and bade them be aduised what they did: for that this was none other, than a plaine deuice, to make them depart from the friendship of the Romans. Heerewithall hee tooke vpon him, somewhat liberally, to make the Achæans before-hand acquainted with the Warre, that was coming vpon *Persens* from Rome. Hee

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told them, how *Philip* had made preparations for the same warre; how *Demetrius* had beene made away, because of his good affection to the Romanes; and how *Perseus* had, since his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly hee rehearsed all those matters, which were afterwards alleged by the Romanes, the invasion of the Bastarnæ, vpon the Dardaniens, the kings iourney against the Dolopians; his voyage to Delphi, & finally, his peaceable behauiour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he aduised them, to expect the euent of things, and not ouer-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the Macedonians. Heere to good answer was made by the Prætors brother: That *Callierates* was too earnest, in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the kings cabinet, nor of the Roman Senate, he made himselfe too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well knowne, that *Perseus* had renewed his league with the Romanes; that he was by them saluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that he had louingly entertained their Embassadors: This being so: why might not the Achæans, as well as the Atolians, Thessalians, Epirots, & all the Greeks, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanitie required? Neuerthelesse *Callierates* was growne a man so terrible, by his Roman acquaintance, that they durst not ouer-stiffly gainsay him. Therefore the matter was referred vnto further deliberation: and answer made the whilest, That since the king had onely sent a letter without an Embassadour; they knew not how to resolue. Better it was to say thus, than that they were afraid to doe as they thought most reasonable and convenient. But when *Perseus* herewith not contented, would needs vrge them further, and send Embassadors: then were they faine, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to giue audience: which was prooue sufficient to one that could vnderstand of the condition wherein they liued. For harkening to this aduice of *Callierates*; they were soone after highly commended by a Roman Embassadour: whereby it became apparant, that the Romanes intended warre vpon the Macedonian; though hitherto no cause of warre was giuen.

S. V.

How Eumenes King of Pergamus was busied with Pharnaces, the Rhodians and others. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom he accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemnes his enemies the Rhodians; with the causes thereof. The vnusall stoutnesse of the Macedonian Embassadors. Perseus his attempt vpon Eumenes. The brotherly loue betwene Eumenes and Attalus. Perseus his deuice to poison some of the Roman Senators: whereupon they decree warre against him, and send him defiance. Other things, concerning the iustice of this warre.

Polyb. Legat. 56 & 59.

Eumenes King of Pergamus had beenetroubled, about these times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates* his neighbours. Hee had taken the right course; in making first his complaint to the Romanes: by whom hee was animated with comfortable words, and promise, That they, by their authoritie, would end the businesse, to his content. But in conclusion, by the helpe of the Kings *Prusias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the warre himselfe; and brought the Enemies to seeke and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to giue them. After this, being at good leisure, he began to consider, how the affaires of Macedon stood vnder *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus* was very great: and therefore he was glad to vnderstand, that the hatred of the Romanes, to the same his Enemy, was as great, and withall notorious. Now besides his ancient and hereditarie quarrell with the Macedonian, it vexed him exceedingly, That his own honours (whereof the Greeks, prodigall in that kinde, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to waxe euery where stale: whilest *Perseus*, either by his currying fauour, or by the enuy borne to the Romanes, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despite of this indignitie, He stirred vp the Lycians against the Rhodians his old friends: and in helping the rebels was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open warre. But small pleasure found he, in these poore & indirect courtes of reuenge. The Lycians could not be saued by his patronage, from seuerer and cruell chastisement, giuen to them by the Rhodians. This rendred him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of hostilitie, little different from robberies, made him hatefull to those which loued him before. As for his honours in the Cities of Greece; they not onely continued falling

Polyb. Legat. 71.

falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the Achæans, as too vnicursured, misbecoming them to giue, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his desertings. All this (which he needed not to haue regarded, had hee not beene too vainely ambitious) besell him, especially for his being ouer-seruiceable to the Romanes, and for his malice to that noble Kingdome, which if it fell, the liberty of Greece was not like to stand. Now for the redresse heereof; hee thought it in vaine to strue any longer with bounty, against such an aduersarie, as by hopefull promises alone, without any great performance, had ouer-topped him in the generall fauour. And therefore he resolved cuen to ouerturn the foundations of this popularitie, by inducing the Romanes vtterly to take away from the eyes of men, this Idol, The Macedonian kingdome, which all so vainely worshipped. Neither would it proue a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already desirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompenced with some piece of the kingdome, as he had beene rewarded, for the like seruice, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

To this end he made a second voyage to Rome: where though hee had little to say which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange noueltie, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the Bastarnæ into Dardania; that of *Perseus* himselfe against the Dolopians, and to Delphi, the great estimation of the Macedonian in Greece, his intermeddling in businesse of neighbours, his riches, and his great provisions: were all the materiall points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only he descended into particulars, hauing searched into all (as he professed) like vnto a Spie. Hee said, that *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot, and six thousand Horse, of his owne; money in a readinesse to entertaine ten thousand Mercenaries for ten yeeres; armes, to furnish a number thrice as great; The Thracians, his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Souldiers as many as hee should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten yeeres, because he would not be driuen, either to liue vpon spoyle, or to take from his owne Subjects. Heerewithall hee prayed them to consider, that king *Seleucus* the sonne and successeur of *Antiochus* the Great, had giuen his daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That king *Prusias* of Bythinia, by earnest suite, had gotten to wife the sister of *Perseus*, and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loath to vtter it plainly) That cuen the enuie of their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to heare of amitie with *Philip*, were now growne maruellously well affected to his sonne. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denied, or iustified (as, that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the Romanes, & that he had expelled *Abrypolis* the Illyrian, who invaded Macedon, out of his Kingdome or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplify vnto the most: saying that he thought it his dutie to forewarne them; since it would be to himselfe a great shame, if *Perseus* got the staff of him, and were in Italie making warre vpon the Romanes, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to beleue that the Romanes stood in feare of *Perseus*, lest hee should set vpon them in Italie. Neuerthelesse forasmuch as they loued not to make war without faire pretence, not onely of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended: great thanks were giuen to *Eumenes*, who had euery way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautifie their intendment. Now though it were so that hee told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his comming, made all seeme greater. For if vpon any relation made by their owne Embassadors, or vpon tales deuised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere he had committed any open act of hostility against them; their iniustice, and oppression, would haue beene most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatening them so terrible, that such a Prince as *Eumenes*, came out of his owne Kingdome, as farre as from Asia, to bid them looke to themselves; who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtaine their owne right and securitie? Toward this iustification of the warre, and magnifying the necessitie that enforced them thereto; they more than vsuall curioisitie, in concealing what *Eumenes* had vttered in the Senate, when they could not but vnderstand that his errand

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was well knowne, helped not a little. The Macedonian and Rhodian Embassadors were at Rome, provided of answers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would speake, and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of Him, or of some about him, seemes to haue disclosed all: when the warinesse of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearfull apprehension; against which, it behooued their wisdom to neglect no possible remedie. Wherefore carelesse audience was giuen to the Rhodian Embassadors, who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublesome to Asia, than *Antiochus* had euer beene, and a prouoker of the Lycians to rebellion. The Rhodians had with great pompe, conueighed by sea vnto *Perseus*, his bride *Laudice*; which friendly office as the Macedonian bountifully requited, so the Romans despightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the Lycians, as already vanquished, were setting themselves in their obedience to the people of Rhodes: Embassadors came from Rome with strange news, which gaue new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it stood not with the manner of the Romans, to aliene quite from their owne protection any people or Nation by them vanquished; and that the Lycians were by them assigned vnto those of Rhodes, not as meere vassals, but as dependants and associates. For prooffe hereof, they referred themselves vnto the commentaries of the tenne Embassadors; whom they had sent to dispose of things in Asia, after the victory against king *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Masaniissa*, The *Ætolians*, and all other Kings or Estates, that were beholding to Rome for increasing the number of their subiects, had cause to finde themselves agrieved if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their subiects might easily be made their fellowes, whensoever it should please the Senate: though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate, which was onely to plague the Rhodians, for their good wil to *Perseus*, by setting them and the Lycians together by the eares. The *Fathers* could therefore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, vpon this complaint made by the Rhodian Embassadors; which indeed more neerely touched themselves. Rather they honoured the king so much the more: for that others (as they would needes take it) conspired against him, because of his loue to Rome.

But the Macedonian Embassager they heard not so carelessly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to finde cause of anger. For whereas at other times all cares had beene taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That king *Perseus* desired much to giue them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might fauour of hostilitie; but that, if his trauaile in this kinde proued vaine, then would he be ready to defend himselfe by armes, and stand to the chance of warre, which often falls out contrarie to expectation. These bigge words may seeme to haue proceeded from the vehemencie of *Harpalus*, that was chiefe of the Embassadors; rather than from instruction giuen by the king, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why *Perseus* himselfe might, at this time, thinke to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any submission. For the eyes of all Greece being now cast vpon him, as on the greatest hope of deliuerance from the Roman seruitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weaknesse of spirit, vnanwerable to a worke of such importance. Wherefore He, or his Embassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subiect (in appearance) to fortune; which might haue beene his, had he knowne how to vse it.

Now that this brauery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the kings owne heat; it appears by his daring to adventure soone after, on a practice that so more iustly might anger the Romans, and giue them fairer shew of reason to make warre vpon him. It was knowne that *Eumenes*, in turning home, would take Delphi in his way, and there doe sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his owne hands of a most mischievous enemy. So there were appointed three or foure stout ruffians to doe the murder: who placing themselves, behinde a broken mud wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading vp from the Sea to the Temple; did thence assault the King; whom they sorely bruised with great stones, and left for dead. They might haue finished their worke; such was the opportunitee of the place which they had chosen; but feare of

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being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such haste, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, because hee should not discouer them. *Eumenes* was conueighed away to the little Ile of *Ægina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in Asia. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* tooke vpon him as King, & either tooke or would haue taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of State) *Stratonice* the daughter of King *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly loue; That when the King returned aliae home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, receiued none other checke, than that hee should forbear to marrie with the Queene, untill hee were well assured of the Kings death. More than this, *Eumenes* neuer spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, vnto the same brother, both his wife and Kingdome. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the King his brother: though the Romans (with whom he continued and grew in speciall fauour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readinesse, to haue transferred the Kingdome from his brother to Him. By such concord of brethren was the Kingdome of Pergamus raised and vpheld: as might also that of Macedon haue been, if *Demetrius* had liued and employed his grace with the Romans, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad when he vnderstood, that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had saued all from discouerie. But as he was deceived in the maine point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* liued: so was Hee beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment; which he vainly esteemed the lesse materiall. For Hee had writtento one *Praxo* a Gentlewoman of Delphi, to entertaine the men whom he sent about this businesse: and she, being apprehended by *C. Valerius* a Roman Embassador then attending vpon the matters of Greece, was carried to Rome. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to Rome, out of Greece, one *Rammius* a Citizen of Brundisium: who comming newly from the Court of Macedon, loaden with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the Embassador, and therof discharged himselfe. Brundisium was the ordinary Port, for ships passing between Italy and Greece. There had *Rammius* a faire house; wherein he gaue entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embassadors, and other honourable personages, both Romans and Macedonians, journeying to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitality, he was commended to *Perseus*, and inuited into Macedon with friendly letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his Embassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his comming he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiaritie than he expected or desired, made partaker of the kings secrets. The summe of all was, That he must needes doe a turne, in giuing to such of the Romans as the king should hereafter name, a poyson of rare quality, sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. Hee durst not refuse to accept this employment: for feare lest the vertue of this medicine should be tryed vpon himselfe. But being once at liberty, he discouered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the king had neuer seene before, nor was like to see againe: and therefore, besides that the kings deniall ought to be as good as such a fellowes affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himselfe; and in like sort concerning the attempt vpon *Eumenes*: denying to haue had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such obiections were not to be made vnto a king, to proue the rightfulnessse of making warre vpon him; but rather vnto a subiect pleading for his life in iudgement. But howsoever the Romans neglected the getting of stronger prooffe (which might haue beene easie) than any that wee finde by them produced: yet the base & cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very suteable to these practices. Neither did the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royall Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such priuate offences, it gaue him no priuiledge: they iudging him to haue offended in the nature of a king. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if hee might not lawfully make warre vpon *Eumenes* their confederate; that is, if Hee might not send men, to waste the kingdome of Pergamus, or to besiege the Townes: might he send Ruffians to murder the king? If it were no lesse breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword: was it lawfull for him to doe

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it by poyson? Wherefore they presently decreed warre against him; and sent Embassadors to denounce it vnto him, vnlesse hee would yeeld to make such amends as they should require. He seemed at this time to haue bene so confident in the generall fauour of Greece, and other comfortable appearances; that if he desired not warre, yet he did not feare it: or at least he thought by shew of courage, to make his enemies more calme. He caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them backe; and bade them doe their errand. They made a tedious rehearfall of all matters, which they had long been collecting against him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that Hee had entertained long and secret conference in the Ile of Samothrace, with Embassadors sent to him out of Asia, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to giue defiance. Better they might haue stood vpon the euidence, brought against him by *Rimmius* and *Praxo*. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, well-beloued, and well friended. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the Romans, Greedy, Proud, Insolent, and vnderminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better than meere spies. Finally, he promised to giue them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the league, made betweene them and his father, and renewed by himselfe indeed onely for feare: but wished them to descend to more equall conditions, wherupon he, for his part, would aduise, as they might also doe for theirs.

Polyb. Legat. 9.

Lindb. 33.

In the forme of the league betweene *Philip* and the Romans, as it is set downe by *Polybius*, we finde no condition, binding the Macedonian to any inconuenience in the future, excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Linie* inserts a clause, whereby he was expressly forbidden, to make any war abroad, without leaue of the Romans. It is most likely, that all the Roman confederates were included in this peace: whereby euery one of the neighbours round about Macedon, entring shortly into league with Rome, did so binde the Kings hands, that he could no more make warre abroad, than if he had bene restrained by plaine covenants. And thus might that seeme an Article of the peace, which neuer was agreed vpon, but onely was inferred by consequence. Now if the Romans would vrge this point further, and say, that the Macedonian might not beare defensie armes, without their permission: then had *Perseus* very iust reason to finde himselfe aggriued. For since they had allowed his father, without controule, to make warre in Thrace, (whilest they themselues were vnacquainted with the Thracians) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become vnlawfull for him to chastise his owne Rebels, or to repay an Illyrian that inuaded Macedon? By such allegations hee maintained the right of his cause, in very milde sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league as vniust; he ministred occasion vnto the Embassadors, to giue him defiance. Having heard the worst of their message; he commanded them to be gone out of his kingdome in three dayes. But either he should haue bene lesse vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could serue him to vndertake the warre; hee should courageously haue managed it, and haue fallen to worke immediately, whilest the Enemy was vnprepared; not haue lost opportunitie, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

S. VI.

S. VI.

The Romans sollicit the Greekes, to ioyne with them in the warre against *Perseus*. How the Greekes stood affected in that warre. The Timorousnesse of *Perseus*. *Martius* a Roman Embassador deludes him with hope of Peace. His forces. He takes the field, and winnes part of Thessaly. The forces of *Licinius* the Roman Consul: and what assistants the Romans had in this warre. Of Tempe in Thessaly, and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might haue had; but lost by his feare. *Perseus* braues the Romans; fights with them; knowes not how to use his victorie; sues for Peace; and is denied it by the vanquished. *Perseus* hauing the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the Countrey lying without Tempe. The *Boetians* rebell against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the warre against *Perseus*. They vex the Greekes their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes provision, hauing heard their complaints. The flattering *Alabanders*.

SO long had the Romans bene seeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian war, that well might they haue bene ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde hand in provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the warre: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunitie of making their cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were vnprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or hauing reason to beleue, that their owne strength was such as would preuaile in the end; they hastily embraced the faire occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their vnreadinesse a small helpe, towards examining the disposition of the Greekes, and others; who must afterwards dearely pay for any backwardnesse found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to feare, that all of the Greekes or other Easterne people should conspire together, and take part with the Macedonians: such was the diffention betweene their seuerall Estates; howsoeuer the generalitie of them were enclined the same way. Neuertheless Embassadors were sent to deale with them all; and to craue their helpe against *Perseus*, or rather to demand it, in no lesse ample manner, than heretofore they had yeelded it against *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in warres pretending the liberty of Greece. The Embassadors vsed as gentle words for fashions sake, as if they had stood in doubt, that their request might happen to bee denied. But the Greekes were now growne well acquainted with such Roman courtesie: and vnderstood that not only such as made refusal, but euen they who might seeme to haue granted halfe vnwillingly, were lieto heare other manner of words, when once this businesse was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their helpe to the Romans: the *Achæans* and *Rhodians*, which were chiefe among them, being rather doubtful, euen when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their ductie. It is strange, that men could be so earnest to set vpon the side, whereof they gladly would haue seene the ruine. The vulgar sort was euery where addicted to *Perseus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently Roman, they wanted not opposers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea, the wisest and most honest, who regarded onely the benefit of their Countrey, wished better to *Perseus* than to the Romans. And of this number, *Polybius* the chiefe of Historians was one: who though Hee iudged the victory of *Perseus*, like to prooue hurtfull vnto Greece; yet wished hee the Romans ill to thriue, that so the Greekes might recouer perfect libertie: for his endeouours in which course, he was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appears, that an extraordinarie feare, and not onely reuerence of the Imperial City, made the *Achæans* and other Estates of Greece, thus conformable to the Romans. The occasion of this their feare, may be iustly imputed vnto the timorous demeanour of *Perseus* himselfe. He had vndertaken a warre, whereof the benefit should redound, not onely to his owne kingdome, but vnto all that were oppressed by the Romans. Yet no sooner were some few companies brought ouer-sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him, than he began to speake the enemy faire, and sue for Peace at Rome. Since therefore it was knowne, that euery small thing would serue to terrifie him; & consequently, that it should at all times be in the Romans power, by

* Polyb. Legat. 72. 78. & 80.

* Polyb. Legat. 77.

by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leisure vpon those which had assisted him: little cause was there, why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his armie; taking by force or composition, some few Townes; and soliciting all to ioyne with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, hee sought all means of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit vnto the Roman Embassadors. *Q. Martins*, the chiefe of those Embassadors, and a man of more finenesse in cunning than was vsuall among the Romans; made shew of inclination to the Kings desire: and gaue out such comfortable words, that the king intreated, and obtained a meeting at the Riuer Peneus. There did *Martius* Very gently rebuke the king, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned: Whereunto though *Perseus* made none other answer, than the same which they could haue made for him; yet the Embassadors, and especially *Martius*, tooke it in good part, as therewith satisfied; and aduised him to giue the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conueniently bee done; a truce was agreed vpon. Thus had *Martius* his desire; which was, to make the king lose time. For *Perseus* had all things then in readinesse, and might haue done much, ere the Roman Armie could haue bene in Greece. But by the interposition of this truce, hee no way increased his forces; hee suffered a most conuenient season, of winning vpon the enemy, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had bene with some victory: publishing a copie of the disputation betwene him and the Romans, whereby he gaue men to vnderstand, how much he had the better, and what hope there was of Peace. He sent Embassadors also to the Rhodians, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not onely to let them know how much he was superior in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take vpon them, as moderators, to compound the differences betwene him and the Romans, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodnesse of his cause, hee should be denied peace. These were poore helpes. For hereby it appeared, that his lye standing vpon point of Honour, was no better than meere vanity: his owne safety being the utmost of his ambition. This his fearefulnesse might seeme excusable, and the blame thereof to appertaine vnto the Greekes; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a necessitie, that was partly of their owne: had it not bin his office, who tooke vpon him as their Champion; to giue such a manly beginning to the warre, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more auerse from him; and were carefull, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The Rhodians, among whom he had many stout partizans, desired him not to craue any thing at their hands, in which they might seeme to do against the good liking of the Romans. The Boeotians also, who had entred of late into a strict societie with the Macedonians, renounced it now, and made the like with the Romans: to whom further, in a sort, they yeelded themselves as vassals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their submission vnder a generall forme; but caused their severall Townes to make covenants apart, each for it selfe; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little Common-weales, they might not (were they neuer so desirous to rebell) haue such force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, vnder the Citie of Thebes. This worke, of separating the Boeotians from Thebes their head, was more than *Agesilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would suffer, then when all Greece followed the Lacedaemonians. So far more available to Thebes, being destitute of helpe from abroad, was the vertue of *Epaminondas* and a few braue Citizens; than was the societie with king *Perseus*, against a number not so great, as followed the Lacedaemonians.

Martius brought this to effect, whilst the king sat still, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he returned to the Citie, where vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reprooued it as dishonest) employed againe by the Senate, with commission to deale as he should thinke expedient. Touching the Embassadors which *Perseus* had sent; audience was giuen to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded: but neither excuse, nor intreatie, would serue their turne; the Senate being resolved before-hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the Citie; & had thirty dayes respite allowed them to depart out of Italy: whereas they, who came last on the same errand, did their message without the walls, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the vsuall place of giuing audience to open

open enemies, or to such Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custome, enter the Citie) and had onely the short warning of eleuen dayes, to be gone out of Italy. Neither did this poore courtesie serue onely to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earnest; but it was a likely meane, both to keep a long while from *Perseus* the knowledge of his businesse, and to stagger his resolution, when hee should need it most firme.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius* the Romane Consul, was at Apollonia, in a manner as soon, as the Macedonian Embassadors were with their king at Pella. Which, though it were enough to haue roused *Perseus*, and haue made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was he contented to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himselfe tributary to the Romans, and to redeem their good will with some part of his kingdom, that so hee might enioy the rest; than to put all at once to hazzard. But finally, the stoutest counsel preuailed; which also was the wisest, and so would haue proued, had it bene stoutly and wisely followed. Hee now beganne, as if the warre had not begunne vntill now, to doe what should haue bin done long afore. He caused all his forces to be drawne together; and appointed their Rendezous at Citium, a Towne in Macedon. All being in readinesse, he did royall sacrifice, with an hundred beasts, to I know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and those of his guard, set forward to Citium. His armie he found consisting of nine and thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, whereof about twelue thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were strangers, of sundry nations, most part Thracians; the rest of his owne Macedonians. These hee animated with liuely speeches; laying before them the glory of their ancestors, the insolencie of the Romans, the goodnesse of his cause, the greatnesse of his prouisions, and the many aduantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all cities of Macedon there came likewise messengers, offering to helpe him with money and victuals, according to their feuerall abilities. He gaue them thanks: but answered, That his owne prouisions would abundantly suffice, willing them onely to furnish him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his owne kingdome he issued forth into Theffalie: knowing that the Romans were to passe through that Country, in their iourney towards him. Some Townes of Theffalie opened their gates vnto him, without making offer to defend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he wonne by force. Of these last was *Mylæ*; a Towne thought impregnable, & therefore, not more stoutly than proudly defended by the inhabitants, who gaue contumelious language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a fallie; which the Townesmen rashly made, and being driuen backe, receiued the Macedonians, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of war was practised here: to the greater terrour of the obstinate. So *Velatæ* and *Connus* (townes of much importance, especially *Connus*, which stood in the streights of *Ossa*, leading into *Tempe*) yeelded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the king marched onwards to *Sycurium*, a town seated on the foot of mount *Ossa*, where he rested a while, expecting newes of the Enemy.

Licinius the Consul brought with him onely two Roman Legions: being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother came to him in Theffalie, with foure thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from euery part of Greece, such aide as the feuerall Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; *Masaniissa* sent thither his sonne *Misagenes*, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twenty Elephants. *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian, by reason of his affinitie with *Eumenes*, was friend to the Romans, and had sent to Rome his yong sonne, there to be brought vp: yet he did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps because *Eumenes* himselfe beganne within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise aduised than he had bene in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the Romanes. *Antiochus* and *Ptolomie* (though *Ptolomie* was then yong, and vnder Tutors) had businesse of their owne; the Syrian meaning to inuade the Egyptian: yet each of them promised helpe to the Romanes, which they cared not to perform. *Gentius* the Illyrian was inclinable to the Macedonian;

yet made good countenance to the Romans, for feare. It was a pretty trick, wherewith *M. Lucetius*, the Roman Admirals brother, serued him, for this his counterfeit good wil. This king had foure and fiftie ships, riding in the haue of Dyrrachium, vncertaine to what purpose: all which *Lucetius* tooke away, after a very kind fort, making shew to beleene, That for none other end than to serue the Romans, their good friend *Gentius* had sent thither this fleet. But whatsoeuer *Gentius* thought in the beginning, he foolishly lost both his kingdome & himselfe, in the end of this warre; by offering, rather than giuing, his helpe to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what hee brought ouer the sea, *Licinius* came into Thessalie: so tyred with a painefull iourney, through the mountainous Country of A-¹⁰ thamania, which stood in his way from Epirus; that if *Perseus* had been ready, attending his descent into the Plaines, the Romans must needs haue taken a great ouerthrow. Hee refreshed himselfe and his wearied armie, by the riuer Peneus; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender helpe, that could enable him to deale with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolved, to abide where hee then was, and keepe his trenches, vntill his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himselfe in the meane while, to haue gotten quiet entrance into the country. The land of Thessalie, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the Romans, than any part of Greece besides: as hauing beene freed by them from a more heavy yoke of bondage to the Macedonian, when there was little hope or expectation of such a be-²⁰ nefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautifull valley of Tempe, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often vsed at large, to signifie the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of it selfe was not great: but adding to it those huge mountaines *Ossa* & *Olympus* (famous in Poesie) with their Spurres or Branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of Thessalie. And this way were the Romans to enter into Macedon; vntill they would make an hungry iour-³⁰ ney, thorow the country of the Dassaretians, as in the former warre with *Philip*, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. *Perseus* therefore had no small aduantage, by being master of the streights leading into Tempe: though farre greater he might haue had, if by mis-spending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these mountaines, he were able to put the Romans often to the worse; yea to winne vpon them (for a while) euery yeere more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionlesse he might haue done farre greater things, had he seized vpon the streights of Aons, which his father once kept, and defended all the Countrey behind the mountaines of Pindus. Surely not without extreme difficultie, must the Romans haue either trauelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to be found; or else haue committed their armies, and all things thereto needfull, vnto the mercie of Seas that were very dangerous; if hee would haue sought other way into Macedon, than through the heart of Greece: vpon neither of which courses⁴⁰ they once deuised; notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present warre. It may perhaps bee said, that the Greekes, and others, whom the King must haue left on his backe, would haue made him vnable to defend any places too far from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the Thessalians, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The *Aetolians*, vpon whom the *Athamanians* depended, grew into suspicion with the Romans (as wee shall finde anon) euén as soone as they met with *Perseus*. The *Boeotians*, how politickly soeuer *Martius* had wrought with them, aduentured themselves desperately in the Macedonian quarrell; what would they haue done, if hee at first had done his best? The *Rhodi-⁵⁰* ans, *Illyrians*, yea and *Eumenes* himselfe, after a while began to wauer, when they saw things goe better with *Perseus*, than they had expected. So that if in stead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any braue performance in the beginning; and encreased the number of his well-willers, yea & bought downe with money (as he might haue done) some of his enemies, and among them, *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the Romans perhaps haue bin compelled to forsake their imperious patronage ouer Greece; & to render the liberty, by them giuen, entire; which otherwise was but imaginary. Such benefit of this war, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason haue bin expected

expected at first, from greater aduantages. But as a fearefull companie running from their enemies, till some riuer stay their flight; are there compelled by meere desperati-¹⁰ on to doe such acts, as done, while the battell lasted, would haue won the victory: so fell it out with *Perseus*. In seeking to auoid the danger of that warre, whereof he should haue sought the honour; he left his friends that would haue stood by him, & gaue them cause to provide for their owne safety: yet being ouertaken by necessitie, hee chose rather to set his backe to the mountaines of Tempe, & defend himself with his proper forces, than to be driuen into such miserie, as was inuitable, if he gaue a little further ground. What was performed by him or the Romans, all the while that hee kept his footing in Thessa-²⁰ lie, it is hard to shew particularly, for that the history of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the summe.

The Consul hauing no desire to fight, vntill such time as all his forces were arriued; kept within his trenches, & lay still encamped by the Riuer of Peneus, about three miles from Larissa. That which perswaded the Consul to protract the time, did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter vnto a hasty triall. Wherefore he inuited the Romanes into the field; by wasting the land of the *Phereans* their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignitie; he grew bold to aduenture euén vnto their trenches: out of which if they issued, it was likely, that his aduantage in horse would make the victory his owne. At his comming they were troubled; for that it was sudden: yet no way terri-³⁰ fied; as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his horse, and with them some light armed foot, to entertaine skirmish. The Capitaine; and some other of these were slaine: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*, found it reasonable to hazzard battell. Thus day after day, a while together, *Perseus* continued offering battaile: which they still refused. Hereby his bold-⁴⁰ nesse much increased; and much more his reputation: to the griefe of those who being so farre come to make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell vpon them by their enduring these brauadoes. The Towne of Sycurium, where *Perseus* then lay, was twelue miles from the Romanes: neither was there any conuenient water-⁵⁰ ring in that long march, which vsed to take vp foure houres of the morning; but hee was faine to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not bee both wea-⁶⁰ ry and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconueniences, hee found out a lodging, seuen miles neerer to the enemy: whom hee visited the next day by the Sunne rising. His comming at such an vnusual houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in so much as though he brought with him onely his horse and light armature, that were vnfit to assaile the trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessarie, and resolved to giue checke to his pride. Wherefore hee sent forth his brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many braue Captaines, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature, to trie their fortune: hee himselfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readinesse. The honour of this morning, was the Macedo-⁷⁰ nian Kings; for he obtained the victory in a manner entire (though the Thessalians made a good retrait) with little losse of his owne. But hee discovered his weakenesse ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counsaile giuen by one of his owne tem-⁸⁰ per. For whereas the Romans were in great feare lest he should assault their campe, and to that purpose, vpon the first newes of his successe, his Phalanx was brought vnto him by the Captaines, though vnfit for: he neuertheless tooke it for sound aduice, which indeed was timorous and base, To worke warily, and moderate his victory; by which meanes it was said, that either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would ex-⁹⁰ alt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it beene greater, and had hee wonne the Roman Campe, his friends would haue beene the more, and the bolder. But ouer-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in suing for it, euén when he had the victo-¹⁰⁰ ry, what else did hee, than proclaime vnto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yeelding to the Romans, whensoeuer they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the ioy of his victory would ad-¹¹⁰ mit none of these considerations. Hee had slaine of the Roman horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot hee had slaine about two thousand: losing of his owne no more than twenty horse and fortie foot. The Roman Campe, after this disaster, was full of heauinesse and feare: it being much doubted that

the enemy would set vpon it. *Eumenes* gaue counsaile to dislodge by night, and remooue to a surer place beyond the Riuer *Peneus*. The Consul, though ashamed to professe, by so doing, in what feare he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the losse past, than by standing on proud tearmes, to draw vpon himselfe a greater calamitie. So hee passed the Riuer in the dead of the night, and encamped more strongly on the further side. The *Aetolians* were sorely blamed for this losse: as if rather a trayterous meaning, than any true feare, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the *Greeks* followed them. Five of them that were men of especiall marke, had been obserued to bee the first which turned their backs: an obseruation likely to cost them deare, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Thessalians*, their vertue was honoured with reward: so as the *Greeks* might learne, by examples of either kinde, that if they would shunne indignation, or incurr fauour, then must they aduenture no lesse for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would doe for their owne liberty. Thus fared it with the Consul and his Armie. *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former dayes error; which how great it was, he not vntill then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safety; whither they could neuer haue attained, if the King had either pressed his victory, or giuen better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to haue rowted them whilest they were conueying themselves to the other side of *Peneus*. But it was vaine to tell what might haue beene done, since there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, euen the flower of their Citie, the Gentlemen of Rome; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, Prætors, Consuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather vp the spoyles of them without resistance, as yeelding themselves ouercome. With such braue words did the king fet out the glory of his action; diuiding the spoyles among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to haue made his honor sound. He came neerer to the *Romans*, and encamp'd at *Mopselus*, a place in the mid-way betwene *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to presse them somewhat harder. Neuerthelesse he was easily perswaded to vse the occasion, which he seemed to haue, of obtaining peace. Therefore he sent vnto the Consul, and offered to yeeld vnto the same Conditions, wherein his Father had beene bound to the *Romans*, if the warre might so take end. It were needlesse here againe to shew the folly of this course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace, there was in the Consul no greater power than to grant a truce, whilest Embassadors might goe to Rome: it resting in the Senate and People to approue the conditions and ratifie the league. And of such a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no small discommoditie redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of peace there was none, save that *Perseus* would yeeld both his kingdome and person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to bee so resolute in aduersitie. On the other side, it argued a faint heart in *Perseus*, that hauing receiued an answer so peremptory, he still persisted, making vaine offers of great tribute. Finding that the peace, which he so much desired, could not be purchased with money, the king withdrew himselfe backe to *Sycyrium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose forces were well repaired by the coming of *Misaganes* the son of *Misanisus*, with the aide before mentioned. This distance betwene the king & them, caused the *Romans* to waxe the more bold in making their haruest: about which businesse they ranged all ouer the fields. Their carelesse demeanor gaue him hope to doe some notable exploit: which he attempted, both vpon their Campe, and vpon those that were abroad. The Campe hee thought to haue fired on the sudden: but the alarme being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprize. As for the forragers, he had a good hand vpon them, if hee could haue withdrawn it, and giuen ouer in time. But whilest he strooue to force a guard, he was visited by the Consul, by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is diuers) in a great battell, he was ouercome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*, after a few dayes, to fall backe into *Macedon*, as being naturally giuen to feare danger, euen where none was; whereby what losse he felt, will appeare hereafter. Hee left all behinde him, save onely *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and consequently an easie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went straight vnto *Connus*, hoping to haue taken it,

it, and so to haue gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the worke too hard, he returned backe vnto the *Perthebians* and others, from whom he won some towne, & among the rest, *Larissa*. There were sundry towne thereabout, bearing the same name of *Larissa*: so that this which the Consul tooke, may seeme not to haue belonged vnto the *Thessalians*, vnlesse, perhaps, after his victory, *Perseus* did greater Acts than we finde recorded, and got some part of *Thessalie*.

Of matters happening in Greece at this time, it is hard to giue a precise account; for that the histories of them are greatly defectiue. One may thinke it strange, that the *Boeotians*, whom a Roman Embassador could terrifie, and bring altogether to his owne will, should not be afraid of a Roman Armie, then on foot in Greece, and a Nautie on their coast. But more strange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom these dependants were taken by the Art of *Martius*, were more true to Rome, than other petty townes; which by that same distraction of the *Boeotians*, became within themselves more absolute, than formerly they had beene. The causes hereof were to haue beene sought among the changes, happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly punished by *Eumetius* the Roman Admirall: who got so much by spoiling them, that hee would haue brought others to rebell in like sort, if by extreame oppression hee could haue driuen them to faine. Neither was *Licinius* the Consul vndiligent in the same kinde. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from *Perseus*, I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is said in generall; That in the warre which hee made, hee cruelly and couetously demeaned himselfe.

Liv. lib. 43.

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the yeere following; *Hosilius* the Consul, and *Horrensus* the Admirall, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hosilius* shewed more of his industrie, in picking quarrels with the confederates of Rome, than in prosecuting the war against the *Macedonian*. For concerning the Roman war vpon his kingdome, after that the Consul had sought passage in vaine ouer certaine mountaines, *Perseus* seemed, in a manner, free from it. He was troubled indeede on that side which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Consul sent thither with an Armie of foure thousand, and who, by leuies made vpon the Confederates, doubled this his Armie. But *Claudius* thinking to haue taken *Viscana*, a border towne of *Illyria*, by treason, came thither in such carelesse order, that the inhabitants which had made shew of treason, with purpose onely to traine him into danger; sallied forth vpon him, ouerthrew him; and chased him so farre, that hardly he escaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this towne of *Viscana* shortly after became Roman: which howsoeuer it happened, *Perseus* very soone recovered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotys* a Thracian King, securing him on the one side of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an Epirote, reuolted from the *Romans*, on the other. *Perseus* likewise made a painefull journey into *Aetolia*: where he was promised to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the strongest Citie in that Region. Of this hope though he were disappointed by those of the Roman faction; yet in his returne home, he tooke in *Aperantia*, and shortly heard good newes, That *Ap. Claudius* was againe throughly beaten by *Cleuas*, one of his Lieutenants. Such successe had the *Macedonian* warre vnder *Hosilius*. The same Consul offended much the *Greeks*, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadors made into mens affection towards Rome. For these Embassadors traueiling thorow all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, gaue out speeches, tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who fought not by might and maine to aduance their businesse, than of those which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to haue accused by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of *Philopemen*; and together with him, his sonne *Polybius*, who soone after was Generall of the *Achaean* horse, but more notable by that excellent historie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honorably discharged. The summe of the accusation should haue beene; That these were not heartie friends vnto the *Romans*, but such as abstained from raising troubles, more for lacke of opportunitie, than for any loue to the common quiet. But since no color of truth could be found, that might giue countenance to such a tale; it was thought better for the present, to let it alone, & giue gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Aetolians*: They demanded hostages; and found some in the Councell that approued the motion: as also among

Polyb. Legat. 70.

Polyb. Leg. 74.

the Acarnanians, there were that entreated to haue Roman garrisons bestowed in their townes. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions tooke effect. They of the Roman faction, accused not only such as were inclinable to the Macedonian, but also the good Patriotes, making it no lesse than a matter of treason, to be a Grecian in Greece. On the contrary side, there wanted not some, who roundly told these pick-thankes of their base flattery; rating them openly, in such sort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, euen in presence of the Embassadors. Thus was all full of accusations and excuses: among which the Embassadors carried themselves, as men that could beleene none ill, though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The best was, that an order from the Senate was brought into Greece, and published, to this effect: That it should be free for all men, to refuse obedience to any Roman Magistrate, imposing any burthen for the present warre, vnlesse it were such, as the Senate had likewise thought meete. Of this decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or seemed, a good remedy of many inconueniences. But they that standing on priuiledge hereof, refused to fulfill euery commandment, were numbred among the Patriotes, which in the end of this warre, proued little better, if not worse, than to haue bene Traytors. The Senate was driuen to set downe this order; by reason of the many & vehement complaints brought to Rome, concerning the wrongs done by Roman Magistrates, & especially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great sum of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the Romans, in that they lo-
ued not to haue their subiects oppressed. *Hortensius* being still in office, had warning to
amend.

Among the great number of Embassages that came to Rome about this time, either to seek redresse of iniuries, or to offer their seruices: it is note-worthy, that from Alabanda, a towne of the lesser Asia, there was presented vnto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flatterie. These Alabanders brought three hundred horsemens targets, and a crowne of gold, to bestow vpon *Iupiter* in the Capitol. But hauing a desire to gratifie the Romans with some exquisite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would be singular; and being not able to reach vnto any great performance: they built a Temple, vnto the towne Rome, & appointed anniuersarie games to be celebra-
ted among them, in honour of that goddessse. Now who can wonder at the arrogant fol-
ly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomie*, & the like vaine men, that would be thought gods; or at the shamelesse flattery of such as bestowed vpon men, and not the most vertuous of men, diuine honours; when hee sees a towne of houses, wherein powerfull men dwell, worshipped as a goddessse, and receiued (without some of the giuers, or shame of the Present) the title of *Deitie*, at the gift of such a rascall Citie as Alabanda?

§ VII.

Q. *Martius the Roman Consul, with extreame difficultie and danger, enters into Tempe. The*
cowardize of *Perseus* in abandoning *Tempe*. *The towne of Diem quitted by Martius; re-*
paired and fortified by the King. *The Romans attempt many places, with ill successe. Their*
affaires in hard estate. *Martius a cunning and a bad man. Polybius sent Embassador to*
Martius from the Achians. Polybius his honest wisdom beneficiall to the Achians. King
Eutimenes grows awrie from the Romans. Perseus negotiates with Antiochus, and Eu-
menes. His false dealing with Gentius King of Illyria; whom he draves into the Roman
warre. He sends Embassadors to the Rhodians; who vainely take upon them to be arbitra-
tors betwene him and the Romans. Perseus loseth a mightie succour of the Bosphorus, by his
wretched parsimonie.

After two yeeres of the Macedonian warre, things were further out of tune in Greece, than when the warre began; which had bene thought likely to reforme all those Countries, and bring them to what passe the Romans desired; as it did in the end. *Perseus* had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he liued in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the Illyrian side; his friends, in all parts of Greece, tooke courage daily, and his reputation grew such, as caused those that were before wholly Roman, to suspect what the issue of the warre might proue, and thereupon to become wise for themselves. Contrariwise, *Lisinius* & *Hostilius* the Consuls, had one after
the

the other spent their time in vaine, seeking way into Macedon, and defaced the glorious enterprize of conquest, by very many losses receiued. The Roman Admiralls had so demeaned themselves, that many Townes, euen of the best affected to Rome, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the Romans side; and the Arme much lessened, not onely by casualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or else of the Consul himselfe (for they laid the blame one vpon another) in licencing the souldiers to depart. *Quintius Martius* the new Consul, who succeeded vn-
to *Hostilius*, was to amend all this: which neuertheless was more than hee knew how to
doe: though he brought with him a strong supply of men. Hee began hotly to set the
warre on foot, which a long time had slept. And hee began the right way: not seeking
to force the streights that were surely guarded, but taking pains to climbe the mountains
which were thought able to forbid all passage ouer them, without helpe or need of any
custodie. The King heard of his approach; and being vncertaine what way hee meant
to take, distributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might giue en-
trance, or permit ascent. But the Consul proceeded in his journey: with hope, either
not to be discouered by the Enemy, or to breake through all opposition, or at leastwise,
to fight on as conuenient ground, as they should haue that lay to stop him, and at length,
if all failed to make a safe retreat. He sent before him foure thousand of his most ex-
pedi-
dit foot, to discouer the waies. Two daies was this company troubled, in ouercomming
the difficultie of no more than fiftene miles: after which they had light of the En-
emie, that lay to denie their passage. They occupied therefore a safe peece of ground;
and sent backe word to the Consul, where they were; intrating him to hasten vnto
them: which hee did. The Macedonians were not a whit dismayed at his arriuall,
but met him, and fought with him, two or three daies together; each returning to
their owne Campe at night, with little losse on either side. This bickering was on the
narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gaue scarcely roome vnto three to march in front.
So that very few hands came to bee employed: all the rest were beholders. In this
case, it was impossible to get forwards: yet a shame to returne. Wherefore *Martius*
tooke the onely course remaining; and indeed the best: Part of his men hee left with
30
Popilius, to attend vpon the Macedonians: whilst hee, with the rest, fetcht a com-
passe about, and sought out wayes that neuer had bene troden. Heerein hee found ex-
treame difficultie: which notwithstanding hee overcame. Besides the troubles com-
monly incident to such iourneys, through places vnfit for habitation: hee was com-
pelled, by labour of hand, to make pathes where none were, yea, where Nature might
seeme to haue intended, that none should bee. So steepe hee found the descent of the
mountaines, in this way which hee tooke: that of euen miles, which they trauelled
the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themselves downe;
as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst. For they met with rockes,
that stood one ouer another, so vpright, and cumbersome to get downe; that their
Elephants were affraid of the giddy prospect, and casting their gouernours, made a
40
terrible noyse, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Hauing therefore
gone, or wallowed, foure miles of this grievous iourney; there was nothing more de-
sired by the souldiours, than that they might bee suffered to creepe backe againe, the
same way which they had come. But shift was made to let downe the Elephants, by a
kinde of bridges, like vnto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was ioyned to
the edge of the cliffe, the other sustained by two long postes, fastned in the ground
below. Vpon these two postes, or poles (which indeed (not being very strong, since
it was intended that they should bee either cut or broken) were fastned two rafters, an-
swerable in length to the distance, betwene the higher and the lower fall: so as the
50
end of one bridge might reach vnto the beginning of another. These were covered
with planks and turfe; that they might seeme continent with the ground; so to make
the beastes aduenturous to goe vpon them. If there were a plaine of any good ex-
tent from the foote of a rocke, to the next downefall; then might the bridge bee shorter.
When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, vpon one of these; the posts vpholding
the frame were cut asunder; thereby causing him to sinke downe vnto the next bridge;
whence hee was conueyed in like manner, to the third, and onward still to the ve-
ric bottome. Thus went they downe sliding, some on their feet, others on their but-
tocks, till they came to an euen valley. By this it appears, how thoroughly provided the
Romans

Romans vied to be in their iourneys; as things needfull in all occasions: as also what inestimable paines they tooke in this descent, about the conueyance of themselves, and all their carriages downe the mountaines. The next day they rested, staying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly or perhaps neuer, should haue overtaken them, if the Enemy had followed, and set vpon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies iourneys were like vnto the first: saue that custome, and the neerenesse to their waies end without meeting enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the Romans comming towards him: since they fought with his men vpon the passage, three daies together; he lying so nigh, that he might well nere haue heard the noyse. Yet was he so possessed with feare; that hee neither stirred to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Consul, nor made any prouision for that which might fall out, but as one void of counsaile, sat hearkening after the event. Four onely passages there were, leading into Tempe: the first by *Connus*, which the Romans were vnable to force: the second and third were the same which *Martius* had attempted in vaine, and another like vnto it: the last, by the Citie of *Dium* out of Macedon. All these were sufficiently guarded: and whosoever would seeke any other way, must bee faine to take such paines as *Martius* had vndergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, saue through the valley it selfe, into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood vpon the foot of the huge mountaine *Olympus*, about a mile from the sea: of which mile, the Riuer *Helecon* becomming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, took vp the one halfe; the rest being such as might easily haue bene fortified. Besides all these, there was in the midst of Tempe; a passage which ten men might easily keepe: where the spurs of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew nere to the very bankes of *Peneus*, a goodly and deepe riuer which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had bene more easie, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublesome iourney: if *Perseus* could haue scene his owne aduantages. For the Roman Army was not onely in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable trauaile: but must needs haue either perished for want of victuals, or bin enforced to return the same way that it came, if the King had made good the streight of *Dium*. To haue returned, and climbed vp with their Elephants & carriages, against those rocks, from which, with extreme labour, they could hardly get downe, it seemed a matter of impossibilitie: especially considering, how the enemy from aboue their heads, would haue beaten vpon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange, that the Romans did not rather take their iourney into Macedon, from the side of *Illyria*, whence that kingdom had often bene inuaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into Tempe; whence, after that they were arriued, there was no meane to escape, without enforcing one of those passages, which they despaired to winne. For hee no sooner heard that the Enemy was come ouer the mountaines into Tempe; than hee feared like one out of his wittes; saying, That hee was vanquished, and had lost all without battaile. Herewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what hee could carry away in haste; and straightwayes abandoned the Towne. In the same vehemencie of amazement, hee sent a strait commandement to *Thessalonica*, that the Arsenall there should be set on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treasures there should be cast into the sea: as if the Romans were like presently to be masters of these two Cities. *Nicias*, who was appointed to drowne the treasure, performed it hastily as well as he could: though soone after, his master grew sorie for the losse; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Divers from vnder the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to set fire on the Kings Arsenall, deferred the execution; foreseeing that repentance might follow: and so he prevented the damage. Whether *Nicias*, for his absolute and blinde obedience; or *Andronicus*, for his careful prouidence, merited the greater commendation; or more easie pardon; it rested in the King to interpret. The reward of their seruice was this. *Perseus* growing ashamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this hasty direction; caused them both to be slaine. Also those poore men, which had fetcht his treasure out of the Sea by their diuing; were payed their wages after the same sort: that so there might be no witness of the Kings base folly. Such end must they feare, who are priuie to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perseus* would haue gone surely to worke,

worke, for the hiding of his fault; then must he so royally haue behaued himselfe, that no man might beleue him to be the author of any vnworthy act or counsaile. But his vertue was of no such capacite. Hee thought it enough to lay the blame vpon others. And therefore, hauing called *Hippias* away (the Captaine which had stopped the Consul on the top of the mountaine) and *Asclepiodatus*, from defence of the passages, where-to they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; saying, that they had betrayed vnto the Enemy the gates and bars of Macedon. Of this reproach, if they would discharge themselves, by laying it vpon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they haue sped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

The Consul *Martius* had great cause to reioyce, for that the King so hastily relinquished his possession of Tempe, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the Roman Army, this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subsist, for want of victuals. He took *Dium* without resistance; and thence went forward into Macedon: wherein hauing trauelled about a dayes iourney, and gotten one towne that yeelded, he was compelled, by meere lacke of food for his men, to returne back towards *Thessaly*. His fleet came to him, in this time of necessitie, well appointed to haue holpen him in the warre: but hauing left behinde, at *Magnesia*, the ships of burthen, which carried the provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had bene careful to occupy one of the Castles about Tempe, which were forsaken by the Macedonians: for by those waies onely might corne be brought into the Army. To meet the sooner with this corne, which was most desirously expected, he forsooke *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which foolish iourney (if not worse than foolish) hee lost more, than a little the longer fasting had been worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountaines: for otherwise it had bene madnesse to put himselfe on such an enterprise, so slenderly prouided, as that without enforcement, or sight of the Enemy, hee should be faine to quite it. Howsoeuer it was: men thought him a coward, or at least a badde man of warre; since he thus recoyled and gaue off, when it most behooued him to haue prosecuted the action.

By vnderstanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himselfe, vnderstood his owne error; sought to hide it by such poore meanes as haue been shewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the towne of *Dium*, which he hastily repaired, finding it dis-mantled by the Romans. This done, he encamped strongly by the Riuer of *Enipeus*: meaning there to stop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Lesse diligence, more timely vsed, would haue bene enough, not onely to haue deliuered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to haue giuen him such a noble victory, as might cause the Romans to seek a good end of the warre vpon faire conditions, and not to begin againe in haste. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Consul an exceeding hindrance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Onely the towne of *Heraclea*, standing on the riuer of *Peneus*, fise miles from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climbing vpon mens heads, somewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made such defence as it could, and was not giuen vp for feare. After this, *Martius* did set a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would haue taken it againe, and haue driuen the king further off: although his intent or hope was nothing like so great: his chiefe care, being to prouide for his wintering. Hee sent the Admirall to make attempt vpon the Sea-Towns, *Thessalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others. All these were assayed: but in vaine. The fields about *Thessalonica* were wasted; and some companies, that sundry times aduentured forth of the Towne, were still put to the worke. As for the Towne it selfe, there was danger in comming nere it, either by land or sea; by reason of the engines, which shot from the walls, and reached vnto the fleet. Wherefore the Admirall setting saile from thence, ran along by *Enia*, and *Antigonca*, (landing nere to each of them, and both doing and receiuing hurt) vntil he came to *Pallene* in the territory of *Cassandrea*. There king *Eumenes* ioyned with him, bringing twenty shippes of Warre; and fise other were sent thither from king *Prusias*. With this access of strength, the Admirall was bold to trie his fortune at *Cassandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the towne: which while the Romans were filling vp, question was made, what became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not vpon the banke. By this occasion, it was learned, that there were

were arches in the town-wall filled vp with that earth, and couered with one single row of bricke. Hence the Admirall gathered hope of making way into the towne, by fapping the walls. To this worke he appointed such as he thought meetest: giuing an alarme to the other side of the towne, thereby to shadow his attempt, the breach was soone made. But whilest the Romans were shouting for ioy, and ordering themselves for the assault: the Captaines within the towne perceiued what was done; and sallying forth vnexpected, gaue a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch and the wall, of whom they slew about sixe hundred, and suffered few to escape vnwounded. This disaster, and the want of good successe on that part of the towne which king *Eumenes* assailed (a supply in the meane while entring the towne by sea) caused the siege to breake vp. 10
 Torone was the next place which the Admirall thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*: whereinto *Euphranor*, a Macedonian Captaine, was gotten before his coming, with such forces, as were not onely sufficient to haue defended the Towne, if the Admirall had layed siege to it, but to keepe the land about it from spoyle; or at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay deare for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Meliboea*; whither the Consul (that he might not be quite without work) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing suddenly ouer their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their Campe on fire.

Polyb. Leg. 80.

Such fortune attended on the Romans; or rather, so far was their ability short of their Enterprises; euer since their Consul (whether daftardly, or carelesly) most vnlike a good Commander, had let goe his hold of Macedon, by forsaking *Dium*: Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harme befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is exprest in the broken remaining Historie of this Warre. For *Martius* perswaded the Rhodians by *Agessipolis* their Embassadour, who came to him at *Heraclaea* about other businesse of lesse importance, That they should doe well to interpose themselves as mediators, and seeke to finish the Warre. Now, although *Polybius* doe most probably coniecture, that this was rather a malicious deuice of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the Rhodians in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an armie on foot: yet since he made shew of feare, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his feare seeme not counterfeite. And so were the Rhodians moued to thinke of him, not onely for that the extraordinary courtesie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embassadour, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadours of *Perseus*, and of *Gentius* the Illyrian, did set out their businesse at Rhodes, not more with the strength of a good fleet, which the Macedonian had gotten, than with the honor of some victory, wherein he had lately slaine great numbers of the Roman horse. Thus much we finde intimated: though 40
 the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from Rome to view the estate of *Martius* his army. For they found the Consul wanting meat; the Admirall wanting men; and, for those few that he had, wanting both money and clothes: and *Ap. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of Illyria, so vnable to inuade Macedon, that contrariwise, he was in extreame danger; so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seeme, that some blow had beene taken on the Illyrian side, which made all to halt; or at least, that the Romans with greater losse, than is before spoken of, had beene driuen from some of the Townes which they besieged.

Polyb. Leg. 87. m

Now although it were so, that *Martius* in very few of his actions, behaued himselfe like a man of warre: yet in exercise of Cunning, which one hath most aptly termed, a crooked or sinister kinde of wisdom, he dealt as a craft-master, with a restless working diligence. This indeed neither proued his sufficiency, nor commended his honesty: since thereby he effected nothing to his owne benefit; and neuertheless, out of enuie, vaine-glory, or such delight as weake and busie-headed mentake, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his Countrey. At such time as *Perseus*, by the successe of his doings against *Hosilinus*, had gotten much reputation, and 50
 was

was thought likly to inuade *Thessaly*; *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriotes among the Achæans, iudged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the Romans, as in a time of aduersitie, whom in prosperity they loued not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* proposed a decree which passed: That the Achæans should send their whole power into *Thessaly*, and participate with the Romans in all danger. So the Armie was leuied; and *Polybius*, with others, sent Embassadors vnto *Martius*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleasure, *Polybius* found the Consul busie in finding passage through *Tempe* into Macedon. Hee went along with the Armie; and awaited the Consuls leisure till they came to *Heraclaea*, where finding the time conuenient, he presented the Decree, and offered the seruice of his Nation, wherein soeuer it should bee commanded. *Martius* tooke this very kindly; but said, That he needed now no manner of helpe. Forthwith *Polybius* dispatched home his companions, to signifie thus much: tarrying himselfe behinde in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* desired, or rather imperiously required, of the Achæans, siue thousand men, to be sent him into *Epirus*. It was manifest, that *Appius* had need of these men; and that if hee were strong in field, he might doe notable seruice, by distracting the forces of *Perseus*. But the Labyrinthian head of *Martius* could not allow of such plaine reason. He called vnto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, that *Appius* had no need of such aide, and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the Achæans be put to such needlesse charges. Away went *Polybius*; mauling and vnable to resolue whether it were for lone to the Achæans, that the Consul was so earnest in this businesse; or rather for enuie, and to hinder *Ap. Claudius* from doing any thing, since himselfe could doe nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliuer his opinion in the Councell touching this matter: then found hee a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne selfe, and those of his partie. For as hee was sure to incurre the great indignation of the Consul, if he should neglect what was giuen him in charge; so was it manifest on the other side, that the words by *Martius* vttered to him in priuate, would proue no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to helpe *Claudius*, alledging that he had no need: In this case therefore, hee had recourse vnto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessitie of doing what the Roman Commanders should require, vnlesse by special order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred vnto the aduice of the Consul: by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the Achæans were sauers, of more than an hundred and twentie Talents: though *Polybius* himselfe ranne into danger of *Appius* his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countries behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the Romans with many a long yeeres imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policie of *Martius*, that king *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the Romans; or whether this king began when it was too late, to stand in feare 40
 lest the fire, which he himselfe had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to ouerway all other passions; it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, haue not precisely affirmed any certainty. One report is, that *Eumenes* did not so much as giue any helpe to *Martius*: but coming to haue ioyned with him, in such friendly manner as hee did with the former Consuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that hee refused to leaue behinde him certaine horse of the Gallo-Greeks, being requested to haue done it. If this were true; and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behinde with the Consul, did the Romans good seruice: then is the reason apparant, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the loue to *Attalus*. 50
 But it is more generally receiued, that *Eumenes* gaue a willing care to *Perseus* his desire of accord, for meere desire of gaine. And it might well be, that couetousnesse drew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. Howsoeuer it befell; *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be sounded, and found him so tractable, that hee was bold to sollicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his aduertisements, both to *Eumenes* & *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect loue betweene a king and a free Citie: That the Romans had quarrell alike to all kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and vsed the helpe of one against another; that *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the helpe of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the helpe of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed,

assailed, with helpe of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith hee willed *Eumenes* to consider, that when Macedon was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in Asia, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to thinke better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to looke for any good conclusion of his warre with the Egyptian, so long as the Romans could make him giue ouer, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, hee requested both of them, either to compell the Romans to surcease from their war vpon Macedon; or else to hold them as common enemies vnto all kings. *Antiochus* lay farre out of the Romans way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more neerely toucht; and as hee felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should giue answer; he began to offer a bargaine of peace for money. He thought the Romans to be no lesse weary, than *Perseus* was affraid. Wherefore he promised, for his own part, That if he might haue fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remaine a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantitie of money (how much I finde not) he would also bring the Romans to condescend vnto peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to giue hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receiue the hostages: but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would faine haue peace with Rome, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost: but he would lay down the money in the Temple at Samothrace: whence it should be deliuered vnto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of Samothrace was *Perseus* his owne: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no neerer to him, being there, than if it remained in Pella. Besides, his labour deserued somewhat, howsoeuer the businesse might happen to succeed: so that needs he would haue part of his wages in *pres*. Thus the two kings did no more, than lose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the Romans, as a Traytor.

After the same manner delt *Perseus* with king *Gentius* the Illyrian. Hee had attempted this Illyrian before; who dealt plainly, and said, That without money he could not stirre. Hereunto *Perseus* loued not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serue at the last cast, to deliuer him from all his feares. But when the Romans had gotten with in Tempe, then did his feare vrge him to prodigalitie; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents, which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargaine was soone made, and pledges on both sides deliuered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*; to the end that all his Armie might haue comfort, by such access of strength to their partie. Presently vpon the bargaine made, Embassadors were sent to Rhodes, from both *Perseus* and *Gentius*: who desired the Rhodians, to take vpon them, as arbitrators, between *Perseus* and the Romans, and to bring the Warre to an end. The Rhodians thinking that *Martius* the Consul was no lesse desirous of peace than the Macedonian, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the Roman Senate, hearing proud words to the same effect, from the Rhodian Embassadors; gaue an answer as disdainfull, angry, and menacing, as they could deuise: so as this vain-glory of the Rhodians was thoroughly chastised; and more thoroughly should haue beene, if their submission had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such vse of *Gentius* his friendship, made *Perseus*; without laying out one ounce of Silver. Now faine he would haue hastened this young and rash Illyrian to enter with all speed into the Warre: but then must the money be hastened away. *Pantauchus* the Macedonian Embassador, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him daily to begin the War by land and sea, whilest the Romans were vnprovident. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon ten Talents were sent to *Pantauchus*: who deliuered it to the young king, as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed; and sealed vp with the scale of the Illyrians; but carried by Macedonians, and not too fast. Before this money came into Illyria, *Gentius* had layed hands vpon two Roman Embassadors, and cast them into prison. Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their load to Pella; for that now the Illyrian was of necessitie to make warre with the Romans, whether he were hired thereto or not.

There came about the same time, through Illyria, to the aid of *Perseus*, vnder one *Clondicus* a petty king, tenne thousand horse and tenne thousand foot, of the Gaules, which were

were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bassarna*. These had before-hand made their bargaine, and were to receiue present pay at the first. At their entry into the Kingdome, *Perseus* sent one to them; desiring their Captaines to come visit him, whom he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had sent money to giue the souldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargaine? Hereto the messenger had not what to answer. Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy master; That the Gaules will not stirre one foote further, vntill they haue gold, as was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* heereupon tooke counsaile: if to vtter his owne opinion, before men so wisethat they would not contradict him, were to take counsaile. He made an inuocatie against the inciuilitie and auarice of the *Bassarna*: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Fiuethousand horse of them, hee said would bee as many as hee should need to vse; and not so many, that hee should need to feare them. It had beene well done, if any of his countailours would haue told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole Armie of them, since without any danger to the kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of Perthæbia, into Thessaly: where wasting the Country, and filling themselves with spoyle, they should make the Romans glad to forsake Tempe, euen for hunger and all manner of want, therein doing the king notable seruice, whether they wonne any victory, or not. This, and a great deale more, might haue beene alledged, if any man had dared to giue aduice freely. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had bene with them before, was sent againe, to let them know the kings minde. He did his errand: vpon which followed a great murmure of those many thousands that had bene drawne so farre to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now againe, Whether hee had brought the money along with him, to pay those siue thousand, whom the king would entertaine. Hereto, when it was perceiued, that *Antigonus* could make no better answer, than shifiting excuses; the *Bassarna* returned presently towards Danubius, wasting the neighbour parts of Thrace; yet suffering this craftie messenger to escape unhurt: which was more than hee could haue well expected.

Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preferue his money for the Romans, without diminishing the summe. But of this painfull Office he was very soone discharged by *L. Amylius Paulus* the new Consul: who in fiftene daies after his setting forth from Italy, brought the kingdome of Macedon to that end, for which God had appointed ouer it a king so foolish and so cowardly.

§. VIII.

Of *L. Amylius Paulus* the Consul. His iourney. Hee forceth *Perseus* to discompe. Hee will not hazard battaile with any disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moone. *Amylius* his superstition. The battaile of Pydna. *Perseus* his flight. Hee forsakes his Kingdome: which hastily yeelds to *Amylius*. *Perseus* at Samothrace. He yeelds himselfe to the Roman Admirall, and is sent prisoner to *Amylius*.

BY the Warre of Macedon, the Romans hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity so moued them, that either * they decreed that Prouince to *L. Amylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot, betweene him and his fellow Consul; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it vpon him, than that so worthy a man was aduanced to the dignitie of a second Consulship. Hee refused to propound vnto the Senate any thing that concerned his Prouince; vntill by his Embassadors, thither sent to view the estate of the Warre, it was perfectly vnderstood, in what condition both the Roman forces, and the Macedonian, at the present remained. This being thoroughly knowne to be such, as hath been already told; the Senate appointed a strong supply, not onely to the Consul, but vnto the Naue, and likewise to the Armie that lay betweene Illyria and Epyrus; from which *App. Claudius* was remoued, and *L. Anicius* sent thither in his place. *Amylius*, before his departure from Rome, making an Oration to the People, as was the custome, spake with much grauitie and authoritie. Hee requested those that did thinke themselves with

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enough

enough to manage this Warre, either to accompany him into Macedon, and there assist him with their aduice; or else to gouern their tongues at home, and not take vpon them to giue directions by heare say, and censure by idle reports: for hee told them plainly, That he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father *L. Amylius*, who died valiantly in the Battaile of Cannæ, might well be liuing in some of their memories: which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly vnto the instructions giuen by a wise and resolute Consul.

All his businesse within the Citie being dispatched, *Amylius* was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his iourney; with an especiall hope of men, that hee should finish the Warre: though that he should finish it so soone and happily, was more than could haue bene hoped or imagined. He came to Brundisium: whence, when the wind came faire, he set sayle at brake of day, and arriued safely at the Isle of Coreyra before night. Thence passed he to Delphi: where, hauing done sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he set forwards to the Campe; and was there in five dayes more. So are there but five of the fifteene dayes remaining, in which he finished the Warre.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at Dium; hauing spared no labor of men and of women to fortifie the bankes of Enipeus, where it was fordable in drie weather: So as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and consequently, as little possibilitie to enter that way into Macedon. One great inconuenience troubling the Romans, & much disabling them to make attempt vpon Dium, was lacke of fresh water. For there were tenne miles betwene Dium and Tempe; all the way lying betwene the Sea shore and the foote of Olympus, without any Brooke or Spring breaking forth on that side. But *Amylius* found present remedy for this, by digging Wells on the shoare; where he found sweet Springs: as commonly there is no shoare that wants them, though they rise not aboue the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking vp his lodging any neerer to the enemy, than the Towne of Heraclea, on the riuer of Peneus; where hee had watering at pleasure, but could performe no seruice of any worth. Yet when the Roman Campe had such meanes to lye close to the Macedonian; as it presently did; the passage onward being defended as hath bene already shewed, seemed no lesse difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessarie to search another way: which by enquirie was soone found out. There was a narrow passage over Olyntus, leading into Perrabia; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a faire iourney. *Martius* either had not bene informed hereof; or durst not attempt it: or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the aduenture; they fearing lest it would prouee such a peece of worke as had bene their march ouer Ossa into Tempe. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industry, courage, and abilitie, to command. Hee had reformed, euen at his first coming, many disorders in the Roman Campe: teaching the souldiers among many other good lessons, to bee obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselves, as had bene their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their Generall. And now hee appointed about five thousand men to this enterprise: whereof he committed the charge vnto *Scipio*, *Aemilianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his owne sonnes by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a sonne of *Scipio* the African; the other, by one of the *Fabij*. *Scipio* tooke with him some light-armed Thracians and Cretans; but his maine strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, vpon the mountaine, consisted in a manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at some distance, they might doe notable seruice against those that should climbe vp vnto them; yet when the darknesse tooke away their ayme, they were like to make a bad nights worke, being to deale with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the businesse about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* tooke a wrong way, towards the Fleet; where victuals were provided for their iourney: it being noyed, that they were to runne along the coast of Macedon by sea, and waste the Country. All the while that they were passing the Mountaines (which was about three dayes) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set vpon *Perseus* where he lay, rather to diuert the kings attention from that which was his maine Enterprife, than vpon any hope to doe good, in seeking to get ouer Enipeus. The Channell of Enipeus, which receiued in Winter time a great fall of waters from the Mountaines, was exceeding deepe and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-

well neere all day, yet inferred not for those that were weightily armed to fight vpon. *Waggoners* employed none save his Yaltes; of whom the Kings light armature had advantage at some distance, though the Romans were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Tower which *Perseus* had rayled on his owne banke, did alight vpon the Romans, and gaue them to vnderstand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet *Amylius* persisted as he had begunne, and continued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might haue serued to reach the Macedonians, that some greater worke was in hand: soe as who soeuer a good Captaine, as *Amylius* was knowne to bee, would not haue troubled himselfe with making such brauidises, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* looked onely vnto that which was before his eyes: vntill his men that came running fearefully down the Mountaine, brought word into the Campe, That the Romans were following at their backes. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himselfe no lesse (if not more) amazed than any of the rest. Order was forthwith giuen to dislodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haste, the Campe was broken vp, and a speedy retreat made to Pydna. Whether it were so, that they which had custodie of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force, *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good success in their iourney. It may well be, that they slept vntill the Romans came somewhat neerer to them; and then taking alarme, when their arrows and slings could doe little seruice, were beaten at handy-strokes: so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epistle of *Scipio*, may each of them haue bene true. Thus was an open way cleared into Macedon; which had bin effected by *Martius* in the yeere fore-going; but was closed vp againe, through his not prosecuting for such an opportunitie.

Perseus was in an extreame doubt what course to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gaue aduice to manne his Townes, and so to linger out the Warre: hauing bene taught by the last yeeres example, how resolute the people were in making defence; but farre worse counsaile prouailed; as generally it doth in turbulent and fearefull deliberations. The King resolved to put all at once to hazzard of battaile: fearing belike to put himselfe into any one Towne, lest that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are iealous) not ouer-carefully reliqued. This was euen the same that *Amylius*, or any invader, should haue desired. So a place was chosen neere vnto Pydna, that serued well for the Phalanx, and had, likewise on the sides of it, some peeces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light armature. There hee abode the coming of the enemy, who stayed not long behind him. As soone as the Romans had sight of the kings Armie, which, with greater feare than discretion, had hastied away from them, forsaking the Campe that was so notably well fortified: they desired nothing more, than to giue battaile immediately: doubting lest otherwise the king should change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Consul, praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But *Amylius* told him, that he spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to haue patience. The Romans were tyred with their iourney; had no Campe wherein to rest themselves; nor any thing there, save onely the bare ground whereon they trode. For these, and the like respects, the Consul made a stand: and shewing himselfe vnto the Macedonian, who did the like, in order of battaile, gaue charge to haue the Campe measured out and entrenched behinde the Armie, whereinto, at good leysure, hee fell backe, without any manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped, both by the Romans and by the Macedonians, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their owne Generall to blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the king, hee excused himselfe by the backwardnesse of the enemy; who advanced no further, but kept vpon ground seruing ill for the Phalanx: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of September, by the Roman account) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeere bene Praetor, foretold vnto the Consul, and (with his good liking) vnto the Armie, an Eclipse of the Moone, which was to bee the same night: willing the souldiers not to bee troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might bee knowne long before, it was seene. It was the manner of the Romans, in such Eclipses, to beate Pannes of Brasse and Bisons, as wee doe in following a swarme of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moone

great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpicius* converted their superstition into admiration of his deepe skill, wherein they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the Macedonians howled and made a great noyse, as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodigie betokening their losse; since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses doe signifie, or cause any alteration in ciuil affaires, & matters that haue small dependance on naturall complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of obseruation it is, how superstition capriuates the vnderstanding of the wisest, where the helpe of true religion is wanting. *Amylius*, though hee were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the 10 Moone, that it was no supernaturall thing, nor above the reach of humane vnderstanding, so as he should need to trouble himselfe with any deuout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing his duty to this Moone, and congratulating with sacrifice his deliuerie, as soone as she shone out bright againe: for which, hee is commended euen by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not assist him in this foolish deuotion; yet it is like, that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councell for Warre, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to *Hercules*, which was no lesse foolish. For a great part of the day was vainely consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with any Sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good lucke in the entrailles of the beasts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was 20 found a promise of victorie to *Amylius*: but with condition, That hee should not giue the onset. *Hercules* was a Greeke, and partiall, as neerer in alliance to the Macedonian than to the Roman. Wherefore it had bene better to call vpon the new goddesse, lately canonized at Alabanda; or vpon *Romulus*, founder of their Citie, on whom the Romans had bestowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authentically) vpon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of militarie affaires; and who therefore would haue limited his fauour, with no iniunctions contrarie to the rules of Warre.

Now concerning the Battaile; *Amylius* was throughly perswaded, that the King meant to abide it: for that otherwise hee would not haue stayed at Pydna, when, as a little before, his leysure serued to retyre whither hee listed, the Romans being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that hee might wait vpon aduantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the morning Sunne was full in the Romans faces: which would bee much to their hinderance all the forenoone. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Amylius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder; there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clocke in the morning, a small occasion brought to passe that, which whereto neither of the Generalls had ouer-earnest desire.

A Horse brake loose at watering, which two or three of the Roman souldiers followed into the ruer, wading after him vp to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further banke; whence a couple of Thracians ranne into the Water, to draw this horse ouer to their owne side. These fell to blowes, as in a priuate quarrell; and one of the Thracians was slaine. His COUNTRYMEN seeing this, hastened to reuenge their fellowes death, and followed those that had slaine him ouer the ruer. Heereupon company came in, to helpe on each part, vntill the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be carefull of the euent. In fine, each of the Generalls placed his men in order of battaile, accordingly as the manner of his Country, and the Armes, wherewith they serued, did require. The ground was a flatte leuell, saue that on the sides a few hillockes were raised heere and there; whereof each part might take what aduantage it could. The Macedonians were the greater number, the Romans the better souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and Consul encouraged their men with lively words: which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the King hauing finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himselfe into Pydna: there to doe sacrifice, as hee pretended, vnto *Hercules*. It is the lesse maruaile, that hee durst aduenture battaile, since hee had bethought himselfe of such a stratageme, whereby to saue his owne person. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the sacrifice of a Coward: whose vnseasonable deuotion could bee no better than hypocrisie. For hee that will pray for a good

good Haruest, ought also to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the king returned to the battaile, he found it no better than lost: and hee, in looking to his owne safetie, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The effects of this day, such as we finde recorded, are, That the Roman Elephants could doe no manner of good; That the Macedonian *Phalanx* did so stoutly presse on wards, and bent off all which came before it, as *Amylius* was thereat much astonished; That the *Pelien* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were ouer-borne, many of them slaine, and the squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out aduersely to the Romans, and which the Consul beholding, is said to haue rent his coat-armour for griefe. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his deuoyre; the victorie might haue bene his owne. That which turned the fortune of the battaile, was the same which doubtlesse the Consul expected, euen from the beginning: the difficultie, or almost the impossibilitie, of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilest some of the Romans small battallions pressed hard vpon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessary (if the Macedonians would follow vpon those which were put to the worse) that some files hauing open way before them, should aduance themselves beyond the rest, that were held at a stand. This coming so to passe, admonished the Consul, what was to be done. The long pikes of the Macedonians were of little vse, when they were charged in flanke by 20 the Roman Targettiers; according to the direction giuen by *Amylius*, when he saw the front of the Enemies great battaile become vnequall, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the vnequall resistance which they found. Thus was the vse of the *Phalanx* proued vnauailable against many small squadrons, as it had bene formerly in the battaile of Cynoscephale: yea, this forme of embattailing was found vnseruiceable against the other, by reason, that being not euery where alike distressed, it would breake of it selfe; though here were little such inconuenience of ground, as had bene at * *Cynoscephalia*.

Perseus, when hee saw his battaile begin to route, turned his bridle presently, and ranne againe towards Pella. All his horse escaped, in a manner vnouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witnessing the little good seruice which they had done. As for the poore foote; they were left to the mercy of the Enemy: who slew about twenty thousand of them; though hauing little cause to be furious, as hauing lost, in that battaile, onely some fourescore, or sixe score men at the most. Some of the foote, escaping from the execution, ouertooke the King and his company in a wood; where they fell to rayling at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traytors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himselfe: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company disperfed themselves: euery one as his owne occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their king, the number began within a while to lessen. For hee fell to deuising vpon whom he might lay the blame of that dayes misfortune, which was most due to himselfe: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him, how they could. At his coming to Pella; he found his Pages and household seruants, ready to attend him, as they had bene wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battaile, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholike time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldnesse to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their vnseasonable admonitions, hee stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in feare, lest they that refused to come at his call, would shortly dare some greater mischiefe: he stole out of Pella by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Euan-* 40 *der* (who had bene employed to kill *Hyemenes* at Delphi) and two other. There followed him likewise about 500. Cretians, more for loue of his money than of him. To these he gaue of his plate, as much as was worth about fiftie Talents, though shortly hee coozened them of some part thereof, making shew as if hee would haue redeemed it, but neuer paying the money. The third day after the battaile hee came to Amphipolis; where he exhorted the Townes-men to fidelitie, with teares; and his owne speech being hindered by teares, appointed *Euan-* der to speake what himselfe would haue vttered. But the Amphipolitans made it their chiefe care, to looke well to themselves.

Yyyyy 3

Vpon

Vpon the first taine of the ouerthrow, they had emptied their towne of two thousand Thracians that lay there in garrison: sending them forth vnder colour of a gainefull employment, & shutting the gates after them. And now to be ridde of the king, they plainly bade *Euander* to be gone. The king hearing this, had no minde to tarry: but embarking himselfe and the treasure which he had there, in certaine vessels that hee found in the riuer Strymon; passed ouer to the Isle of Samothrace: where hee hoped to liue safe, by priuiledge of the religious Sanctuarie therein.

These miserable shifts of the king make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the kingdome fell into the power of *Amylius*, within so few dayes after his victorie. *Pydna* which was neereft at hand, was the last that yeelded. About fixe thousand of the souldiours, that were of sundry Nations, fled out of the battaile into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippius* who had kept the passage ouer *Ossa* against *Martius*, with *Pantauchus*, who had beene sent Embassadour to *Gentius* the Illyrian, were the first that came in: yeelding themselves and the Towne of *Beræa*, whither they had retired out of the battell. With the like message came others from *Thessalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Townes of *Macedon*, within two dayes: the losse of the head bereauing the whole body of all ense and strength. Neither did they of *Pydna* stand out any longer, when they knew that the king had forsaken his Countrey: but opened their gates vpon such termes, that the sacke of it was granted to the Roman Armie. *Amylius* sent abroad into the Countrey, such as he thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: hee himselfe marching towards *Pella*. Hee found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents; the same whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the Illyrian. But within a very little while hee shall haue more.

It was soone vnderstood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuarie, in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his owne letters to the Consul, confirming the report. Hee sent these letters by person of such meane condition; that his case was pittied, for that he wanted the seruice of better men. The scope of this writing was, to desire fauour: which though hee begged in termes ill becoming a king; yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, *King Perseus to the Consul Paulus*; the Consul, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and would not allow him to retaine the Title, refused to make any answer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could bee expected: whereby hee craued and obtained, that some might be sent to conferre with him about matters of his present estate. Neuerthelesse, in this conference, hee was maruellous earnest, that hee might bee allowed still to retaine the name of king. And to this end it was perhaps, that hee had so carefully preferred his Treasure, vnto the very last: flattering himselfe with such vaine hopes as these; That the Romans would neither violate a Sanctuarie, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him haue his desire to liue at ease, and to bee called King. Yea it seemes that hee had indeede, euen from the beginning, a desire to liue in this Isle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his consultations about the Warre, he was dehorted by his friends, from seeking to exchange his kingdome of *Macedon*, for

* *Liub. 42.*

* such a paltrie Iland; and for that he offered to lay vp the money which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But hee findes it otherwise. They vrge him to giue place vnto necessitie, and without more adoe, to yeeld to the discretion and mercie of the people of Rome. This is so farre against his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Presently there arriues at *Samothrace* *C. Octavius* the Roman Admirall, with his fleet: who assayes, as well by terrible threatnes, as by faire language, to draw the king out of his lurking hole; wherein, for feare of imprisonment, hee had now alreadie imprisoned himselfe. When all would not serue, a question was moued to the *Samothracians*; How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like priuiledge of Sanctuarie, by attempting the murder of king *Eumenes* at *Delphi*: This went to the quicke. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the Romans, take this matter to heart; and send word to the king, That *Euander*, who liues with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact, committed at *Delphi*, whereof vnlesse he can cleere himselfe in iudgement, hee must not be suffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reuerence borne to his Maiestic, now past, makes them forbear to say, that *Perseus* himselfe is charged with

with the same crime. But what will this auaille, when the minister of the fact being brought into iudgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the author? *Perseus* therefore willed *Euander* to haue consideration of the little fauour that can be expected at the Romans hand; who are like to be presidents and overseers of this iudgement: so as it were better to dye valiantly, since none other hope remaines, than hope to make good an ill cause; where though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion *Euander* seemes to like well; and either kills himselfe, or hoping to escape thence, by deserting the sun, as it were to get poyson, wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had stucke to *Perseus* in all times of neede, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forsake him: so as none are left with him, save his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leaue him vpon this occasion, will tell perillous tales, and say, That the King hath lost the priuiledge of this holy Sanctuarie, by murdering *Euander* therein. Or if the Romans will asseme to much, who shall dare to gainsay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and euen that also lyable to dispute, which preferres him from captiuitie, he purposeth to make an escape, and flye, with his Treasures, vnto *Cotys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroander*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one ship; who easily was perswaded to waite the King thence. With all secrecie the Kings money, as much as could be so conueyed, was carried aboard by night; and the king himselfe, with his wife and children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him onely * *Philip* his elder sonne, who was onely by adoption his sonne, being his brother by nature) with much adoe got out at a window by a rope, and ouer a mudde wall. At his coming to the Sea-side, he found no *Oroander* there: the *Cretians* had played a *Cretian* trick, and he was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to wake cleare day, whilest *Perseus* was searching all along the shoare; who had stayed so long about this, that he might feare to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging; and thinking it not safe to enter in the common way, lest he should be taken; he hid himselfe in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ranne vp and downe making enquire, till *Octavius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoeuer, abiding with their master in *Samothrace*, should haue their liues and libertie, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they should presently yeeld themselves to the Romans. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion*, a *Thessalonian*, to whom the King had giuen the custodie of his children, deliuered them vp to *Octavius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himselfe, with his sonne *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him; rendered himselfe, and made the Roman victory compleate. If he had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of liuing, than of reigning therein, he might well haue brought this Warre to an happier end. Now, by diuiding his cogitations, and pursuing, at once, those contrary hopes of sauing his Kingdome by armes, and himselfe by flight; he is become a spectacle of misery; and one among the number of those Princes, that haue beene wretched by their owne default. He was presently sent away to *Rome*, before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the victory ouer himselfe, as gotten vpon one of abied qualitie, and therefore the lesse to be esteemed. *Amylius* vied to him the language of a gentle Victor, blaming him; though mildly, for hauing, with so hostile a minde, made Warre vpon the Romans. Hereto good answer might haue beene returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearefull silence. He was comforted with hope of life; or as the Consul feared it) almost assurance, for that such was the mercy of the people of Rome. After these good words, being inuited to the Consuls Table, & respectfully threatened, he was committed prisoner to *Quintilius*.

Such end had this *Macedonian War*, after foure yeeres continuance: & such end there withall had the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now translated vnto Rome.

Gentius, King of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.

* Called now
Sensari.

ABout the same time, and with like celeritie, *Antius* the Roman Prator, who succeeded vnto *App. Claudius*, had the like successe against King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an Armie of fiftene thousand, with which he was at *Libsus*, ready to assist King *Perseus* as soone as the money should come, wherof he had received onely ten Talents. But *Antius* arrested him on the way, fought with him, overcame him; and draue him into * *Scodra*. This Towne was very defendible by nature, besides the help of fortification; & strongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seeme vnpowable to be wonne, in any not a very long time. Yet *Antius* was confident in his late victory; and therefore presented his Armie before the walles, making countenance to giue an assault. The *Illyrians*, that might easily haue defended themselves within the Town, would needes issue forth and fight. They were, it seemes, rather passionate than courageous: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yielding. The King sent Embassadors, by whom, at first, he desired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had layed violent hand on the Roman Embassadors, to haue recourse to such meditation. But he thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harme done by him, than the casting of those Embassadors into prison; where they were still slid. Having obtained three dayes respite, he passed vpon a Riuer, within halfe a myle of the Roman Campe, into the Lake of *Scodra*, as it were to consult the more privately, though indeede, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Caracanthus* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish, as to returne into *Scodra*. He sent Messengers craving access vnto the Prator: before whom hauing lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonestie, was not so great as his folly present) he fell downe humbly, and yielded himselfe to discretion. All the Townes of his Kingdome, together with his wife, children, brother, friends were presently giuen vp. So this Warre ended in thirtie dayes: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun vntill *Perenna*, one of the Embassadors that had beene imprisoned, brought word from *Antius* how all had passed,

How the Romans behaued themselves in Greece and Macedon after their victory ouer Perseus.

NOW began the Romans to swell with the pride of their fortune, and to look tyrannically vpon those that had beene vnmurderly toward them before, whilst the Warre with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadors were still at *Rome*, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with a bad grace, saying that they were sent from *Rhodes* to make an offer of peace; forasmuch as it was thought by that this Warre was no lesse grievous to the Romans themselves, than to the *Macedonians*; and many others; but that now they were very glad, and in behalfe of the *Macedonians* did congratulate with the Senate and People of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had beene expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassyage to *Rome*, not for loue, of *Rome*, but in fauour of the *Macedonian*; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken by these threats, and the desire of some outrageous of the charge) to haue Warre, and word against *Rhodes*; the Embassadors were so affrighted, that in mourning apparell, as humble suppliants, they went about the Citie; beseeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for some foolish words. This danger of Warre from *Rome* being knowne at *Rhodes*, all that had beene any

any whit auerse from the Romans in the late Warre of Macedon, were either taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that slew themselves for feare; whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and lesse would haue done, if old *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not vttered a milde sentence, and aduertised the Senate, That in decreeing warre against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that Citie, which they were greedy to ransacke, than any iust cause, had moued them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the warres of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whom, none of any marke remained aliue, saue those that had beene of the Roman Faction. All which notwithstanding, many yeeres passed, ere by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the society of the Romans: a fauour which till now, they had not esteemed, but thought themselves better without it, as equall friends.

*Caesar in orat.
apud Calist.
conuincit. Ca-
tilinam.*

With the like, or greater seueritie, did the Romans make themselves terrible in all parts of Greece. *Aemilius* himselfe made progresse through the Countrey; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them vnderstand what power he had ouer them. More than fise hundred of the chiefe Citizens in *Demetrias* were slaine at one time by those of the Roman faction, and with help of the Roman souldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul, the redresse was such, as requited not the paines of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed vnto the Romans the liberty of their Countrey, he feasted like a king, with excessive cheere, yet so, that he had all things very cheape in his Campe: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in sending prouisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadors likewise were sent from *Rome*, some, to giue order for settling the estate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate than was vsual in such cases; and some, to visit the affaires of Greece. The kingdome of *Macedon* was set at liberty by *Aemilius* and the Embassadors, his assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the Romans vsed to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had beene payed vnto the kings, was lessened by halfe. As for the rest, the Countrey was diuided into foure parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobility were sent captiue into Italy, with their wiues and children, as many as were about fiftene yeeres old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated; and new giuen by *Aemilius*. Such mischiefe the Senate thought it better to doe, at the first alteration of things in this Prouince, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leaue any inconuenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the Greekes, that were not subiects to *Rome*; the things done to them could deserue no better name than mere tyrannie, yea, and shamelesse periury; were it not so, that the familiar custome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation seeme of no validitie. The Embassadors that were sent to visit the Greekes, called before them all such men of note, from euery quarter, as had any way disscouered an vsuericeable disposition towards the Romans. These they sent to *Rome*, where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the Romans hands: & in that respect, though they were no subiects, yet wanted there no colour, for vsing them as traytors, or at least as enemies. But since onely two men were beheaded, for hauing beene openly on the *Macedonian* side; and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriotes* were no lesse afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the king: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyrannie. With the Achæans these Embassadors were to deale more formally: not so much because that Common-wealth was strong (though this were to be regarded by them, hauing no Commission to make or denounce Warre) and like to proue vntreatable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of signe, by letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the Achæans could be suspiciously charged to haue held correspondence with the *Macedonian*. It was also so, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his adherents, had beene employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their seruice to the Romans, but onely such as were the best *Patriotes*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to vse the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for feare of *Rome*, the season serued fitly to ranke the Achæans with the rest.

And

And hereto *Callierates* was very vrgent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if some sharpe order were not now taken, he and his fellowes should be made to pay for their mischieuous denices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadours came among the Achæans: where one of them, in open assembly of the Nation, spake as *Callierates* had before instructed him. Hee said, that some of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended *Perseus*. This being so; he desired that all such men might be condemned, whom, after sentence giuen, hee would name vnto them. After sentence giuen (cried out the whole assembly) what iustice were this? Name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well doe, wee will soone condemne them. Then said the Roman boldly, that all their Prætors, as many as had led their armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, then should I likewise haue bene friend to *Perseus*: whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall throughly answer him, either here presently, or before the Senate at Rome. Vpon these words of *Xenon* the Embassadour laid hold, and said that euen so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at Rome. Then began he to name others, and left not vntill he had cited about a thousand; willing them to appeare and answer before the Senate. This might euen be tearmed the captiuitie of Greece; wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their loue vnto their Country, to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that vertue, & regard of the publike liberty, should dwell together in any of the Greeks. At their comming to Rome, they were all cast into prison, as men already condemned by the Achæans. Many Embassages were sent from Achaia (where it is to be wondered, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since honestie had been thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to informe the Senate, that these men were neither condemned by the Achæans, nor yet held to be offenders. But in stead of better answer, it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Countrey, that these men should returne into Achaia. Neither could any sollicitation of the Achæans, who neuer ceased to importune the Senate for their libertie, preuaile at all; vntill after seuentene yeeres, fewer than thirty of them were enlarged, of whom that wise and vertuous man *Polybius*, the great Historian, was one. All the rest were either dead in prison; or hauing made offer to escape, whether vpon the way before they came to Rome; or whether out of layle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done vpon the Epirots. For the Senate being desirous to preserue the Macedonian Treasure whole, yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gaue order, That the whole Country of *Epirus* should be put to sacke. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Emylius* with mischieuous subtiltie. Hauing taken leaue of the Greekes, and of the Macedonians, with bidding them well to vse the libertie bestowed vpon them by the people of Rome; hee sent vnto the Epirots for ten of the principal men out of euery Citie. These he commanded to deliuer vp all the Gold and Siluer which they had; and sent along with them, into euery of their Townes, what companies of men he thought conuenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gaue secret instruction to the Capitaines, that vpon a certaine day by him appointed, they should fall to sacke, euery one the Towne wherein he was sent. Thus in one day were threescore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the Romans, spoiled by the Roman Souldiers; and besides other acts of hostility in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thousand of that Nation made slaues. It may be granted, that some of the Epirots deserved punishment, as hauing fauoured *Perseus*. But since they, among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the Romans, had bene already sent into Italie, there to receive their due; and since this Nation, in generall, was not onely at the present in good obedience, but had euen in this warre, done good seruice to the Romans: I hold this act so wicked, that I should not beleue it, had any one Writer deliuered the contrary. But the truth being manifest by consent of all; it is the lesse marueilous, that God was pleased to make *Emylius* childelesse, euen in the glory of his triumph, how great soeuer otherwise his vertues were.

In such manner dealt the Romans, after their victory, with the Greeks and Macedonians.

ans. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad; it will appeare by the efficacy of an Embassage sent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof before we speake, we must speake somewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himselfe, and of his affaires about which these Embassadours came.

§. XI.

The warre of *Antiochus* vpon Egypt, brought to end by the Roman Embassadours.

Antiochus the Great, after his peace with the Romans, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his reigne and life. Hee died the sixe and thirtieth yeere after he had worne a Crowne, and in the seuenteenth or eighteenth of *Ptolomie Epiphane*s: while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Iustine*) of *Iupiter*. He left behinde him three sonnes, *Seleucus Philopater*, *Antiochus Epiphane*s, *Demetrius Soter*; and one daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom hee had giuen in marriage to *Ptolomie Epiphane*s, king of Egypt. *Seleucus* the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his sonnes, reigned in Syria twelue yeeres, according to *Eusebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Iosephus* giue him but seuen. A Prince, who as hee was sloathfull by nature; so the great losse which his father *Antiochus* had receiued, tooke from him the meanes of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeeres before his birth, *Daniel* gaue this iudgement, *Et stabit in loco eius vilissimus & indignus decore regio*. And in his place (speaking of *Antiochus*, the Father of this man) shall start vp a wilde person, unworthy the honour of a King. Vnder this *Seleucus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the high Priest, in these words, & other to the same effect: What time as the holy City was inhabited with all Peace, because of the godlinesse of *Onias* the Priest, it came to passe, that euen the King did honour the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Macchabees*, of *Simon* of *Beniamin*, who by *Apolonius* betrayed the Treasures of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* sent by the king to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the kings death, and of his successor *Antiochus Epiphane*s. It is therefore from the reigne of this king, that the books of the *Macchabees* take beginning. Which books seeme not to be deliuered by one and the same hand. For the first booke, although it touch vpon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his storie, nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphane*s, the brother and successor of this *Seleucus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Macchabeus* (who died in the hundred threescore and seuenteenth yeere of the Greeks in Syria) that first booke treateth. The Author of the second booke, although he take the storie somewhat further off, by way of a Proeme, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeere of the Grecian reigne, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slaine by *Judas*: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Iason* the brother of *Onias*, who after the death of *Seleucus*, preuailed with *Antiochus Epiphane*s, his successor, for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Iansenius* and other graue Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* king of the Spartans sent Embassadours to the Iewes, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence betweene them and the Greeks, *Jonathan* the brother and successor of *Judas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himselfe directed to the people of Sparta by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadours, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of Rome, repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the high Priest, whereof *Iosephus* adds, that the name of the Lacedæmonian Embassadour was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, & were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her clawes.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphane*s, in the hundred and seuen and thirtieth yeere of the Greeks in Syria. He was the second sonne of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his kingdom by procuring the death of the King his brother, which also he vsurped from his brothers sonne.

Ptolomie Philometor, his Nephew by his sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had bene about seuen yeeres King of Egypt.

*Ptolomie Epiphane*s, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in Egypt foure and twenty yeeres; in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of

Strab. lib. 16.
Iust. lib. 35.

Euseb. in chro.
App. de bell.
Syr. Ant. 12.
cap. 5.

Dan. 11. 21.

2 Mac. cap. 3.

Mac. 1. 11.
Super. Eccl. c. 5.

of Macedon, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to diuide his kingdome between them, whilest he was a childe. But they found such other businesse ere long, with the Romans, as made them giue ouer their vniust purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gaue, with his daughter in marriage, vnto this *Ptolomie*, the Prouinces of Coelosyria, Phoenice, & Iudæa, which he had won by his victory ouer *Scopas*, that was Generall of the Egyptian forces in those parts. Neuerthelesse, *Ptolomie* adhered to the Romans: whereby he liued in the greater securitie. He left behinde him two sonnes; this *Ptolomie Philometor*, and *Ptolomie Physcon*, with a daughter, *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the yonger, by whom shee was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these Egyptian Kings.

Ptolomie Philometor, so called (that is, the louer of his mother) by a bitter nickname, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subiects, & was like to be chased out of his Kingdome, his yonger brother being set vp against him. *Physcon* hauing a strong party, got possession of Alexandria; and *Philometor* held himselfe in Memphis, crauing succour of King *Antiochus* his vncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who vnder colour to take vp on him the protection of the yong Prince, sought by all means possible to possesse himselfe of that kingdome. He sent *Apollonius*, the sonne of *Mnesibemus* Embassadour into Egypt, and vnder colour to assist the kings Coronation, hee gaue him instructions to perswade the Gouvernours of the yong King *Philometor*, to deliuer the king his Nephew with the principall places of that kingdome into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephewes safety and well doing. And the better to answer all argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came hee alongst the coast of Syria to Ioppe, & from thence on the sudden he turned himselfe towards Ierusalem, where, by *Iason* the Priest (a Chaplin fit for such a Patron) he was with all pompe and solemnitie receiued into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and predecessor of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traitor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would haue deliuered the treasures thereof to *Apollonius* Gouvernour of Coelosyria and Phoenicia, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heauen; the said *Apollonius* being stricken by the Angell of God, and recouering againe at the prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrifie others from the like vngodly practices. Presently vpon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Iason*, the brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtaine the Priesthood for himselfe, offered vnto the King three hundred and threescore talents of siluer, with other rents and summes of money. So he got his desire, though he not long enioyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Iason*, and his being ouer-reached by another in the same kind, calls to minde a by-word taken vp among the Achæans, when as that mischieuous *Callicrates*, who had beene too hard for all worthy and vertuous men, was beaten at his owne weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went thus:

*One fire than other burnes more forcibly,
One wolfe than other Wolues does bite more sore;
One Hawke than other Hawkes, more swift does fly.
So one most mischieuous of men before,
Callicrates, false knaue as knaue might be,
Met with Menalcidas more false than he.*

And euen thus fell it out with *Iason*: who within three yeeres after, was betrayed, and ouerbidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Priesthood for himselfe: *Iason* thereupon being forced to flye from Ierusalem, and to hide himselfe among the Ammonites.

From Ierusalem, *Antiochus* marched into Phoenicia, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into Egypt; with which, and with a mighty army of land forces, He went about to raigne ouer Egypt, that hee might haue the dominion of two Realmes, and entred Egypt with a mighty company; with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Naue, and moued warre against *Ptolemæus* King of Egypt, but *Ptolemæus* was afraid of him, and fled, and many were wounded to death.

He won many strong Cities, and tooke away the spoyles of the Land of Egypt. Thus was fulfilled

Prophecie of *Daniel*: He shall enter into the quiet and plentifull Promises, and hee shall doe that which his Fathers haue not done, nor his Fathers Fathers. Neuer indeed had any of the Kings of Syria so great a victory ouer the Egyptians, nor tooke from them so great riches. For he gaue a notable ouerthrow to the Captaines of *Ptolomie*, betweene Pelusium and the hill *Cassius*, after which he entred, and sackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of Egypt, Alexandria excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *Antiochus* had smitten Egypt, hee turned againe, and went up towards Ierusalem with a mighty people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuary, and tooke away the golden Altar, and the Candlesticke for the lights, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the Pouring Vessels, and the Bolles, and the golden Basons, and the Vaile, and the Crownes, and the golden Apparell. He tooke also the Siluer, and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his owne Land, after he had murdered many men.

It was about the beginning of the Macedonian warre, that *Antiochus* tooke in hand this Egyptian businesse. At what time he first laid claime to Coelosyria, iustifying his title by the same allegations which his father had made; and stiffely auerring, that this Prouince had not beene consigned ouer to the Egyptian, or giuen in dowrie with *Cleopatra*. Easie it was to approue his right vnto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all Egypt. The Achæans, Rhodians, Athenians, and other of the Greeks, pressed him, by feuerall Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the Alexandrians could be contented to receiue their king his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolomies*, then should the warre be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when he saw, that it was an hard piece of worke to take Alexandria by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine war, than by the terror of his armes, threatening destruction vnto both of them, to put into them any desire of comming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the present; leauing the *Ptolomies* in very weake estate, the yonger almost ruined by his inuasion; the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

But how weake soeuer these Egyptians were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, that *Antiochus* might leaue them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leisure, his other businesse at Ierusalem or elsewhere. So after the sacke of Ierusalem, he rested him a while at Antioch, and then made a iourney into Cilicia, to suppress the Rebellion of the Thracians and other in those parts, who had bin giuen as it were, by way of dowry, to a Concubine of the kings, called *Antiochis*. For Gouvernour of Syria in his absence, he left one *Andronicus*, a man of great authority about him. In the meane while *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the same who had thrust *Iason* out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an In-come, committing the charge of the Priesthood to his brother *Lyfimachus*, stole certaine vessels of gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and sold the rest at Tyre, and other Cities adioyning. This hee did, as it seemeth, to aduance the payment of the three hundred talents promised; the same being now by *Sositratius* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Priest (formerly dispossessed by *Iason*) had certaine knowledge, being moued with zeale, and detesting the sacriledge of *Menelaus*, he reprobued him for it; and fearing his reuenge, he withdrew himselfe into a Sanctuary at Daphne.

Daphne was a place of delight adioyning as a suburb to Antioch. In compasse it had aboutten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, sweete Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a maner, abused to lust & other such voluptuousnesse. Whether it were well done of *Onias*, to commit himselfe to the protection of *Apollo* & *Diana*, or to claime priuiledge, from the holinesse of a ground consecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not stand to discourse. Onely I lay for mine owne opinion; that the inconuenience is farre lesse, to hold this booke as Apocryphall, than to iudge this fearfull shift which *Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the booke seemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not saue the life of the poore olde man: for *Menelaus* taking *Andronicus* apart, prayed him to slay *Onias*. So when hee came to *Onias*, hee counsellled him craftily, giuing him his right hand with an oath, and perswaded him to come out of the Sanctuary; so hee slew him incontinently without any regard of righteousness. Hereof

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when

when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his returne out of Cilicia, *He took away* *Antiochus* *his garment of purple, and rennis cloathes, and commanded him to be taken out the Citie; and in the same place where hee had committed the wickedesse against* *Antiochus* *he was slain as a murderer.* In taking reuenge of this innocent mans death, I should haue thought that this wicked king had once in his life-time done Iustice. But presently after this, at the suit of one *Ptolemie*, a Traytor to *Ptolemie Philometor*, hee condemned innocent men to death; who iustly complained against *Meneleus*, and his brother *Antiochus*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the vessels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his owne outrageous will, and not by any regard of iustice: since he reuenged the death of *Onias*, yet slew those that were in the same cause with *Onias*; who, had they told their cause, yea, before the *Seythians*, they should haue bene heard as innocents. By reason of such his vnkindnesse, this king was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, Mad, in stead of *Ephianes*, which signifieth Noble or Illustrious.

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a second voyage into Egypt, and then vera there scene throughout all the Citie of Ierusalem, forty dayes long, horsemen running in the ayre with robes of gold, and as bands of spearmen, and as troops of horsemen set in array, en-countring, and coursing one against another. Of these prodigious signes, or rather fore-awar-nings of God, all Histories haue deliuered vs, some more, some lesse. Before the destructi-on of Ierusalem by *Vespasian*, a star in the forme of a sword appeared in the Heauens di-rectly ouer the Citie, after which there followed a slaughter like vnto this of *Epimanes*, though farre greater. In the Cymbrian warres, *Pliny* tels vs, that Armies were seen fight-ing in the ayre from the morning till the euening.

In the time of Pope *Iohn* the eleuenth, a fountaine powred out bloud in stead of water, in or neare the Citie of Genoa; soone after which the Citie was taken by the Saracens; with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signes, *Vipera* hath collected ma-ny, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to mee most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour *Nero*, the Off-spring of the *Cæsars*, as well naturall as adopted, tooke end; whereof this notable signe gaue war-nings.

When *Livia* was first married to *Augustus*, an Eagle let fall into her armes a white Hen, holding a Lawrell branch in her mouth. *Livia* caused this Hen to be carefully nourished, and the Lawrell branch to be planted: Of the Hen came a faire encrease of white Poult-rie; and from the little Branch there sprang vp in time a Grove of Lawrell: so that after-wards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerors did vseto carry in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; & after the Triumphs ended, to set it againe in the same ground: which branches were offered, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last yeere of *Nero*, all the broods of the white Hens died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cæsars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were stricken downe with lightning. That the Iewes did not thinke such strange signes to be vnwor-thy of regard; it appears by their calling vpon God, and praying, that these tokens might turne to good.

Now as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into Egypt was mentioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning: so was his second Expedition caused by their good agree-ment. For the elder *Ptolemie* being left in Memphis, not strong enough to sette his brother, who had defended Alexandria against all the power of their Vncle, thought it the best way to seeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by perswasion than by armes. *Physcon* had not yet forgotten the terror of the former siege: the Alexandrines though they loued not *Philometor*, yet loued they worse to liue in scarcitie of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreme) since no-thing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the younger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to bee hoped for without reconciliation. These good helpe, and aboue all these, the louing disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in A-lexandria, encouraged *Philometor* in his purpose. But that which made him ear-nestly desirous to accomplish it, was the feare wherein he stood of his Vncle. For though *Antiochus* was gone out of Egypt with his armie, yet had hee left behinde him a strong garrison in Pelusium; retaining that Citie, which was the Key of Egypt, to his

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owne vse. This consideration wrought also with *Physcon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King *Philometor* his nephew, and a meaning to subiect his younger brother vnto him, which hee gaue in answer to all Embassadors, yet he now prepared to make a sharpe warre vpon them both. And to this end he presently furnished and sent out his Nauie towards Cyprus, and drew his land Armie into Coelosyria, ready to enter Egypt the Spring following. When he was on his way as farre as Rhinocorura, he met with Em-bassadors sent from *Ptolemie*. Their errand was partly to yeeld thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philometor* in his Kingdome; partly to beseech him, That hee would rather be pleased to signifie what he required to haue done in Egypt, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an Armie. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That hee would neither call backe his Fleete, nor withdraw his Armie, vpon any other condition, than that *Ptolemie* should surrender into his hands, together with the Citie of Pelusium, the whole Territorie thereto be-longing: and that he should also abandon and leaue vnto him the Ile of Cyprus, with all the right that hee had vnto either of them, for euer. For answer vnto these de-mands, hee set downe a day certaine, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the Syrian Fleete entred Nilus, and recovered as well those places which appertained to *Ptolemie* in Arabia, as in Egypt it selfe; for Memphis, and all about it, receiued *Antiochus*, being vnable to resist him. The King hauing now no stoppe in his way to Alexandria; passed on thitherwards by easie iour-neys.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein Egypt stood, the Romans had notice long agoe. But they found, or were contented to finde, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a ciuill warre: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the iust cause. Yet they gaue signification, that it would bee much displeasing vnto them, to haue the Kingdome of Egypt taken from the rightfull owners. More they could not, or would not doe; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loath to prouoke *Antiochus* too farre. Neuerthelesse, the E-gyptian kings being reconciled, and standing ioyntly in need of helpe against their Vncle, who prepared and made open warre against them both: it was to be expected, that not onely the Romans, but many of the Greeks, as being thereto obliged by notable be-nefits, should arme in defence of their Kingdome. Rome had bene sustained with food from Egypt, in the warre of *Hannibal*; when Italy lying waste, had neither corne, nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the Egyptian, had *Aratus* laide the foundation of that greatnesse, whereto the Achæans attained. And by the like helpe, had Rhodes bene defended against *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were these friendly turnes, which that bountifull house of the *Ptolemies* had done for sundry peo-ple abroad, ill followed, or seconded, by other as bad in requitall: but with continu-ance of suitable beneficence, from time to time encreased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for ayde, especially to the Rhodians and Achæans, who seemed most able to giue it effectually. To the Romans, *Physcon* and *Cleopatra* had sent, a yeere since: but their Embassadors lay still in Rome. Of the Achæans they desired in parti-cular, that *Lycortas* the braue warrior might bee sent vnto them, as Generall of all the Auxiliaries, and his sonne *Polybius*, Generall of the Horse. Hercunto the Achæans readi-ly condescended: and would immediately haue made performance, if *Callierates* had not interposed his mischieuous art. Hee, whether seeking occasion to vaunt his ob-sequiousnesse to the Romans; or much rather enuying those Noble Captaines, whose seruice the Kings desired; withstood the common voyce; which was, That their Nati-on should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, bee ayding vnto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (hee said) conuenient time to entangle themselues in any such businesse, as might make them the lesse able to yeeld vnto the Romans, what helpe fouer should be required in the Macedonian warre. And in this sentence, hee with those of his faction, obstinately persisted; terrifying others with bigg words, as it were in behalfe of the Romans. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martin*

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the late Confull had signified vnto him, that the *Romans* were past all neede of helpe: adding further, that a thousand foot, and two hundred horse, might well be spared; to the ayde of their Benefactours, the *Egyptian* Kings, without disabling their Nation to performe any seruice to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Achaens* could without trouble, raise thirre or four thousand Souldiours. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree should haue passed, he brought into the Theatre where the assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from *Martius*; whereby the *Achaens* were desired to conforme themselves to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour as the Senate had done, by sending Embassadours to set *Egypt* in peace. This was an aduice against all reason. For the Senate had indeede sent Embassadours to make peace; but as in a time of greater businesse elsewhere, with such milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the *Achaens* should doe any good in the same kinde. Yet *Polybius* and his friends, durst not gaine-say the *Roman* Councell; which had force of an iniunction. So the kings were left in much distresse, disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* overcome: and then might the Embassadour sent from the *Roman* Senate, performe as much as any Armie could haue done.

Audience had beene lately given by the Senate, vnto those Embassadours of *Physcon* and *Cleopatra*; which hauing stayed more than a whole yeere in the City, brought nothing of their businesse to effect vntill now. The Embassadors deliuered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no lesse than his Brother and Sister.

In this ambassage of *Ptolemie*, now requesting helpe from *Rome*, appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had beene before three or four yeeres last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which beganne with the *Macedonian* Warre; either he, or *Euleus*, or *Lemeus* (vpon whom the blame was afterwards layed) which had the gouernment of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not onely hee determined to set vpon *Antiochus*, for *Calesyria*: but would haue interposed himselfe betwene the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent Arbitratour; though it fell out well, that his Embassadour was by a friend perswaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subjects, to liue vnder protection of the same *Antiochus*. And now at such time as by atonement with his brother and subiects, he might haue seemed to stand in no neede of such protection, he hath remaining none other helpe whereby to saue both his Kingdome and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister, shewed it selfe, euen in the habit of those Embassadours. They were poorly clad; the haire of their heads and beardes overgrown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands, branches of Oliue. Thus they entred into the Senate; and there fell, groneling and prostrate vpon the floore. Their garments were not so meane and mournfull, nor their looks and Countenances so sadde and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other farre more lamentable. For hauing told in what danger their King and Countrey stood; they made a pittifull and grievous complaint vnto the Senate, beseeching them to haue compassion of their Estate, and of their Princes, who had alwaies remained friendly and faithfull to the *Romans*. They said that the people of *Rome* had so much heere tofore fauoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authoritie, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleased but to send their Embassadours, and let *Antiochus* know, that the Senate was offended with his vnder-taking vpon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and with-draw his Armie out of *Egypt*, into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or vsed any delay; then should *Ptolemie* and *Cleopatra*, be shortly driuen out of their Realmes, and make repaire to *Rome*, with shamefull dishonour to the Senate, and people thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieue them.

The Lords of the Senate moued with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lennus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadors to determine and end the warre betwene those Kings. In commission they had first to finde King *Ptolemie*, and then *Antiochus*, and to

to let them both vnderstand, that vnlesse they surrendred, and gaue over Armes, they would take that King, not more for a friend to the Senate, and people of *Rome*, whom they found obstinate, or vnsing delay. So these *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrian* Embassadors, tooke their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest *Popilius* and his fellows were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his Armie ouer *Lusine*, some fortie myles from *Alexandria*. So neere was he to the end of his iourney, when the *Roman* Embassadors met him. After greeting and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Roll of paper; willing him to reade those Mandates of the Senate, before he did any thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and hauing a little while considered of the businesse, he told *Popilius*: That hee would aduise with his friends, and then giue the Embassadours their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rodde which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moued out of that Circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a Commandement, after hee had stayed and pawed a while, I will be content (quoth hee) to doe whatsoeuer the Senate shall ordaine. Then *Popilius* gaue vnto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without any good issue of his costly Expedition; euen in such manner as *Daniel* had prophesied long before: yea, fulfilling euery particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to *Ierusalem* after his returne; like as if these things had rather beene historified than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embassadors, they stayed awhile, and settled the kingdome of *Egypt*, leaving it vnto the elder brother, and appointed the yonger to reigne ouer *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they felt, as it had beene, in the power of the *Egyptian*, hauing first sent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had already giuen an ouerthrow to the *Egyptian* ships.

Dan. cap. 11.
2. 29-30. &c.

Polyb. Leg. 72.

S. XII.

How the *Romans* were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards *Eumenes*, *Rustias*, *Maianissa*, and *Corys*. The end of *Perseus* and his children. The instabillity of Kings Estates. The Triumphs of *Paulus*, *Anicius*, and *Octavius*, with the Conclusion of the warke.

BY this peremptorie demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; wee may perceiue how terrible the *Romans* were growne, through their conquest of *Macedonia*. The same *Popilius* had beene well contented, a yeere before this, to lay aside the roughnesse of his naturall condition, and to giue good language to the *Achaens* and *Stolidians*, when hee went Embassadour to those people of *Greece*, that were of farre lesse power than the King of *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadours which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much lesse vsed any menacing termes, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes sent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victory ouer *Perseus*, and to craue helpe or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallo-greekes*, which molested him. Very welcom was *Attalus*, and louingly entertained by most of the Senators: who bade him be confident, and request of the Senate his brother's Kingdome for himselfe; for it should surely be giuen him. These hopefull promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that hee either approued, or seemed to approue the motion. But his honest nature was soone reclaimer by the faithfull counsaile of *Stratus* a Physician; whom *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keepe his brother vp-right. So, when hee came into the Senate, hee deliuered the errand about which hee had beene sent; recounting his owne seruices done to the *Romans* in the last Warre, where withall hee forgot not to make of his brother as good mention as hee could: and finally requested, That the Townes of *Achaia* and *Adramyttion* might be bestowed

Lib. 45.

Polyb. Legat.
93.

Polyb. ibid.

bestowed vpon himselfe. *By his omitting to sue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceiued opinion, that he meant to craue another day of audience for that businesse alone. Wherefore to make him vnderstand how gracious hee was, they not onely granted all his desire; but in the presents which they gaue vnto him (as was their custome to Embassadors that came with an acceptable message) they vsed singular magnificence. Neuertheless, *Assalus* tooke no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilst he was yet in *Italie*, they gaue order for the liberty of *Annus* and *Maronia*: thereby making vnesseuall their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, reuoke. And as for the *Gallo-greekes*, which were about to inuade the kingdome of *Perga* 20 *mus*; they sent Embassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest; *Eumenes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. He might well blame the folly of his second voyage thither, for this necessity of the third: since, by his malice to *Persens*, hee had layed open vnto these ambitious Potentates the way to his owne doores. No sooner was he come into *Italie*, than the Senate was ready to send him going. It was not thought expedient to vse him as an enemy, that came to visit them in loue: neither could they, in so doing, haue auoided the note of singular inconstancy: and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no king should 20 be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof sent him home, without expence of much further complement.

Prusias king of *Bitbynia* had bene at *Rome* somewhat before; where hee was well-commended after a better fashion. Hee had learned to behaue himselfe as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For entering into the Senate, hee lay downe, and kissed the threshold, called the *Fathers* his gods and sauours: as also hee vsed to weare a Cap, after the manner of slaues newly manumised, professing himselfe an enfranchised bondman of the People of *Rome*. Hee was indeede naturally a slaue, and one that by such abiect flattery kept himselfe safe; though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith *Persens* had bene charged. His errand was, besides matter of comple- 30 ment, to commend vnto the Senate the care of his sonne *Nicomedes*, whom hee brought with him to *Rome*, there to receiue education. Further petition hee made, to haue some Townes added to his Kingdome: whereto, because the grant would haue bene vniust, hee receiued a cold answer. But concerning the Wardshippe of his sonne, it was vnderaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider, what effectuall protection the *Romans* gaue vnto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But about all other Kings, *Masanissa* held his credit with the *Romans* good. His quarrels were endlesse with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendship of the *Romans* to 40 him the more assured. In all controuersies they gaue iudgement on his side: and whereas he had inuaded the Countrey of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but vnable to winne the Townes; the *Romans* (though at first they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let goe all their hold, and to pay siue hundred Talents to the *Numidian*, for hauing hindered him of his due so long. Now indeede had *Rome* good leysure to deuise vpon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Masanissa* himselfe was shortly by them rooted vp. But heereof the olde King neuer dreamed. He sent to *Rome* one of his sonnes, to congratulate the victorie ouer *Persens*; and offered to come thither himselfe, there to sacrifice for ioy vnto *Iupiter* in the *Capitol*. His 50 good will was louingly accepted; his sonne rewarded; and hee entreated to stay at *Rome*.

Corys the *Thracian* sent Embassadors, to excuse himselfe touching the aide by him, giuen to *Persens*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hostages, and to entreat, That his sonne, which was taken with the children of *Persens*, might be set at libertie, for conuenient ransom. His excuse was not taken; since hee had voluntarily obliged himselfe to *Persens*, by giuing hostages, without necessitie: Yet was his sonne giuen backe to him ransom-free; with admonition, to carry himselfe better toward the

Romans

Romans in time following. His Kingdome lay betwene *Macedon* and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in faire tearmes.

As for those vnhappy kings, *Persens* and *Gentius*, they were led through *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Emylius* and *Anicius*. *Persens* had often made suite to *Emylius*, that he might not be put to such disgrace: but hee still receiued one scornfull answer, That it lay in his owne power to preuent it; whereby was meant; that he might kill himselfe. And surely, had hee not hoped for greater mercie than he found, he would rather haue sought his death in *Macedon*, than haue bin beholding to the courtesie of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the *Roman* clemencie, 10 whereof *Emylius* had giuen him hope, was no better than this: After that hee, and his fellow king, had bene led in chaines through the streets, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot vp towards the *Capitol*, there to doe sacrifice, he should command the captiues to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honor of the Vanquisher, and miserie of those that were ouercome, might be both together at the vtmost. This last sentence of death was remitted vnto *Persens*: yet so, that he had little ioy of his life; but eyther famished himselfe, or (for it is diuersly reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custodie; and so died for want of sleepe. Of his sons, two died; it is vncertaine 20 how. The yongest called *Alexander* (only in name like vnto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his father, vnto the fortunes of the Great) became a loyner, or Turner, or, at his best preferment, a Scribe vnder the *Roman* Officers. In such pouertie ended the Royall House of *Macedon*: and it ended on the suddaine; though some eight-score yeeres after the death of that Monarch, vnto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If *Persens* had known it before, that his owne sonne should one day be compelled to eame his liuing by handie-works, in a painfull Occupation; it is like, that he would not as in a wantonnesse of Soueraignete, haue commanded those poore men to be slaine, which had recouered his treasures out of the sea, by their skill in the feat of diuing. Hee 30 would rather haue bene very gentle, and would haue considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most vnderroden wretches, are all subiect vnto the One high Power, gouerning all alike with absolute command. But such is our unhappinesse; in stead of that blessed counsaile, *Do as ye would be done vnto*, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicitie; we entertaine that arrogant thought, *I will bee like to the most High*: that is, I will doe what shall please my selfe. One hath said truly:

—vv— *Et qui nolumus occidere quemquam
Pesse volumus—*

*Euen they that haue no murders will,
would haue it in their power to kill.*

40 All, or the most, haue a vaine desire of abilitie to do euill without controule: which is a dangerous temptation vnto the performance. God, who best can iudge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few: among whom also, very few there are, that vse it not to their owne hurt. For who sees not, that a Prince, by racking his Soueraigne authoritie to the vtmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his owne person) some one of his owne sonnes or nephewes to root vp all his progenie? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other heereenesse in blood, be driuen to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that gouernes one, the most vn- 50 worthy of his whole house, yet reigning ouer all? The vntimely death of many Princes which could not humble themselves to such flattery; and the common practice of the *Turkish* Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes hereof. Heereunto may be added, That the heyre of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traiterously and barbarously King *Edward* the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*: which had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortall enemy, to exercise the same vpon the Line of that unhappie King. Such examples of the instabilitie whereto all mortall affaires are subiect,

Tucul. Sat.
10.

* The true
Law of free
Monarchies.

chap. 3. §. 4.

subject, as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitorie Gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize, by wicked precedents, the quill that may fall on their owne posteritie: so do they necessarily make vs vnderstand, how happy that Countrey is, which hath obtained a King able to conceiue and teach, That * *God is the forest and sharpest Schoolemaster that can be devised, for such Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without contemplation to turne it upside-downe at their pleasure.*

Now concerning the Triumph of *L. Amylius Paulus*; it was in all points like vnto that of *T. Quintus Flaminius*: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne person, that was ledde along therein, as part of his owne spoyle; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Bootie. So great was the quantitie of Gold and Silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasurie, that from thence forth, vntill the ciuill Wars which followed vpon the death of *Julius Caesar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it selfe with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to haue bin hindered by the souldiers, who grudged at their General, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Ringers of the Senate ouer-ruled the People and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reason by seuer exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enioyed as much honour of his victorie as men could giue. Neuerthelesse, it pleased *God* to take away from him his two remaining sons, that were not given in adoption: of which, the one died five daies before the Triumph; the other three daies after it. This losse he bore wisely: and told the People, That he hoped to see the Common-wealth flourish in a continuance of prosperitie; since the ioy of his victorie was requited with his owne priuate calamitie, in stead of the publike.

About the same time, *Othavius* the Admirall, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace*; and *Anicius* the Prætor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* prisoner; made their seuerall triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles, together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings, either visiting the Imperiall Citie, or offering to visit her, and doe their duties in person; were enow to say vnto *Rome*, *Sume superbiâ, Take upon thee the Maiestie, that thy deserts haue purchased.*

BY this which we haue already set downe, is scene the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectours thought, that they could neuer haue ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We haue left it flourishing in the middle of the field, hauing rooted vp, or cut downe, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the stormes of ambition shall beat her great boughes and branches one against another; her leaues shall fall off, her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now these great Kings, & conquering Nations, haue bin the subject of those ancient Histories, which haue bin preferred, and yet remaine among vs; and withall of so many tragicall Poets, as in the persons of powerfull Princes, and other mighty men haue complained against Infidelitie, Time, Destinie, and most of all against the Variable successe of worldly things, and Instabilitie of Fortune. To these vndertakings, these great Lords of the world haue bene stirred vp, rather by the desire of Fame, which ploweth vp the Aire, and soweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation and so many cares. And that this is true, the good aduice of *Cineas* to *Pyrhus* proues. And certainly, as Fame hath often bene dangerous to the liuing, so is it to the dead of no vse at all; because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extreame ill bargaine of buying this lasting discourse, vnderstood by them which are dissolved; they themselves would then rather haue wished, to haue stolen out of the world without noyse, than to be put in minde, that they haue purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression, and cruelty: by giuing in spoyle the innocent and labouring soule to the idle and insolent, and by hauing emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them againe with so many and so variable sort of sorrowes.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatness nor continuance) there hath bene no State fearefull in the East, but that of

of the Turk; nor in the West any Prince that hath spread his wings farre ouer his nest, but the Spaniard; who since the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the Moores out of *Granado*, haue made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all Europe. And it is true, that by the treasures of both Indies, & by the many kingdoms which they possesse in Europe, they are at this day the most powerfull. But as the Turke is now counterpoysed by the Persian, so in stead of so many Millions as haue bene spent by the English, French, and Netherlands in a defensiu Warre, and in diuersions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two yeeres, or three at the most, they may not only be perswaded to liue in peace, but all their swelling and ouer-flowing streames may be brought backe into their naturall channels & old bankes. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, & to be regarded; the one seeking to roote out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof; the one to ioine all Europe to Asia, the other thereof of all Europe to Spaine.

For the rest, if we seeke a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundlesse ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath bene already said; That the Kings and Princes of the world haue alwaies laid before them, the actions, but not the ends of those great Ones which preceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glorie of the one, but they neuer minde the miserie of the other, till they finde the experience in themselves. They neglect the aduice of *God*, while they enioy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsell of Death, vpon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word; which *God* with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is beleueed; *God*, which hath made him, and loues him, is alwaies deferred. *I haue considered (saith Salomon) all the works that are vnder the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie, and vexation of spirit*: but who beleuees it, till Death tells it vs? It was Death, which opening the conscience of *Charles* the first, made him enioyne his sonne *Philip* to restore *Nauarre*; and King *Francis* the first of France, to command that iustice should be done vpon the Murderers of the Protestants in *Merindol* and *Cabrières*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but Abiects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent, yea, euen to hate their forepassed happiness. He takes the account of the rich, and proues him a begger; a naked begger, which hath interest in nothing, but in the grauell that fills his mouth. He holds a Glasse before the eyes of the most beautifull, and makes them see therein, their deformitie and rottennesse; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, iust, and mighty Death! whom none could aduise, thou hast perswaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawne together all the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and couered it all ouer with these two narrow words, *Hic is ceter.*

Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calls it selfe, *The first part of the General Historie of the world*, implying a Second and Third Volume; which I also intended, and haue hewne out; besides many other discouragements, perswading my silence; it hath pleased *God* to take that glorious Prince out of the world,

to whom they were directed; whose vnspokeable and neuer enough lamented losse, hath taught me to say
with *Iob*, *Verba est in Lucrum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium.*

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FINIS.

To the Reader



The use of Chronologically Tables needfull, to wit: For those, that reach to any length of time; and those of all, to wit: that are most generally used, since the birth of the world; yearly set down, in a convenient and coherent. This here following, may serve to an end, to wit: the present Part of this work, pointing out the several dynasties, that having fallen out at the time, are yet to be discovered in the Relation. Certainly it is not possible, whether we think, that any can be. For how could the pieces of the first Patriarch's year, seeme to have bene well where each pleat, yet in the times of the Kings of Judah and Israel, was made many Nations, and the last year of years, of one King reckoned up to the next, and so on. This sume is most likely to have fallen out in many other dynasties, but for the sake of the Reader, I have added the same, and amperly set down the years, which were in the same sume, and

into the winter, and so breaking the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small piece of trouble, to think of so many, and so many, and so many, as have already been written, what may probably be held for true. All this, and a great deal more, is to be alleged, because of such error, as a more intence and perfect Calculations shall happen to find hereafter. I may serve to free the Booke, and likewise the Reader (if but of meane judgement) from any notorious Anachronicisme; which ought to suffice. The Booke indeed will need it, even in that regard, not only for some errors of the presse, in the numbering of yeeres, but for some halfe mistakes of mine owne; which I desire to have heereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table shall not want carefull diligence. The Reader, if hee be not offended with the rest, shall finde reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his owne ease.

The Titles over the Columns, have reference to that which followes under them; as will readily be conceived. Where two Titles or more, are over the head, as ^{Rome} Nabonassar there doe the numbers underneath answer proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example: The walls of Jerusalem were finished in the 319. yeere from the building of Rome, and in the 314. from Nabonassar. In like manner it is to be understood, That Ichosaphat beganne his reigne in the 3774. of the Julian Aera, in the 3092. of the world, and in the 99. yeere of the Temple. This needs not more illustration; nor indeed so much to those that are acquainted with workes of this kinde. To avoid prolixitie, I have forborne to insert those yeeres, which I finde not signed with some regardable accident: as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings Reigne; some change of Government; some Battaille fought; or the like. So, of the 3. yeeres wherein Syllius Capetus reigned over the Latines, I note onely the first, that is, omitting all betweene the 4. of Ichosaphat, wherein Capetus began, unto the 17. wherein Syllius Auentinus succeded, and wherein Ichoram first reigned with Ichosaphat his father. For I thought it vaine to have filled up a page with 12. lines of idle cyphers, numbring forth 2. 3. 4. 5. and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of Auentinus, and the 17. of Ichosaphat. In setting downe the Kings, there is noted over the head of every one what place hee held in order of succession: as whether he were the first, second, fift, sixteenth, or so forth, in rank, of those that reigned in his Country, without notable interruption: Before the name is the first yeere of his reigne; as the end, or foot of the name (as the space gives leave) is the whole number of yeeres in which he reigned, in the spaces following under yeeres of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the yeere of any remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name, there it is to be understood, that the same yeere belonged, not onely to the King then beginning, but unto some one, or more, of his fore-goes: as the first yeere of Ichoram King of Israel was the same with the second of his brother Ahaziah, and the 22. of his father Ahab. So, where two or three names are found in one space; as in the 3077. yeere of the world, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri: it is meant that every one of them reigned in some part of the same yeere, which is reckoned the second of Ela, and the first of Omri. Particularly, under the yeeres of the Egyptian Kings are set downe the yeeres of those Dynasties, which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise, other whiles, the day, the month upon which Nabonassars yeere began, which, how it varied from other yeeres, may be found in the place last above cited.

Concerning the Aera, or account of yeeres, from Iphitus, who began the Olympiads, from Rome built, from Nabonassar, and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath been said, where due place was, in the Booke it selfe: so as it remaineth only to note, that under the title of Olympiads is set downe first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the yeere of that Olympiad: as that Cytus began his reigne in Persia, in the 55. Olympiad, and the first yeere thereof.

Now, for that the yeeres of the World, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of Nabonassar, and other, had not beginning in one month, but some of them in March, some in Aprill, some about Midsummer, and some at other times: the better to expresse their severall beginnings, some painefull Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their severall Columns; opposing part of the one yeere to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart with one straight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I spared, as more trouble some than usefull; since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and

Sec lib 2. chap. 3. 5. 6.

To the Reader,

Since the learned might well be without it. It will only be needfull to observe, that how former the Aera of the Olympiads be 34 yeeres elder than that of Rome, and 29. than that of Nabonassar, yet the reigne of someking may have begun at such a time of the yeere as did not come with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will easily finde my meaning: the vulgar will not finde the difficultie. One familiar example may explain all. *Queen Elizabeth* began her reigne the 27. of November, in the yeere of our Lord, 1558. She was crowned, held a Parliament, brake it up, new donne Images, and reformed many things in Religion; all in her first yeere: yet not all in that yeere 1558. but the greater part in the yeere following; whether we begin with the first of January, or with the 25. of March. The like may be assembles found in this Table; but so, as the difference is never of a whole yeere.

The Julian Period, which I have placed, as the greater number, over the years of the World, was delivered by that honorable and excellently learned Ioseph Scaliger: being accommodated to the Julian years, now in use among vs. It consisteth of 7980. yeeres, which result from the multiplication of 19, 28, and 15. that is, of the Cycle of the Moons, the Cycle of the Sun, and the yeeres of an Indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present years; or if no fraction remains it shewes the last yeere of that Cycle to be current. For example: in the 4498. of this period, when we fought the great battell of Cannæ, the Prime or Golden number was 14, the Cycle of the Sun 18, and consequently the Dominical letter F, as may be found by dividing the same number of the Julian Period 4498. by 19. for the Prime, by 28. for the Cycle of the Sunne. This Julian Period, after the present account, alwaies exceeds the yeeres of the World by 681. Besides the former style, and other theses redounding, it is a better Character of a yeere, than any other Era (as, From the beginning of the World, From the Flood, From Troy taken, or the like) which are of more uncertain position.

Adore I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explanation of these Tables. Neither was there much requisite to such as are conversant in works of this kinde: is sufficient if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Yeeres of the Iulian Period, VVorld, Patriarchs,&c.

[illegible]

○

Julian

| | Julian.
World.
promise | Sem. | Salab. | Heber. | Abra-
ham. | Affia. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | |
|--|------------------------------|------|--------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | 2781
2099
16 | 541 | 406 | 376 | 91 | 1. Ari-
ms, 30 | 91 | 22 | |
| 11. And when Abraham was 100 years old com-
plete, 101. current. | 2791
2109
26 | 551 | 416 | 386 | 101 | 11 | 101 | 32 | 1. Isaac
180 |
| The last year of Salab. | 2808
2126
43 | 568 | 433 | 403 | 118 | 28 | 118 | 49 | 18 |
| | 2811
2129
46 | 571 | | 406 | 121 | 1. Ara-
lius, 40 | 121 | 52 | 21 |
| | 2812
2130
47 | 572 | | 407 | 122 | 2 | 122 | 1. E-
gir, 34 | 22 |
| Sarah the wife of Abraham died this year. | 2827
2145
62 | 587 | | 422 | 137 | 17 | 137 | 16 | 37 |
| Isaac took Rebecca to wife, when he was 40 years
old complete. | 2831
2149
66 | 591 | | 426 | 141 | 21 | 141 | 20 | 41 |
| The last year of Sem. | 2840
2158
75 | 600 | | 435 | 150 | 30 | 150 | 29 | 50 |
| | 2846
2164
81 | | Heber. | Abra-
ham. | Isaac. | Iacob. | Affria | Egypt | Sicyon. Ar-
gines. |
| | 2851
2169
86 | 446 | 161 | 61 | 1. Iacob
147 | 1. Ba-
lene 30 | 161 | 6 | 1. Ina-
chus 50 |
| Abraham died this year. | 2865
2183
100 | 460 | 175 | 75 | 15 | 15 | 175 | 20 | 15 |
| Heber died this year. | 2869
2187
104 | 464 | | 79 | 19 | 19 | 179 | 24 | 19 |
| The 17. Dynasty, called of the Shepherds, begin-
ning this year, lasted 103. years. | 2881
2199
116 | | | 91 | 31 | 9 Arma-
mit vel, 38 | 191 | 36 | 31 |
| | 2891
2209
126 | | | 101 | 41 | 11 | 201 | 1. Lencip-
pus, 53 | 41 |
| | 2901
2219
136 | | | 111 | 51 | 21 | 211 | 11 | 1. Phra-
neus, 60 |
| The Flood of Ogyges, a thousand and twenty years
before the Olympiads. | 2919
2237
154 | | | 129 | 69 | 1. Be-
one Prof-
cus, 35 | 229 | 29 | 19 |
| | 2941
2260
177 | | | 152 | 92 | 24 | 252 | 52 | 42 |
| | 2944
2262
179 | | | 154 | 94 | 26 | 254 | 1. Adoffa-
bus, 47 | 44 |
| See L. 2. c. 3. §. 6. | 2952
2270
187 | | | 162 | 102 | 34 | 1. Typhon, and af-
ter him Hercu-
72 | 9 | 52 |
| | 2954
2272
189 | | | 164 | 104 | 1. Balch-
us, 52 | 3 | 11 | 54 |

| | Julian.
World.
promise | | Isaac. | Iacob. | Affyria | Egypt | Sicyon. | Argines. | |
|--|------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|---------|-------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----|
| Joseph sold into Egypt. | 2959
2277
194 | | 159 | 109 | 6 | 1. Orus,
9. 115. | 16 | 59 | 18 |
| | 2961
2279
196 | | 171 | 111 | 8 | 3
81 | 18 | 1. 3
Apr. 35 | 20 |
| The last years of Isaac. | 2970
2288
205 | | 180 | 120 | 17 | 12
90 | 27 | 10 | 29 |
| Israel into Egypt. | 2980
2298
215 | | | 130 | 27 | 22
100 | 37 | 20 | 39 |
| The eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 348.
years. | 2984
2302
219 | | | 134 | 31 | 26
1 | 41 | 24 | 43 |
| | 2991
2309
226 | | | 141 | 38 | 33
8 | 1. Para
tus. 46 | 31 | 50 |
| | 2996
2314
231 | | | 146 | 43 | 38
13 | 6 | 1. 4
Argus. | 55 |
| Iacob dyes in Egypt. | 2997
2315
232 | | | 147 | 44 | 39
14 | 7 | 2 | |
| | Julian.
World.
promise | Joseph. | Affyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Argines. | | | |
| | 3006
2324
241 | 65 | 12
1. A'rhaz, 32 | 48
23 | 16 | 11 | | | |
| | 3037
2355
272 | 96 | 32
1. Plem-
neus, 18. | 79
54 | 11 | 42 | | | |
| | 3038
2356
273 | 97 | 13
1. Mamitus 30 | 80
55 | 2 | 43 | | | |
| The last years of Joseph. | 3051
2369
286 | 110 | 14 | 93
68 | 15 | 56 | | | |
| | 3066
2384
301 | | 29 | 108
83 | 30 | 1. Pirafus, or
Criasus, 54 | | | |
| | 3068
2386
303 | | 14
1. Mancelens, 30 | 110
85 | 32 | 3 | | | |
| | 3074
2392
309 | | 7
1. Sefostris the
Great, 33 | 112
91 | 38 | 9 | | | |
| | 3085
2403
320 | | 18
1. Orto-
polis 63 | 112
102 | 11 | 20 | | | |
| | 3098
2416
333 | | 15
1. Spharces or
Iphareus, 20. | 115
115 | 14 | 33 | | | |
| | 3107
2425
342 | | 10
1. Sefostris the
second, 14 | 117
114 | 23 | 42 | | | |
| | 3116
2434
351 | 1. Me-
ses, 120 | 10
133 | 10
133 | 32 | 51 | | | |

| | Julian.
World.
Exodus | Moses. | Assyria. | Egypt | Sicyon. | Arginos | | |
|--|-----------------------------|--------|--------------------------------------|--|----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| | 3118
2436
353 | 3 | 16
1. Mamilas, or
Mamelous, 30 | 12
135 | 34 | 53 | | |
| | 3120
2438
355 | 5 | 3 | 14
137 | 36 | 6
1. Phorbas, 35. | | |
| | 3121
2439
356 | 6 | 4 | 8
1. Orns 2. or
Bafiris, 8, 138. | 37 | 2 | Arbe-
nians. | |
| | 3148
2466
383 | 33 | 17
1. Sparatus, 40 | 28
165 | 13
1. Mira-
bius, 50 | 29 | | |
| | 3151
2469
386 | 36 | 4 | 31
168 | 4 | 32 | 1
1. Ce-
cras, 50 | |
| Moses visits his brethren the Israelites, kills an Egyptian, and flees into Midian. | 3155
2473
390 | 40 | 8 | 35
172 | 8 | 7
1. Tripas, 46 | 5 | |
| | 3159
2477
394 | 44 | 12 | 9
1. Thermutis, or
Acencheres, 20
1, 176. | 12 | 5 | 9 | |
| | 3171
2489
406 | 56 | 24 | 10
1. Rathiris, or
Achoris, 188 | 24 | 17 | 21 | |
| | 3178
2496
413 | 63 | 31 | 8
195 | 14
1. Mar-
tius, 10. | 24 | 28 | |
| | 3180
2498
415 | 65 | 33 | 11
1. Chencres, 16
127 | 3 | 26 | 30 | |
| | 3188
2506
423 | 73 | 18
1. Alcasades,
40 | 9
205 | 11 | 34 | 38 | |
| Moses his wandering into Egypt. | 3195
2513
430 | 80 | 8 | 16
212 | 18 | 41 | 45 | |
| | 3196
2514
431 | 81 | 9 | 12
1. Acherris, 8.
213 | 19 | 42 | 46 | |
| The Passover. Israel delivered out of Egypt. Pharaoh drowned. The Law given. The first of the 480 years from Exodus to the building of the Temple. | 3198
2516
433 | 83 | 11 | 3
215 | 15
1. Ech-
rens, 55 | 44 | 48 | |
| The Flood of Deucalion, and conflagration of Phaeton about this time. | 3201
2519
436 | 86 | 14 | 6
218 | 4 | 8
1. Crotus, 21 | 51 | |
| | 3202
2522
439 | 89 | 17 | 13
1. Cherres, 15.
221 | 7 | 4 | 4 | |
| | 3211
2529
448 | 96 | 24 | 8
228 | 14 | 11 | 3
1. Ampli-
trion, 11 | |
| | 3219
2537
456 | 104 | 32 | 14
1. Armenis, or
Dananis, 236 | 22 | 19 | 9 | |
| | 3222
2540
459 | 107 | 35 | 4
239 | 25 | 9
1. Sibomus, 11 | 12 | |

| | Julian.
World.
Exodus | Moses. | Assyria | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Argos. | Athens | |
|---|-----------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | 3223
2541
468 | 108 | 36 | 5
240 | 26 | 2 | 4
1. Eri-
bonius, 50 | |
| | 3224
2542
469 | 109 | 37 | 15
1. Rameffes, 68
241 | 27 | 3 | 2 | Troy |
| | 3228
2546
473 | 113 | 19
1. Amyntas, 4. | 5
245 | 31 | 7 | 6 | |
| | 3229
2547
474 | 114 | 2 | 6
246 | 32 | 8 | 7 | 1. Darda-
nius, 6 |
| | 3233
2551
478 | 118 | 6 | 10
250 | 36 | 10
1. Danais, 50. | 11 | 5 |
| The last years of Moses. | 3235
2553
480 | 120 | 8 | 12
252 | 38 | 3 | 13 | 7 |
| | 3236
2554
481 | 121 | 9 | 13
253 | 39 | 4 | 14 | 8 |
| The Israelites enter the Land of Promise. | 3253
2571
498 | 18 | 26 | 30
270 | 16
1. Co-
rax, 30 | 21 | 31 | 25 |
| | 3254
2572
499 | 19 | 27 | 31
271 | 2 | 22 | 32 | 26 |
| | 3273
2591
518 | 20 | 20
1. Belochus the
second, 25 | 50
290 | 21 | 41 | 5
1. Pan-
dion, 40 | 45 |
| | 3283
2601
528 | 30 | 11 | 60
300 | 17
1. Epe-
rens, 35 | 11 | 11 | 55 |
| | 3292
2610
537 | 39 | 20 | 16
1. Menophis, 40
309 | 10 | 10 | 20 | 64 |
| | 3293
2611
538 | 40 | 21 | 2
310 | 11 | 11 | 21 | 2
1. Eri-
bonius, 46. |
| | 3294
2612
539 | 41 | 22 | 3
311 | 12 | 12 | 22 | 3 |
| | 3298
2616
543 | 5 | 21
1. Belopares, 30 | 7 | 16 | 16 | 26 | 6 |
| | 3313
2631
558 | 30 | 16 | 22
330 | 31 | 31 | 6
1. Eri-
bonius, 50 | 21 |
| | 3318
2636
563 | 35 | 21 | 27
335 | 18
1. Lame-
don, 40 | 36 | 6 | 26 |
| | 3324
2642
569 | 31 | 27 | 33
341 | 7 | 13
1. Abbas, 2. | 12 | 32 |
| | 3328
2646
573 | 35 | 22
1. Lamprides
32 | 37
345 | 11 | 5 | 16 | 36 |

| | Julian,
World,
Exodus | Israel. | Affria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Myce-
nae. | Atheni. | Troy. | |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| | 3502
2820
307 | 9
1. Ieph
1a, 6 | | 10
171 | 6 | 56 | 23 | 13 | |
| | 3508
2826
313 | 10
1. Ib.
can. 7 | 8 | 16
177 | 12 | 62 | 29 | 19 | |
| | 3510
2828
315 | 3 | 10 | 18
179 | 14 | 64 | 11
1. Mue
the 24 | 21 | |
| | 3512
2830
317 | 5 | 12 | 20
181 | 16 | 1. Aga-
memnon,
18 | 3 | 23 | |
| | 3515
2833
320 | 11
1. Elom,
10 | 15 | 23
184 | 19 | 4 | 6 | 26 | |
| The warre of Troy began this yeare. | 3519
2837
324 | 5 | 19 | 21
1. Timoris, 7
188 | 23 | 8 | 10 | 30 | |
| | 3525
2843
330 | 12
1. Ab-
don. 8 | 25 | 7
194 | 29 | 14 | 16 | 36 | |
| The 20. Dynastie, called of the Diopolitani, began
this yeare in Egypt, and lasted 178. yeares, See lib. 2.
c. 26. s. 4. | 3526
2844
331 | 2 | 26 | 20
1. Dynastie,
178 | 30 | 15 | 17 | 37 | |
| | 3528
2846
333 | 4 | 28 | 3 | 25
1. Pelaf-
ma 20. | 17 | 19 | 39 | |
| Troy taken 408. yeares, before the beginning of the
Olympiads. See lib. 2. c. 14. s. 1. | 3529
2847
334 | 5 | 29 | 4 | 2 | 18 | 20 | 40 Troy taken | |
| | Julian,
World,
Exodus | From
Troy
taken. | Israel. | Affria | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Myce-
nae. | Atheni. | The Kingdom
of the Latins |
| | 3530
2848
335 | 1 | 6 | 30 | 5 | 3 | 1. Aegy-
libu, 6 | 21 | |
| | 3533
2851
338 | 4 | 13
1. Sampson, 20. | 29
1. Tem-
pens 40 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 24 | 1. Encas, |
| | 3534
2852
339 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 11
1. Demo-
phan, 33 | 2 |
| | 3536
2854
341 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 9 | 1. Ore-
thes, 70 | 3 | 1. Ascanius, |
| | 3548
2866
353 | 19 | 16 | 16 | 23 | 26
1. Zeucip-
pus, 31 | 13 | 15 | 13 |
| | 3553
2871
358 | 2 | 14
1. Eli, 40 | 21 | 28 | 6 | 18 | 20 | 18 |
| | 3567
2885
372 | 38 | 15 | 35 | 42 | 20 | 32 | 13
1. Oxin-
tes, 12 | 32 |
| | 3573
2891
378 | 44 | 21 | 30
1. Thy-
meus 30 | 48 | 26 | 38 | 7 | 38 |
| | 3574
2892
379 | 45 | 22 | 2 | 49 | 27 | 39 | 8 | 3
1. Syl. Pof-
mon, |

| | Julian, World, Exodus | From Troy taken. | Israel | Affria | Egypt | Sicyon | Myce-nae | Atheni | The Kingdom of the Latines |
|--|-----------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| The Sicyonian Kings ended in Zenippus. | 3579
2897
384 | 50 | 47 | 7 | 54 | 32 | 44 | 14
1. Aphs-
lau, 1. | 6 |
| | 3580
2898
385 | 51 | 48 | 8 | 55 | | 45 | 15
1. Ili-
tes, 8. | 7 |
| | 3588
2906
393 | 59 | 36 | 16 | 63 | | 53 | 16
1. Melan-
thus 37. | 15 |
| | 3593
2911
398 | 64 | 1. Samuel, & af-
ter him Saul, 40. | 21 | 68 | | 58 | 6 | 20 |
| | 3603
2921
408 | 74 | 11 | 1. David, 40 | 78 | | 68 | 16 | 4
1. Syllius & E-
neus, 31. |
| | 3606
2924
411 | 77 | 14 | 4 | 81 | | 1. Irfame-
nus, 2 | 19 | 4 |
| Heracleus of the Heraclidae into Peloponnesus, gave end to the line of Mycena, and beginning to the Kingdom of Spar-
tans, and Messene, the Kings whereof I forbear to insert here. | 3609
2927
414 | 80 | 17 | 7 | 84 | | | 22 | 7 |
| | 3625
2943
430 | 96 | 33 | 23 | 100 | | | 17
1. Co-
drus, 21 | 23 |
| | Julian, World, Exodus | From Troy taken. | Israel | Affria | Egypt | Atheni | Latines | | |
| | 3633
2951
438 | | 104 | 1. David, 40. | 31 | 108 | 9 | 31 | |
| | 3634
2952
439 | | 105 | 1 | 32 | 109 | 10 | 5
1. Syl.
Lattius, 50 | |
| | 3643
2961
448 | | 114 | 11 | 1. Eupa-
tes, 38 | 118 | 19 | 10 | |
| The Medonidae succede unto the Athenian Kings, in the death of Codrus. | 3646
2964
451 | | 117 | 14 | 4 | 121 | 1. Me-
don, 20 | 13 | |
| | 3666
2984
471 | | 137 | 34 | 24 | 141 | 2
1. Aga-
stus, 36 | 33 | |
| Pharaoh reigneth in Egypt. See L. 2. c. 26. s. 5. | 3673
2991
478 | Temple | 144 | 1. Salomon, 40 | 31 | 148 | 8 | 40 | |
| Salomon began to build the Temple 480. yeares com-
after the deliverance out of Egypt. | 3676
2994
481 | 1 | 147 | 4 | 34 | 151 | 41 | 43 | |
| | 3681
2999 | 6 | 152 | 9 | 33
1. Leof-
benes, 15 | 156 | 16 | 48 | |
| | 3684
3002 | 9 | 155 | 12 | 4 | 159 | 19 | 6
1. Syl.
Alba. | |
| | 692
3010 | 17 | 163 | 20 | 12 | 1. Sefac
26
167 | 27 | 9 | |
| | 3702
3020 | 27 | 173 | 30 | 22 | 11 | 3
1. Archi-
pus, 19 | 19 | |

| | Julian
World. | Temple
Troy
taken. | Israel | Assyria. | Egypt | Athens | Latine. |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------|---|-------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| The 21. Dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 130. years. | 3704
3022 | 29 | 175 | 32 | 24 | 13
1 | 3
21 |
| The Ionick migration after the taking of Troy, 180. years, See L. 2 c 17 s. 6. | 3709
3027 | 34 | 180 | 37 | 29 | 18
6 | 8
26 |
| | Julian
World.
Temple | Troy. | Inda. | Israel. | Assyria | Egypt | Athens |
| | 3713
3031
38 | 148 | 1. Rehoboam.
17 | 1. Iroboam.
22 | 33 | 22
10 | 12
3 |
| | 3718
3036
43 | 189 | 6 | 6 | 38 | 1. Cuth-
mis, 50.
15. | 17
3 |
| | 3721
3039
46 | 192 | 9 | 9 | 41 | 4
18 | 4
3 |
| | 3723
3041
48 | 194 | 11 | 11 | 43 | 6
20 | 3
7 |
| | 3726
3044
51 | 197 | 14 | 14 | 1. Pyrrhusades.
34
30 | 9
23 | 6
4 |
| | 3730
3048
55 | 201 | 2
1. Abyam, 3 | 18 | 5 | 13
27 | 10
8 |
| | 3733
3051
58 | 204 | 3
1. Asa, 41. | 21 | 8 | 16
30 | 13
10 |
| | 3734
3052
59 | 205 | 2
1. Nadab, 2. | 22 | 9 | 17
31 | 14
12 |
| | 3735
3053
60 | 206 | 3
1. Baasha, 24. | 23 | 10 | 18
32 | 15
13 |
| | 3749
3067
74 | 220 | 17 | 15 | 24 | 32
46 | 29
15 |
| | 3756
3074
81 | 227 | 24 | 22 | 1. Ophratem.
35
20 | 39
53 | 36
1 |
| | 3758
3076
83 | 229 | 26
4
1. Ela, 2. | 24 | 3 | 41
55 | 38
10 |
| Of those Israelish Kings, See lib. 2. c. 19. s. 5. | 3759
3077
84 | 230 | 27
Zimri.
6. Tibni.
7. Omri, 12. | 4 | 42
56 | 39 | 11 |
| | 3762
3080
87 | 233 | 30 | 4 | 7 | 45
59 | 5
14 |
| | 3768
3086
93 | 239 | 36 | 10 | 13 | 1. Che-
ops, 56,
65 | 7
10 |
| | 3770
3088
95 | 241 | 38
1. Abab, 22 | 12 | 15 | 3
67 | 9
11 |
| | 3774
3092
99 | 245 | 4
1. Iehofaphas.
25 | 5 | 19 | 8
71 | 13
16 |

| | Julian
World.
Temple | Troy. | Inda. | Israel. | Assyria | Egypt. | Athens | Latine. |
|---|----------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | 3776
3094
101 | 247 | 3 | 7 | 30
1 Ophra-
tanes, 50 | 9
73 | 15 | 28 |
| | 3777
3095
102 | 248 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 10
74 | 16 | 9
1 Sylca.
petus, 13 |
| Of Ichoram his sundry beginnings to reigne.
See lib. 2. c. 20 s. 1. & 2. | 3790
3108
115 | 261 | 17
5
1. Ichoram. | 21
9
1. Abazia, 2. | 15 | 23
87 | 29 | 10
1 Syl-Ty-
berinus, 8. |
| | 3791
3109
116 | 262 | 18
2
1. Ichoram. | 22
10
1. Ichoram. | 16 | 24
88 | 30 | 2 |
| | 3793
3111
118 | 264 | 20
0 | 3 | 18 | 26
90 | 6
1. Mera
4. 20. | 4 |
| | 3795
3113
120 | 266 | 22
1. Ichoram a-
gainc, 8. | 5 | 20 | 28
92 | 3 | 6 |
| Iehofaphat dyes, and Ichoram reigns alone. | 3798
3116
123 | 269 | 25
4 | 8 | 23 | 31
95 | 6 | 11
1. Syl. A-
rippa, 41 |
| | 3802
3120
127 | 273 | 8
6
1. Abazia, 1. | 13 | 27 | 35
99 | 10 | 5 |
| | 3803
3121
128 | 274 | 7
1. Abazia
7 | 11
1. Ichor, 28. | 28 | 36
100 | 11 | 6 |
| | 3809
3127
134 | 280 | 7
8
1. Ichor, 40. | 7 | 34 | 42
106 | 17 | 12 |
| Carthage built. L. 2. c. 22. s. 6. | 3819
3137
144 | 290 | 110 | 17 | 44 | 52
116 | 27 | 22 |
| | 3825
3143
148 | 294 | 15 | 21 | 48 | 56
120 | 7
1 D eg-
netus, 23 | 26 |
| | 3824
3142
149 | 295 | 16 | 22 | 49 | 57
121 | 2 | 27 |
| | 3826
3144
151 | 297 | 18 | 24 | 50
122 | 3 | 4 | 29 |
| | 3831
3149
156 | 302 | 23
1. Ichorbaz,
17 | 6 | 8 | 128 | 9 | 34 |
| The end of the 21. Dynasty. The Dynasties following
Ichor. | 3833
3151
158 | 304 | 25 | 3 | 8 | 10
130 | 11 | 36 |
| | 3839
3157
164 | 310 | 31 | 9 | 14 | 16 | 17 | 12
1 Sil. Al-
ladius, 19 |
| Ichor reigned with his Father. L. 2. c. 22. s. 7. | 3845
3163
170 | 316 | 37
13
1. Ichor. | 15 | 20 | 22 | 23 | 7 |
| Ichor reigns alone. | 3847
3165
172 | 318 | 39 | 1. Ichor, 16. | 22 | 24 | 25 | 9 |
| | 3848
3166
173 | 319 | 40
1. Amath, 20 | 2 | 23 | 25 | 26 | 10 |

| | Julian.
World.
Temple | Troy. | Juda. | Israel. | Affyria | Egypt | Athens | Latine | |
|--|-----------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| | 3851
3169
176 | 322 | 4 | 5 | 26 | 28 | 8
1. Phere-
dus, 19. | 13 | |
| | 3858
3706
183 | 329 | 11 | 12 | 33 | 35 | 8
1. Syl. A-
uantinus
37 | | |
| | 3862
3180
187 | 333 | 15 | 16
14
1. Jeroboam, 41 | 37 | 39 | 12 | 5 | |
| | 3868
3186
193 | 339 | 21 | 7 | 38
1. Sarda-
napalis, 20 | 45 | 18 | 11 | |
| | 3870
3188
195 | 341 | 23 | 9 | 3 | 47 | 9
1. Ari-
phronzo | 12 | |
| | 3874
3192
199 | 345 | 27 | 13 | 7 | 1. My-
cerinus, 6 | 5 | 16 | |
| | Julian.
World.
Temple | Troy. | Juda. | Israel. | Affyria | Egypt | Athens | Latine | Mide |
| L. 2. C. 22. S. 1. | 3877
3195
202 | 348 | 1. Interregnum
11. years. | 16 | 10 | 4 | 8 | 19 | |
| | 3880
3198
205 | 351 | 4 | 19 | 13 | 1. Boc-
choris, 44 | 11 | 22 | |
| L. 2. C. 23. S. 12. | 3887
3205
212 | 358 | 11 | 26 | 20. Sar-
danapa-
lusian | 8 | 18 | 29 | |
| L. 2. C. 33. S. 1. & 4. | 3888
3206
213 | 359 | 10
1. Vezia, 0
Azaria, 52 | 27 | | 9 | 19 | 30 | 1
1. A-
biu |
| | 3890
3208
215 | 361 | 3 | 29 | | 11 | 10
1. The-
sporus, 29 | 32 | 3 |
| L. 2. C. 23. S. 4. | 3892
3210
217 | 363 | 5 | 31 | 1. Helis-
us or
Phul, 48 | 13 | 3 | 34 | 5 |
| | 3895
3213
220 | 366 | 8 | 34 | 4 | 16 | 6 | 14
1. Syl.
Procl, 21 | 8 |
| L. 2. C. 23. S. 1. | 3903
3221
228 | 374 | 16 | 1. Interregnum
23. years. | 12 | 24 | 14 | 9 | 16 |
| | 3916
3234
241 | 387 | 29 | 14 | 25 | 37 | 27 | 22 | 1
1. Syl.
nu, 10 |
| | 3917
3235
242 | 388 | 30 | 15 | 26 | 38 | 11
1. A. d. a-
uclor, 20 | 23 | 1 |
| | 3918
3236
243 | 389 | 31 | 16 | 27 | 39 | 2 | 15
1. Syl. A-
multi, 44 | 3 |
| | 3924
3242
249 | 395 | 37 | 22 | 33 | 1. A. d. b-
l. & after
tim. A-
mylic, 6 | 8 | 7 | 9 |
| Zacharia began at the very end of the years.
L. 2. C. 23. S. 1. | 3925
3243
250 | 396 | 38 | 23
15
Zacharia six Mo-
neths. | 34 | 2 | 9 | 8 | 10 |

| | Julian.
World.
Temple | Troy. | | | Juda. | Israel. | Affyria | Egypt. | Athens | Latine | M. d. d. |
|---|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|---|--|----------------------------|------------------|----------|
| | 3926
3244
251 | 397 | | | 39 | 16
Shallum
one month
17
Menahem
10 | 35 | 3 | 10 | 9 | 11 |
| This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem. | 3927
3245
252 | 398 | | | 40 | 1 | 36 | 4 | 11 | 10 | 12 |
| | 3930
3248
255 | 401 | | | 43 | 4 | 39 | 1. Sa'ac
um the
Ethiopi-
an, 30 | 14 | 13 | 15 |
| | 3937
3255
252 | 408 | 1. Iphitus
Olympi-
ads. | | 50 | 1. Peka-
hia, 2 | 46 | 8 | 12
1. J. b.
1. 3. 2. | 20 | 22 |
| The beginning of the Olympiads.
L. 2. C. 23. S. 5. | 3938
3256
203 | 409 | 1 | 1 | 51 | 2 | 47 | 9 | 2 | 21 | 23 |
| | 3938
3257
264 | 410 | 2 | 1 | 52 | 1. Teda
Komel, 2 | 48 | 10 | 3 | 22 | 24 |
| L. 2. C. 23. S. 6. | 3940
3258
265 | 411 | 3 | 1
3 | 1. Jotba
16 | 2 | 1. Jotba
16 | 11 | 4 | 23 | 25 |
| | Julian.
World.
Temple | Iphis. | Olymp. | Juda. | Israel. | Affyria | Egypt. | Athens | Latine | Media | |
| | 3946
3264
271 | 9 | 3 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 17 | 10 | 29 | 1. Me-
di, 40 | |
| | 3955
3273
280 | 18 | 5
2 | 16
1. Al-
baz, 16 | 17 | 16 | 26 | 19 | 38 | 10 | |
| | 3959
3277
284 | 22 | 6
2 | 5
1. Inter-
regnum
7. years | 20 | 30 | 23 | 42 | 14 | | |
| | 3960
3278
285 | 23 | 6
3 | 6
2 | 21 | 31 | 1. Al-
kemi-
nov, 1 | 43 | 15 | | |
| | Julian.
World.
Temple | Rome.
Nabon | Iphitus | Olymp. | Juda. | Israel. | Affyria | Egypt | Athens | Romans | Media |
| Rome built. Lib. 2. chap. 24. S. 3.
Drops the first governing in Athen for ten years; after whom
succeeded six chosen each after other for the like time; & thence
the office became Annual. | 3962
3280
287 | 1 | 25 | 7
1 | 8 | 4 | 23 | 33 | 1. Ca-
rops, 10 | 1. Kom-
u, 37 | 17 |
| | 3966
3284
291 | 5 | 29 | 8
1 | 12 | 1. Ioseph
9 | 27 | 37 | 5 | 5 | 21 |
| The Era of Nabonassar.
Lib. 2. C. 25. S. 1. | 3967
3285
292 | 6 | 30 | 8
2 | 13 | 2 | 1. Salma-
nassar, 10
National
10 | 38 | 6 | 6 | 22 |
| Ezekia began in the very end of this year.
L. 2. C. 23. S. 1. | 3968
3286
293 | 7 | 31 | 8
3 | 14
1. Eze-
kiah, 20 | 3 | 1 | 39 | 7 | 7 | 23 |
| This year concurs with the first of Ezekia. Ibid. | 3969
3287
294 | 8 | 32 | 8
4 | 15 | 4 | 3 | 40 | 8 | 8 | 24 |
| The beginning of the first Macedonian war. I. b. e-
r. L. 2. C. 27. S. 4. It lasted 20. years. | 3971
3289
296 | 10 | 34 | 9
2 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 41 | 10 | 10 | 26 |
| | 3972
3290
297 | 11 | 35 | 9
3 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 43 | 11 | 27 | |

| | Julian
and
World. | Rome.
Nabon. | Iphis. | Olymp. | Inda. | Chal-
daa. | Egypt. | Rome. | Media | Lydia. |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------|--------|---------|-------|-------------------------------|---------------|----------|--------------------|--------|
| Nabuchadnezzar reconers his sense and kingdom. | 4131
449 | 170
165 | 194 | 49
2 | 25 | 1 Labor
far each
9 mun. | 21 | 33 | 16 | 36 |
| L.3.C.1.9.6.
The 37. of Ieconia his captivity compleat, and hee
enlarged. | 4133
3451 | 172
167 | 196 | 49
4 | 27 | 1 Labor
far each
9 mun. | 23 | 35 | 18 | 38 |
| Fortie years after the conquest of Egypt by Amasis hee
his reign: thus being actually the 41. and there of the next
year seems concurrent with Amasis his first. | 4137
3455 | 176
167 | 200 | 50
4 | 31 | 5 | 27 | 36
44 | 22 | 42 |
| | 4151 | 190 | 214 | 54 | 45 | 19 | Am-
sis 34 | 15 | 56 | |
| | 4153 | 192 | 216 | 54 | 47 | 21 | 2 | 17 | 3 | 56 |
| | 3471 | | | 4 | | | | | 1. Cræ-
sus, 14 | |
| | 4154 | 193 | 217 | 55 | 48 | 22 | 3 | 18 | 4 | 48 |
| The seven Sages in Greece. | 4159 | 198 | 222 | 56 | 6 | 1 Baluba
far 17 | 8 | 23 | 9 | 53 |
| Pisistratus makes himselfe Tyrant in Athens. | 4164 | 203 | 227 | 57 | 11 | 6 | 13 | 28 | 14 | 58 |
| | 3483 | 198 | | 3 | | | | | | |
| | 4166 | 205 | 229 | 58 | 13 | 8 | 15 | 30 | 16 | 60 |
| | 3484 | 200 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| The end of the Chaldean Empire. | 4175 | 214 | 238 | 60 | 22 | 17. Bal-
thasar
flame. | 24 | 39 | 25 | 69 |
| | 3493 | 209 | | 2 | | | | | | |
| | 4176 | 215 | 239 | 60 | 23 | 1. Da-
rins the
Medes | 23 | 40 | 26 | 70 |
| The beginning of Cyrs his Empire. | 3494 | 210 | | 3 | | | | | | |
| His edict of libertie to the Iewes. | 4177 | 216 | 240 | 60 | 24 | 1. Cy-
rus, 7 | 2 | 26 | 41 | 71 |
| | 3495 | 211 | | 4 | | | | | | |
| | 4181 | 220 | 244 | 61 | 5 | | 30 | 7 | 42 | 75 |
| | 3499 | 215 | | 4 | | | | | | |
| | 4184 | 223 | 247 | 62 | 2 | | 33 | 4 | 8 | |
| | 3502 | 218 | | 3 | | | | | | |
| The 2. first yeeres of P. Smerdis, and part of the third
may be added to the yeeres of his father, at the time that Cam-
bis was Egypt presently on the death of Amasis. L.3.C.4.S.1. | 4186 | 225 | 249 | 63 | 3 | 1 P. Sam-
metus, 3 | 6 | 10 | | |
| | 3504 | 220 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| The Conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. | 4188 | 227 | 251 | 63 | 5 | | 3 | 8 | 11 | |
| | 3506 | 222 | | 3 | | | | | | |
| | 4191 | 230 | 254 | 64 | | | | | | |
| | 3509 | 225 | | 2 | | | | | | |
| | 4192 | 231 | 255 | 64 | | | | | | |
| | 3510 | 226 | | 3 | | | | | | |

| | Julian
World. | Rome.
Nabon. | Iphis. | Olymp. | Persia. | Chal-
daa. | Egypt. | Rome. | Media | Lydia. |
|---|------------------|-----------------|--------|--------|---------|---------------|--------|-------|-------|---|
| | 4187 | 236 | 260 | 65 | 6 | | | | 17 | stript the sum of
Pisistratus tyrant
in Athens. |
| | 3515 | 231 | 265 | 66 | | | | | | |
| | 4204 | 243 | 267 | 67 | | | | | | |
| | 3522 | 238 | 267 | 67 | | | | | | |
| The Tarquines expelled Rome.
L.4.C.7.S.1. | 4205 | 244 | 268 | 67 | | | | | | |
| | 3523 | 239 | 268 | 67 | | | | | | |
| The Carthaginians first league with Rome.
L.5.C.1.S.2. | 4206 | 245 | 269 | 68 | | | | | | |
| | 3524 | 240 | 269 | 68 | | | | | | |
| | 4211 | 250 | 274 | 69 | | | | | | |
| | 3529 | 245 | 274 | 69 | | | | | | |
| | 4212 | 251 | 275 | 69 | | | | | | |
| | 3530 | 246 | 275 | 69 | | | | | | |
| | 4222 | 261 | 285 | 72 | | | | | | |
| | 3540 | 256 | 285 | 72 | | | | | | |
| | 4226 | 265 | 289 | 73 | | | | | | |
| | 3544 | 260 | 289 | 73 | | | | | | |
| | 4228 | 267 | 291 | 73 | | | | | | |
| | 3546 | 262 | 291 | 73 | | | | | | |
| The Law Agraria in Rome propounded, for division of
lands: which bred great commotion. | 4229 | 268 | 292 | 73 | | | | | | |
| | 3547 | 263 | 292 | 73 | | | | | | |
| An Eclipse of the Sun. L.3.C.6.S.2. | 4233 | 272 | 296 | 74 | | | | | | |
| | 3551 | 267 | 296 | 74 | | | | | | |
| L.3.C.6.S.3. and 6. | 4234 | 273 | 297 | 75 | | | | | | |
| | 3552 | 268 | 297 | 75 | | | | | | |
| L.3.C.6.S.9. 10 & 11. | 4235 | 274 | 298 | 75 | | | | | | |
| | 3553 | 269 | 298 | 75 | | | | | | |
| | 4237 | 276 | 300 | 75 | | | | | | |
| | 3555 | 271 | 300 | 75 | | | | | | |
| | 4244 | 283 | 307 | 77 | | | | | | |
| | 3562 | 278 | 307 | 77 | | | | | | |
| | 4248 | 287 | 311 | 78 | | | | | | |
| | 3566 | 283 | 311 | 78 | | | | | | |
| | 4249 | 288 | 312 | 78 | | | | | | |
| | 3567 | 283 | 312 | 78 | | | | | | |
| | 4251 | 290 | 314 | 79 | | | | | | |
| | 3569 | 285 | 314 | 79 | | | | | | |
| | 4255 | 294 | 318 | 80 | | | | | | |
| | 3573 | 289 | 318 | 80 | | | | | | |
| | 4264 | 303 | 327 | 83 | | | | | | |
| | 3582 | 298 | 327 | 83 | | | | | | |

| | Julian and World. | Rome. Nabon. | Iphis. | Olymp. | Persia. | Egypt. | Rome. | Greece. | Jews From Cym. Daniel. |
|---|-------------------|--------------|--------|----------|--|--|---------------------------|---|------------------------|
| | +376
3694 | 415
410 | 439 | 110
3 | 2 | | | The battle of Cheronas. Philip chosen Captain General of the Greeks. | 2
199
121 |
| | +378
3695 | 417
412 | 441 | 111
1 | 1. Darius 6 years & some what more | Nabon. Novemb. 15. | | Philip slain by Pansias. Alexander the great, 11 years and five months. | 4
201
123 |
| | +379
3697 | 418
413 | 442 | 111
2 | 2 | | | Thebes razed by Alexander. | 5
202
124 |
| | +380
3698 | 419
414 | 443 | 111
3 | 3 | | | Alexander passeth into Asia. | 6
203
125 |
| L. 4. c. 2. 5. 4. | +381
3699 | 420
415 | 444 | 111
4 | The battle of Issus. | | | | 7
204
126 |
| L. 4. c. 7. 5. 6. & 7. & L. 5. c. 2. 5. 8. | +382
3700 | 421
416 | 445 | 112
1 | 5 | The Gauls enter in league with the Romans. | | Alexander wins Tyre and Egypt. | 8
205
129 |
| An eclipse of the Moon | +383
3701 | 422
417 | 446 | 112
2 | 6 The battle of Arbela. | | | Babylon, Susa, & Persopolis won by Alexander. | 9
206
128 |
| Lib. 4. c. 2. 5. 13. | +384
3702 | 423
418 | 447 | 112
3 | 7 Darius slain by Belissus. | | | | 10
207
129 |
| | | | | | Macedon. | Egypt. | | Greece. | Romans. |
| | +385
3703 | 424
419 | 448 | 112
4 | 8. Alexander changes conduct, pursuing to death Parmenio and Philotas. | | | | 11
208
130 |
| | +380
3704 | 425
420 | 449 | 113
1 | 9. Alexander passeth into India: kills Hydnus and Callibrenus. | | | | 12
209
131 |
| Alexander dyed 17 days before the Summer Solstice. From Nabonassar hitherto are collected 124 years: and hence to the reign of Augustus, 24. The sum is 148 years, which agree with this account. Ptol. Almagest. 13. c. 8. | +390
3708 | 429
424 | 453 | 114
1 | 13. Alexander dyes at Babylon. | Nabon. Novemb. 12. | | | 16
215
135 |
| | +391
3709 | 430
425 | 454 | 114
2 | 1. Aridesius, 6. and four months. | 1. Ptolomie Lagi. 39 | L. 3. c. 3. 5. 1. 2. & 3. | The Lamiar Warre. | 1. On. 23. 136 |
| | +394
3712 | 433
428 | 457 | 115
1 | 4. Ptolem. Nab. as slain. Nov. 11. | | L. 4. C. 3. 5. 8 & 9. | Victories of Eumenes. | 4
139 |
| | +395
3713 | 434
429 | 458 | 115
2 | 5. Antigonus sent against Eumenes. | 5 | | | 5
140 |
| Aridzus slain by Olympias, Antigon beaten by Eumenes. | +397
3715 | 436
431 | 460 | 115
4 | 7 | 7 | | | 7
142 |
| Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus. Olympias slain by Cassander. Antigonus grows d. c. d. f. l. | +398
3716 | 437
432 | 461 | 116
1 | 1. Cassander. | 8 | | Thebes re-edified by Cassander. | 8
143 |
| Some place the beginning of Seleucus in this 12. from Alexander, by which account he reigned 31 years. | +402
3720 | 441
436 | 465 | 117
1 | 5 | 12 Nabonassar. Novemb. 9. | | Demetrius beaten at Gaza, by Ptol. and Seleucus. | 12
147 |
| Peace between Alexander's Captains: with division of Provinces. | +403
3721 | 442
437 | 466 | 117
2 | 6 | 13 | | | 13
148 |

| | Julian and World. | Rome. Nabon. | Iphis. | Olymp. | Macedon. | Egypt. | Syria and the Kingdoms of the Greeks. | Greece. | Romans. | Jews Daniel. |
|---|-------------------|--------------|--------|--------|---|--|--|--|--|--------------|
| The Era of the Kingdoms of the Kings. | 4404 | 443 | 467 | 117 | 7 | 14 | 1. Seleucus 30 | Lib. 4. c. 3. 5. 7. | | 14 |
| Alexanders Cap. assume the name King. | 4406 | 445 | 469 | 118 | 9 | 16 | 3 | Athens set free by Demetrius the son of Antigonus. | | 149
16 |
| Lib. 4. c. 6. 5. 4. | 3724 | 440 | 476 | 119 | 16 | 23 | 3 | 10 The battle of Ipsus, wherein Antigonus was slain. | | 151
23 |
| | 4413 | 452 | 477 | 120 | 17 | 24 | 11 | 11. Seleucus makes alliance with Demetrius. | | 158
159 |
| | 3731 | 447 | 480 | 120 | 1. Antipater and Alexander the son of Cassander. | 27 | 14 | | | 4 |
| | 3732 | 448 | 481 | 121 | Demetrius 6 | 31 | 18 | | | 162
8 |
| Lib. 4. c. 6. 5. 7. | 3735 | 451 | 484 | 121 | 4 | | 18 | | | 166 |
| | 4421 | 460 | 491 | 123 | 1. Pyrrhus 7. Months. | 37 | 24 | | | 172 |
| | 4427 | 466 | 492 | 123 | 1. Lysimachus 5. | 38 | 25 | | | 173 |
| | 4745 | 461 | 493 | 123 | 2 | 39. 9 Ptolemy Philadelphus 37 | 26 | | | 174 |
| | 4428 | 467 | 494 | 124 | 5 | 4 | 29 | | | 177 |
| Translation of the Body of the Septuagint. | 4432 | 471 | 495 | 124 | 3 | 4 | 29 | | The Tarentines raise war in the spring of Italy, & call in Pyrrhus against the Romans. | 6
178 |
| Lib. 4. c. 6. 5. 9. and 7. 5. 2. | 3750 | 466 | 496 | 124 | 6. Lysimachus slain. | 5 | 30. Seleucus slain in the end of the 134. Olymp. Ptolemy & Lysimachus. | | Pyrrhus his victory against the Romans. | 7
179 |
| | 3751 | 467 | 497 | 124 | Seleucus 7 Mon. | 6 | 31 | | | 181 |
| L. 4. c. 7. 3. & 7. | 4434 | 473 | 499 | 125 | 1. Ptolem. Ceraunus, Antipater, Melchior, & Seleucus. | 8 | 33 | | | 183 |
| | 3752 | 468 | 501 | 126 | 1. Antigonus Gonatas. 26 | 10. Nabonassar 31 years before Christ. O. 1. | 35 | | | 184 |
| | 4436 | 475 | 502 | 126 | 4 | 11 | 26 | | | 186 |
| Lib. 5. c. 2. 5. 6 | 3754 | 470 | 504 | 127 | 10 | 17 | 41 | | | 190 |
| | 4438 | 477 | 508 | 128 | 11 | 18. Nabonassar O. 29 | 43 | | | 191 |
| | 3756 | 472 | 509 | 129 | 15 | 19. Nabonassar O. 30. 28 | 47 | | | 195 |
| | 4439 | 478 | 513 | 129 | | | | | | 199 |
| Lib. 4. c. 7. 5. 5. | 3757 | 473 | 513 | 129 | | | | | | 201 |
| | 4441 | 480 | 513 | 129 | | | | | | 205 |
| Translation by the Romans finished, this of Philadelphus. | 3759 | 475 | 513 | 129 | | | | | | 209 |
| | 4445 | 484 | 513 | 129 | | | | | | 213 |
| | 3763 | 497 | 513 | 129 | | | | | | 217 |
| | 4446 | 485 | 513 | 129 | | | | | | 221 |
| | 3764 | 480 | 513 | 129 | | | | | | 225 |
| Many Ancient Roman coins have been often found, that I have both had shown to name. | 4450 | 489 | 513 | 129 | | | | | | 229 |
| | 3768 | 484 | 513 | 129 | | | | | | 233 |

| | Indian and World. | Rome. Nabon. | Iphig. | Olymp. | Macedon. | Egypt. | Syria and the Kingdoms of the Greeks. | Greece. | Romans. | Jews. Daniel. | Consuls. |
|--|-------------------|--------------|--------|--------|----------|--------|---------------------------------------|---------|---|---------------|---------------------|
| | 4453 | 492 | 516 | 129 | 18 | 25 | 3
Antiochus theus. | | | 8 | L. Valerius |
| | 3771 | 487 | | 4 | | | | | | 198 | T. Otacilius |
| L. S. C. 5. 6. | 4454 | 493 | 517 | 130 | 19 | 26 | | | Dulius his victory at Sea. | 9 | C. Duilius |
| | 3772 | 488 | | 1 | | | | | | 199 | Cn. Corn. |
| | 4457 | 496 | 220 | 130 | 22 | 29 | | | Regulus passes into Africa. | 12 | M. Atilius |
| | 3775 | 491 | | 4 | | | | | | 202 | Cn. Corn. |
| Lib. 5. c. 1. 8. 8. | 4450 | 497 | 521 | 131 | 23 | 30 | | | Regulus taken prisoner. | 13 | L. Manlius |
| | 3776 | 492 | | 1 | | | | | | 203 | Q. Caelius |
| | 4463 | 502 | 526 | 132 | 28 | 35 | | | | 18 | L. Caelius |
| | 3781 | 497 | | 2 | | | | | | 208 | C. Furius |
| The Roman consuls beaten at Lilybaeum. The beginning of the Punic war. | 4464 | 503 | 457 | 132 | 29 | 36 | | | Regulus his death. | 19 | C. Atilius |
| | 3782 | 498 | | 3 | | | | | | 209 | L. Manlius |
| | 4465 | 504 | 528 | 132 | 30 | 37 | | | Shipwreck and unhappy fight of the Romans at sea. | 20 | P. Claudius Pulcher |
| | 3783 | 499 | | 4 | | | | | | 210 | L. Inuius |
| | 4467 | 506 | 530 | 133 | 32 | | | | | 22 | L. Caelius |
| | 3785 | 501 | | 3 | | | | | | 212 | M. Fabius |
| Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicil. | 4469 | 508 | 532 | 133 | 34 | 3 | | | | 24 | M. Fabius |
| L. S. C. 1. 5. 11. | 3787 | 503 | | 4 | | | | | | 214 | C. Atilius |
| | 4472 | 511 | 535 | 134 | 2 | 6 | | | Lucius has great victory at Agrigento. | 27 | C. Lucius |
| | 3790 | 506 | | 3 | | | | | | 217 | A. Postumius |
| The war of the Mercenaries with the Carthaginians, L. S. C. 2. | 4473 | 512 | 535 | 134 | 2 | 7 | | | Peace granted to Carthage. | Onias | Q. Lutatius |
| | 3791 | 507 | | 4 | | | | | | 218 | A. Manlius |
| | 4474 | 513 | 537 | 135 | 3 | 8 | | | | | C. Claudius |
| | 3792 | 508 | | 1 | | | | | | | M. Sempronius |
| The war with the Mercenaries ended. | 4476 | 515 | 539 | 135 | 5 | 10 | | | The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians. | 3 | Gracchus |
| | 3794 | 510 | | 3 | | | | | | 221 | Falco |
| | 4482 | 521 | 545 | 137 | | 16 | | | | 9 | Lepidus |
| | 3800 | 516 | | 1 | | | | | | 227 | M. Atilius |
| | 4483 | 522 | 546 | 137 | 2 | 17 | | | A Roman Embassador slain by the Carthage. | 12 | M. Atilius |
| | 3801 | 517 | | 2 | | | | | | 230 | M. Inuius |
| L. S. C. 2. 5. 7. | 4485 | 524 | 548 | 137 | 4 | 19 | | | Tertia Quere of Lilybaeum, subdued by the Romans. | 10 | L. Postumius |
| | 3803 | 519 | | 4 | | | | | | 234 | C. Fulvius |
| L. S. C. 5. 9. 1. | 4489 | 528 | 552 | 138 | 8 | 23 | | | | 16 | L. Aemilius |
| | 3807 | 523 | | 4 | | | | | | 224 | C. Atilius |
| Flaminius was also Consul this year. See L. S. C. 2. 5. 8. | 4492 | 531 | 555 | 139 | 11 | 26 | | | Marcellus his victory over the Gauls about Milan. | 19 | C. Corneli |
| | 3810 | 526 | | 3 | | | | | | 237 | M. Marcellus |
| L. S. C. 5. 5. 2. | 4493 | 532 | 556 | 139 | 12 | | | | | 20 | P. Corneli |
| | 3811 | 527 | | 4 | | | | | | 238 | M. Marcellus |
| | 4494 | 533 | 557 | 140 | 4 | | | | | 20 | L. Valerius |
| | 3812 | 528 | | 1 | | | | | | 239 | C. Lucius |

| | Indian and World. | Rome. Nabon. | Iphig. | Olymp. | Macedon. | Egypt. | Syria and the Kingdoms of the Greeks. | Greece. | Rome. | Jews. Daniel. | Consuls. |
|--|-------------------|--------------|--------|--------|----------|--------|---------------------------------------|---------|-------|---------------|------------------|
| | 4495 | 534 | 558 | 140 | | | | | | | L. Aemilius |
| | 3813 | 529 | | 2 | | | | | | 240 | M. Aemilius |
| Beginning of the Punic war. | 4496 | 534 | 559 | 140 | | | | | | 23 | P. Cor. Scipio |
| | 3814 | 529 | | 3 | | | | | | 241 | T. Sempronius |
| Occurrences of the war referred by Polybius to the battle of Zama. | 4497 | 536 | 560 | 140 | | | | | | 24 | C. Flaminius |
| | 3815 | 530 | | 4 | | | | | | 242 | Cn. Servilius |
| | 4498 | 537 | 561 | 141 | | | | | | 25 | C. Terentius |
| | 3816 | 532 | | 1 | | | | | | 243 | L. Aemilius |
| | 4499 | 538 | 562 | 141 | | | | | | 26 | L. Postumius |
| | 3817 | 533 | | 2 | | | | | | 244 | T. Sempronius |
| | 4502 | 541 | 565 | 141 | | | | | | 242 | Ap. Claudius |
| | 3820 | 536 | | 1 | | | | | | 3 | Q. Fulvius |
| Hannibal at the gates of Rome. | 4503 | 542 | 566 | 142 | | | | | | 2 | Cn. Fulvius |
| | 3821 | 537 | | 2 | | | | | | 248 | P. Sulpicius |
| | 4507 | 546 | 570 | 143 | | | | | | 6 | C. Claudius |
| | 3825 | 541 | | 3 | | | | | | 252 | M. Aemilius |
| | 4508 | 547 | 571 | 143 | | | | | | 7 | Q. Caelius |
| | 3826 | 542 | | 3 | | | | | | 253 | L. Aemilius |
| | 4510 | 549 | 573 | 144 | | | | | | 9 | Q. Fabius |
| | 3828 | 544 | | 1 | | | | | | 255 | P. Sempronius |
| | 4511 | 550 | 574 | 144 | | | | | | 10 | Servilius |
| | 3829 | 545 | | 2 | | | | | | 256 | Servilius |
| | 4512 | 551 | 575 | 144 | | | | | | 11 | T. Claudius |
| | 3830 | 546 | | 3 | | | | | | 257 | M. Aemilius |
| The end of the second Punic war, and beginning of the Macedonian war with Philip. The Macedonian war referred by Polybius to the battle of Zama. | 4513 | 552 | 576 | 144 | | | | | | 12 | L. Aemilius |
| | 3831 | 547 | | 4 | | | | | | 258 | P. Aemilius |
| | 4516 | 555 | 579 | 145 | | | | | | 15 | T. Q. Flaminius |
| | 3834 | 550 | | 1 | | | | | | 261 | Sex. A. Aemilius |
| L. S. C. 5. 14. | 4517 | 556 | 580 | 145 | | | | | | 16 | C. Aemilius |
| | 3835 | 551 | | 4 | | | | | | 262 | Q. Aemilius |
| Hannibal expelled Carthage. L. S. C. 5. 18. | 4518 | 557 | 581 | 146 | | | | | | 17 | L. Aemilius |
| | 3836 | 552 | | 1 | | | | | | 263 | M. Aemilius |
| | 4519 | 558 | 582 | 146 | | | | | | 18 | M. Aemilius |
| | 3837 | 553 | | 2 | | | | | | 264 | L. Aemilius |
| | 4522 | 561 | 585 | 147 | | | | | | 21 | L. Aemilius |
| | 3840 | 556 | | 1 | | | | | | 267 | Cn. Domitius |
| | 4523 | 562 | 586 | 147 | | | | | | 22 | Acil. Glabius |
| | 3841 | 557 | | 2 | | | | | | 268 | Nasica |
| | 4524 | 563 | 587 | 147 | | | | | | 23 | L. Aemilius |
| | 3842 | 558 | | 3 | | | | | | 269 | C. Aemilius |

| | Julian.
World. | Rome.
Nabon. | Iphir. | Olymp. | Macedon. | Egypt. | Syria & King-
doms of the
Greeks. | Greece. | Rome. | Jewes
and
Daniel. | Consuls. |
|--|-------------------|-----------------|--------|--------|--|---------------------------------|---|---------|--|-------------------------|---------------|
| L. 5. c. 5. s. 9. | 4527 | 566 | 590 | 148 | 34 | 18 | 36 | | Scipio
Hannibal
first Rome. | 26 | Lepidus. |
| | 3849 | 561 | | 2 | | | 124 | | | 272 | Flaminius. |
| | 4528 | 567 | 591 | 148 | 35 | 19 | 1. Seleucus Philo-
pator, 12. | | | 27 | Sp. Postumus. |
| | 5846 | 562 | | 3 | | | 25 | | | 237 | Q. Marcius. |
| L. 5. c. 6. s. 2. | 4531 | 570 | 594 | 149 | 38 | 22 | 4 | | Scipio,
Hannibal,
and Philo-
pator, 12. | 30 | Marcellus. |
| | 2842 | 565 | | 2 | | | 128 | | | 267 | Q. Fabius. |
| L. 5. c. 6. s. 3. | 4532 | 571 | 595 | 149 | 39 | 23 | 5 | | Scipio,
Hannibal,
and Philo-
pator, 12. | 31 | Panlus. |
| | 3850 | 566 | | 3 | | | 139 | | | 277 | Cn. Babius. |
| Cap. 6. s. 4. | 4532 | 572 | 596 | 149 | 40 | 24 | 6 | | Scipio,
Hannibal,
and Philo-
pator, 12. | 32 | Cicero. |
| | 3851 | 567 | | 4 | | | 130 | | | 278 | M. Balbus. |
| | 4534 | 573 | 597 | 150 | 41 | | 7 | | | 33 | A. Postumus. |
| | 3852 | 568 | | 1 | | | 131 | | | 279 | Piso. |
| | 4535 | 574 | 593 | 150 | 41 | 1. Perseus, 11.
or 12 years. | 8 | | | 34 | Piso. |
| | 3853 | 569 | | 2 | | | 132 | | | 280 | Manlius. |
| An Eclipse of the Moon
the 7. of Philometor, 573
years, and 206. days from
the beginning of Nabon-
assar, which agrees with
this account. It was by Lu-
lian years, the last of A-
pphian, and one of the clocks
in the morning. | 4540 | 579 | 603 | 151 | 6 | | 7 | | 1. Antiochus Epi-
phanes, 11. | 39 | Sp. Postumus. |
| | 3858 | 574 | | 3 | | | 137 | | | 285 | Scenola. |
| | 4541 | 580 | 604 | 151 | 7 | | 8 | | See 1. s.
cap. 6.
s. 11. | 28 | L. Postumus. |
| | 3859 | 575 | | 4 | | | 138 | | | | M. Postumus. |
| | 4543 | 582 | 606 | 182 | | | 4 | | | | P. Licinius. |
| | 3861 | 577 | | 2 | | | 140 | | | | C. Cassius. |
| | 4545 | 584 | 608 | 152 | 11 | | 6 | | | 190 | Martius. |
| | 3863 | 579 | | 4 | | | 142 | | | | Servilius. |
| A total eclipse of the
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year of Nabonassar here noted. | 4546 | 585 | 609 | 153 | 12 | | 7 | | Cap. 6.
s. 8. 9.
and 11. | 192 | L. 6. s. 11. |
| | 3864 | 580 | | 1 | | | 143 | | | | C. Licinius. |
| | 4547 | 586 | 610 | 153 | Macedon made
a Roman Pro-
vince. | 14 | 8 | | | | P. Sulpicius. |
| | 3865 | 581 | | 2 | | | 144 | | | | Annus. |
| | 4549 | 588 | 612 | 153 | | | 10 | | | | Torquatus. |
| | 3867 | 581 | | 4 | | | 146 | | | | Otilianus. |

FINIS.

old T. 11

An Alphabetical Table of the Principall Contents of the First and Second Bookes of the First Part of the Historie of the WORLD:

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How the Romanes began to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romanes, in releuing the publike necessities of their Common-wealth.

§. XIII.

The Romanes win some Townes backe from Hannibal. Hannibal wins Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two victories of Hannibal. The iourney of Hannibal to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romanes.

§. XV.

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How the war passed betweene the Romanes and Hannibal in Italy, from the saking of Capua to the great victory at Metaurus.

§. XVII.

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†. I.

How the Carthaginians were driven by Scipio, from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.

†. II.

Funerall games held by Scipio. A Duel betweene two Spanisb Princes. A digression concerning Duels.

†. III.

The last acts of Scipio in Spain. His return to Rome; where he is chosen Consul.

§. XVIII.

Scipio obtaines leaue to make warre in Africke: His preparations: Of Masaniissa, who ioynd with Scipio.

§. XIX.

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§. XX.

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CHAP. IIII.

Of Philip the Father of Perseus King of Macedon, his first Acts and war with the Romanes, by whom he was subdued.

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§. II.

How Philip was misse-advised by ill Counsaillours: who afterwards wrought treason against him, and were iustly punished. Hee inuadeth the Aetolians a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace; which is granted vnto them.

§. III.

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§. V.

Of Philipœmen Generall of the Achaens, and Machanidas Tyrant of Lacedæmon. A battaile betweene them, wherein Machanidas is slaine.

§. VI.

Philip hauing peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bythinia; and their Limages. Of the Galatians.

§. VII.

The towne of Cios taken by Philip, at the instance of Prusias king of Bithynia, & cruelly destroyed, &c.

§. VIII.

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The Romanes decree warre against Philip, and send one of their Consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their confederates. How poore the Athenians were at this time, both in quality and estate.

§. X. The

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S. XI.

The meeting of Philip with the Romans, & skirmishing with them on his borders, &c.

S. XII.

Villius the Roman Consul wasteth a yeere to no effect: war of the Gauls in Italy. An Embasie of the Romans to Carthage, Masaniſſa and Vermina, &c.

S. XIII.

The Romans begin to make warre by Negotiation. T. Quintius wins a passage against Philip. Theſſalie wasteth by Philip, the Romans, and Aetolians. The Achæans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treatie of peace, that was vaine. Philip delinquens Argos to Nabis the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.

S. XIII.

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T. Quintius falls out with the Aetolians, and grants truce unto Philip, with conditions, upon which the peace is ratified, &c.

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The Warres of the Romans with Antiochus the Great, and his Adherents.

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S. III.

The last reigne of Ptolomie Philopator in Egypt: with the tragicall end of his Favorites, when he was dead. Antiochus prepares to warre on the young childe Ptolomie Epiphanes, the sonne of Philopator. His ir-

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S. V.

Of the long warres which the Romanes had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. Porcius Caro. Injuries done by Masaniſſa to the Carthaginians: that sue unto the Romans for iustice in vaine.

S. VI.

The Aetolians labour to provoke Antiochus, Philip, and Nabis, to warre upon the Romans: by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. Nabis besiegeth Gytheum, and wasteth some part of Acbaa. The excellent skill of Philopœmen in his advantage of ground: whereby he utterly vanquished Nabis, &c.

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Antiochus perswaded by Thoas the Aetolian, comes over into Greece, ill attended. Sundry passages betweene him, the Aetolians, Chalcidians, and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole Ile of Eubæa. The vanity of the Kings Embassadors, & the Aetolians: with the civill answer of Titus to their discourse, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greekes to haue desired peace, betweene the Romans and Antiochus: as the best assurance of their owne liberty, &c.

S. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, hauing with him Publius the African his elder brother, for his Licentiant, is sent into Greece. He grants long truce to the Aetolians, that so hee might at leisure passe into Asia. Much troublesome businesse by Sea, and diuers fights. An invasion upon Eumenes his kingdome: with the siege of Pergamus, rayſed by an handfull of the Achæans. L. Scipio the Consul comes into Asia, where Antiochus most earnestly desires peace and is denied it. The battell of Magnesia: wherein Antiochus being vanquished, yeeldeth to the Romans good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. In what sort the Romanes used their victory. L. Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous Triumph over Antiochus, is surnamed The Asiaticque, as his Brother was stiled The African.

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The Aetolians and the Gallo-Greekes, vanquished by the Roman Consuls Fulvius and Manlius, &c.

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The second Macedon Warre.

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How Eumenes King of Pergamus, was busied, with Pharnaces, the Rhodians, and others. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom he accuseth to the Roman Senate, &c.

S. VI.

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Embassadour deludes him with the hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, & wins part of Theſſaly. The forces of Licinius the Roman Consul: and what assistance the Romans had in this warre, &c.

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Gentius King of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.

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The warre of Antiochus upon Egypt, brought to end by the Roman Embassadors.

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How the Romans were dreadfull unto all Kings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Prusias, Masaniſſa, and Cotys. The end of Perseus and his children. The instabilitie of Kingly Estates. The Triumphes of Paulus, Anicius, and Octavius: with the Conclusion of the worke.

FINIS.

100 MILLIMETERS

INSTRUCTIONS Resolution is expressed in terms of the lines per millimeter recorded by a particular film under specified conditions. Numerals in chart indicate the number of lines per millimeter in adjacent "T-shaped" groupings.

In microfilming, it is necessary to determine the reduction ratio and multiply the number of lines in the chart by this value to find the number of lines recorded by the film. As an aid in determining the reduction ratio, the line above is 100 millimeters in length. Measuring this line in the film image and dividing the length into 100 gives the reduction ratio. Example: the line is 20 mm. long in the film image, and $100 \div 20 = 5$.

Examine "T-shaped" line groupings in the film with microscope, and note the number adjacent to finest lines recorded sharply and distinctly. Multiply this number by the reduction factor to obtain resolving power in lines per millimeter. Example: 7.9 group of lines is clearly recorded while lines in the 10.0 group are not distinctly separated. Reduction ratio is 5, and $7.9 \times 5 = 39.5$ lines per millimeter recorded satisfactorily. $10.0 \times 5 = 50$ lines per millimeter which are not recorded satisfactorily. Under the particular conditions, maximum resolution is between 39.5 and 50 lines per millimeter.

Resolution, as measured on the film, is a test of the entire photographic system, including lens, exposure, processing, and other factors. These rarely utilize maximum resolution of the film. Vibrations during exposure, lack of critical focus, and exposures yielding very dense negatives are to be avoided.

THE END